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PRESENTED BY
ABANI NATH MUKHARJI
OF UTTARPARA.

EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OCTOBER 1804.

No. IX.

ART. I. *Plan of National Improvement, pointing out the Means to render Great Britain independent of Supplies of Corn from abroad, to extend the British Fisheries, and augment the Military and Naval Strength of the Empire, without expence or inconvenience to the Public. To which are added, Remarks on the several attempts that have been made to Invade the British Islands, and an Exposition of Bonaparte's grand project to conquer Great Britain and Ireland ; with Observations on the present Invasion of Hanover.* 4to. pp. 182. Brunswick, 1803. Sold by Buld, London.

THIS work bears decisive marks, both internal and external, of coming from the author of a book reviewed in our seventh Number, under the title of '*Sketches of the Relative Strength, &c. of France and Russia.*'—See No. VII. p. 43. We trace the same unskilful use of the English language ; the same abundance of foreign words and idioms ; the same stubborn and generous attachment to the cause of Great Britain ; the same arrogant and dogmatical manner of speaking ; the same rash, unmeasured way of thinking, in the work now before us, which we attempted to describe as the distinguishing features of the former publication. The outward appearance of both the books is also similar ; they have the same peculiar typography, paper, and size. We have no doubt whatever that they are the works of the same author ; and, in the present performance, we cannot deny, that there is much more to praise than in the '*Sketches of France and Russia.*' The subject seems more familiar to the author ; his calculations are more precise and consistent ; and he seems generally to speak and to estimate from *data* furnished by his own experience. The topics of his inquiry are indeed of much easier investigation ; they form the coarser parts of political economy. The discussion approaches more nearly to matter of fact, and rarely extends beyond obvious inferences from what has been positively asserted.

Yet, when our author deviates into general speculations, and when any controverted points of political science come across him, his natural acuteness, incumbered as it is with many vulgar prejudices, and misled by much thoughtless temerity, is seldom sufficient to direct him in the right path, and to make up for the defects of his philosophical education, or the coarseness of his theoretical views. His name and his nation is still withheld from us; and although he does not always come forward as the source of information, we are persuaded that he has collected almost all his facts himself; and are certainly disposed to suspect, as much as formerly, the accuracy of his observing powers, until he comes forward in person, and avows himself and his means of information. There is, however, one remarkable difference between the authority of the present and of the former publication. In that work we saw him pretending to number and weigh with accuracy what could only be estimated by conjecture, and to exhibit in figures a statement which did not admit of calculation. In the present volume his flight is certainly more moderate; and we scarcely can detect any instance of his stating in round sums, what cannot by its nature be a matter of admeasurement. We are far from saying, that his computations are always just, or even that his *data* are generally drawn from calculations actually instituted. But it is much, that at least they may be true, and that they bear nothing on the face of them which demonstrates their impossibility.

For the rest, we regard the whole subject comprised in this volume as extremely important, and at no time more nearly interesting to Great Britain and other maritime powers, than at the present crisis of European affairs. The author's statements, if accurate, are very valuable; and some of the most weighty of his narratives of facts are to all appearance well grounded. The points discussed will afford us an occasion of making some observations not touched upon in the work before us, and of entering into several interesting questions, which have long been either neglected, or incumbered with serious errors. We delight in every opportunity that is afforded us of entering upon such subjects, and are always glad to bring before our readers, as often as the actual progress of literature will permit, the topics connected with the most dignified and manly and practical of the sciences. ‘*Jam vero de legibus instituendis, de bello, de pace, de sociis, de vectigalibus, de jure civium, generatim in ordines ætatesque descripto.*—*Hæc una res in omni libero populo maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus præcipue semper floruit semperque dominata est. Quid enim est aut tam admirabile quàm ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum qui id quod omnibus natura sit datum,*

datum, vel solus vel cum paucis facere possit? Aut tam potens tamque magnificum quam populi motus, judicum religiones, senatus gravitatem unius oratione converti? Quid porro tam regium, tam liberale, tam munificum quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate? Quamobrem quis hoc non jure miretur, summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut quo uno homines maxime bestiis prææstent, in hoc hominibus ipsis antecellat? Ut vero jam ad illa summa veniamus quæ vis alia potuit, aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere; aut jam constitutis civitatibus leges, judicia, jura describere? Cicero.

The 'Introduction' contains a few notices of the contents of this volume, with many unconnected remarks on the superior importance of agricultural wealth, the total mismanagement of affairs in this country, and the evil dispositions of its inhabitants. We were particularly struck with the groundless asperity and folly of the declamation which occurs in this part of the book. It is to this chiefly that we shall advert in the present stage of our examination; the other remarks will find ample exemplification afterwards. Will it be credited that a staunch friend of Great Britain could entertain so vile an opinion of our national character as the following passage presents?

'When I reflect upon the diversity of interest that pervades civil society in general, upon the prejudices that divide the opinions of the several orders of men in every country, and upon that universal indifference for the public weal which *office, commerce and wealth*, have introduced into Great Britain in particular, I must frankly avow, that my hopes of seeing any thing like what I have here recommended realized, are very feeble indeed. As if a malignant genius possessed the minds of men in this quarter of the globe, rather than second the views of their legitimate Sovereign, to improve the property of the nation, and strengthen the powers of the state, they bluster about privilege and prerogative, and fight about formality and place, until a marauding banditti knock at the door! Then they vie with one another in cowardice, and either basely surrender their country, or desert both country, king and property! To quote examples here is unfortunately not necessary; the weekly newspapers furnish us with abundance! p. xvii, xviii.

Thus does a nation become dastardly and profligate, however ardent its loyalty, if it cherishes any spark of that constitutional spirit, without which loyalty is only base submission to arbitrary power; however magnanimous its exertions against the enemy, if those efforts are not made in the precise time pointed out by this 'planner of national improvement;' however lofty its temper, and exalted its ambition after solid glory, if it sagely rejects, without full discussion, the schemes of every visionary who dreams that he was born to sway the resources of empires!—

But the praises of this rash and presumptuous personage are as unmeasured as his censures. How astonished must Arthur Young be, and how much more astonished his readers, to find, in p. xvii, that any one volume of his works is of more real use to mankind than all those cart-loads of Voltaire, D'Alemberts, Diderots and Rousseaus, which inundate the world !' As a specimen of his rage against some institutions, and his heedless, headlong style of innovating, we may notice his railing invective against the poor-laws, and his proposal for their unqualified and immediate abolition. This, he thinks, is the way to prevent for ever the existence of poor persons ; and truly, in his antipathy at this unhappy class, our author appears to forget the common language and feelings of humanity. What watch-dog ever snarled or barked more irrationally at a beggar than the ' planner ' does in the following scurrilous and abusive rhapsody ?

' We have created a new cast of idlers who are much more nauseous in society, a thousand times more expensive, and a million of times more detrimental to the state, than either of the former ; I mean the poor. The enormous sums expended upon this pestiferous crew, we call British munificence ;---a perverted term ! If we persist in this sort of munificence, we shall dry up the generous source from whence it flows ! I have travelled Europe over and over to look for poor ; but I never saw any in misery and distress, except where the doctrines of Jacobinical philanthropy had already been published and received. Abolish alms, offer wholesome food for useful labour, and if there be a rotten part in the state it will soon amend. To feed the community with the fetid juice of putrid bones, is to corrupt the very soul of the monarchy.'

This is downright nonsense. But there is one just exclamation in it, when he calls it a perversion of language to denominate the support of the poor '*British munificence*;' for the money given to them, by levy of rates, is no more munificence, than the money given to the treasury by levy of excise and customs. It is to equalize the necessary burdens of maintaining the helpless poor, and expressly to prevent our having recourse to so capricious a source of supply as munificence, that a poor-rate was contrived. The whole introduction is written in this grumbling, insolent style. It is the effusion of a man who sees, in every ruler, a necessary foe to improvement—who is haunted by the terror of all administrations, and cabinets, and public bodies whatever—who believes that every member of every government has conspired against any possible scheme, provided its tendency is obviously for the public good, and its powers of action sufficiently strong. In every other respect, he resembles his brethren of the projecting tribe ; but in this one he is quite singular ; he is confident only that his plans are never to be listened to—

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he is sanguine only in his expectations of public folly and ruin. This is one of the turns which the deranged intellect oftentimes takes. One man believes himself fated to eternal perdition, as the scape-goat of the animated creation from the beginning of time. Another imagines that against him alone all the efforts of mankind are turned, in active and unanimous conspiracy. A third believes himself deserted by his best and nearest friends: And in like manner our author goes on scheming and reasoning, with the unabating certainty that he is perfectly right, and solely right; but with an equal certainty, that no one is ever to attend to his arguments, and that all his projects are doomed to utter neglect and oblivion, merely because their tendency is unquestionably beneficial, and their efficacy an affair of absolute demonstration.

The 'plan for the encouragement of the British fisheries,' is preceded by a scheme, supported by many reasonings, for the general improvement of the united kingdom. We differ from our author principally in this part of his speculations; and as his errors are of a very popular cast, we shall stop to expose them with some fulness:

It is the fundamental doctrine of our author, that all wealth is insecure, and comparatively to be undervalued, which is derived from any other source than agriculture, including in this class fisheries and mines. As soon as the mercantile capital of any nation exceeds a certain proportion, he conceives the situation of the country to be dangerous, and its prospects gloomy. Virtue he views as the especial inheritance of those who till the soil, and feed flocks with its produce. They are the class most industrious, as well as most under moral restraint: they are more attached to their country, and the best subjects, as well as the warmest patriots. Merchants, tradesmen, and artizans, can shift from place to place, and find a country any where. They are riotous in their wealth, dastardly in the hour of danger, and discontented in poverty. An agricultural community is best adapted to support its government by a large revenue. The wealth or the income derived from commerce is insecure. A war may at once annihilate it, at the very moment when the public wants require its extension. A revenue derived from land is placed beyond the chances of war, and the power of the enemy's attacks. It furnishes at all times a sure fund of taxation; and the state whose wealth consists in such a fund, can always rely on its revenue meeting the exigencies of its affairs.

Applied to colonial possessions, our author deems his doctrines peculiarly striking. They can never be securely the property of what he calls the '*metropole*.' A rupture with their inhabit-

ants is one chance of losing them entirely. Hostilities with foreign powers present another, and a more frequent risk of the same calamity. But our author goes even farther than this. He maintains, throughout his whole speculations, that no nation can be really wealthy, which is inhabited by persons engaged in the manufacture or carriage of articles of luxury. He repeatedly talks with sovereign contempt of all such artizans. He bewails the wretched perversion of judgment which uniformly ranks merchants and tradesmen, nay, 'merchant-clerks, counterkeepers, and even livery servants, customhouse and excise officers,' before 'the honest ploughman,' and 'the husbandman after his horse.' p. 41. 44. He expresses an unqualified contempt for a revenue derived from sugar and tobacco; and of a 'state propped upon the consumption of *eau hyptique, rouge de rose, tooth-powder,* and other such *items*;' unmindful of the hint given by the Roman Emperor to his son, when he objected to a certain unsavoury impost. In short, he seems uniformly to consider the soil as the only respectable and secure source either of public or private revenue; and to appreciate the utility of profits by the dignity of the occupations from which they are drawn. But, that we may not be suspected of overstating the author's doctrine, we shall lay an exposition of it before our readers in his own words.

In the pursuit of trade and Manufactures, Great Britain has neglected that medium or proportion which ought to have been maintained between that part of the community employed in agriculture and that employed in other occupations. In countries where there are but few consumers detached from the soil, agriculture almost stands at a given degree of improvement, or it makes but slow progress towards perfection. Where manufactures and trade, or the allurements of immediate gain, draw a disproportion of the population and moveable capital from rural industry, there agriculture will also languish; and although trading towns may increase, population will inevitably diminish. Great cities and manufactures are drains upon population, which nothing but a high improved agriculture can support. To balance the moral evils that are inevitable attendants on crowded communities, it is absolutely necessary to make these subservient to such internal improvement as may maintain health, vigour, and plenty in the nation. In Great Britain, this has been shamefully neglected; to commerce, we have offered up the most valuable attributes of an independent nation, viz. the elements of population, public spirit, and (I am sorry to say it) the invincibility of the state.

'In all countries, the abundance or deficiency of the necessaries of life determines the population. Where corn is cultivated and grows, political restraints and civil or municipal oppression may interrupt the progression, but cannot prevent the increase of men; where agriculture is neglected, the trade and gold of both the Indies will not prevent their degeneration. Holland and the Hanseatic Towns make no fair exception

exception to this assertion : as they depend on their neighbours for food, so they likewise do for their political existence. It is high time that the British Legislature should adopt efficacious measures to make the consumption of our great towns, manufactures, and sea-ports, stimulate the exploration of our own waste and ill-cultivated lands : That consumption has too long fattened corn factors and the fields of foreigners p. 16---18.

---' A country well stored with ploughmen will make a strong resistance. A very great proportion of our manufactures derive their value from fancy ; a *mode-influenza* may at any time reduce an immense property to nothing, lay idle some hundred thousand hands, interrupt the industry of the nation, and embarrass the finances of the state. Raw products bear, in all countries and under all circumstances, a real value ; and so doth the produce of useful labour. To estimate fairly the national profits arising from our annual trade, it is necessary to investigate whether or not every man, and every guinea employed in it, be employed to as much national advantage as they can possibly be ; drawing at the same time a clear distinction between the temporary or transient gains of individuals, and the solid benefits accruing to the state.

' Ships, docks, canals, roads, and spacious buildings, shew that a country either is, or has been rich ; but they are not in themselves sufficient security for the stability and permanent prosperity of a nation. As far as history leads us back, the annals of all the commercial states that have gone before us, are melancholy demonstrations of this fact ; and we have the wrecks of Holland in our view !

' The history of states merely commercial, resembles the story of a man getting drunk---his spirits rise with every glass, until his head upset his heels.' p. 34. 35.

To the greater part of these principles, as well as to the reasonings founded upon them, we find it impossible to assent ; and shall now briefly state our fundamental objections.

It appears to us eminently false, to ascribe greater dignity to any one mechanical profession, any one branch of the subdivided labour of the community, than to another. If the husbandman is not permitted to pay undivided attention to his agricultural occupation, by that arrangement of civilized society which gives him the assistance of the other labourers, he must distract his attention by performing parts of those other tasks. Instead of confining his attention to sowing and reaping, (those vocations to which our author assigns so much dignity and innocence), he must pollute and degrade himself by becoming an artizan, a maker of trinkets, a servant, an exciseman. It is obvious, that all these professions work together as parts of the same machine. The gains of the one are honourable, in the same proportion in which the gains of the other are so. The end of each, in its particular department,

department, is the same—to promote the comfort and happiness of the whole. To describe one as less dignified than another, is an injurious abuse of language.

But the advantages derived from all these departments are also equally *secure* to the community and to the individuals who fill them; and it should be remarked, that they are secure exactly in proportion to the security of the gains derived from agriculture. If the husbandman neither manufactures his dress and furniture, nor prepares his luxuries, he must raise grain for the support of his weaver, joiner, and grocer. They are fed by his labour only in proportion as he is clothed, and lodged, and pleased by theirs. The wealth of the nation results from their joint labours; it consists in the aggregate produce of their whole exertions; and the part which supplies comforts and luxuries, is as much opulence and as much under human controul, as the portion which furnishes articles of the first necessity.

In like manner, if we find a community employed exclusively or principally in arts and manufactures, and supplied from abroad with articles of prime necessity, we may remark, that this is exactly the same case of the division of employments; it is only applied to the great community of human society, instead of the contracted circle of one nation; or it is applied to a collection of separate countries, instead of being confined to one. Wherever, in short, we find an artizan working, we may be assured there must be a farmer plowing and sowing, either in the same or in some other country, it signifies not which. And if a whole people betake themselves exclusively to manufactures, there must be some other people who confine their attention to husbandry. The artists and burghers of Holland must be fed by the peasantry of Poland; and if the latter cease to till the ground, the former will cease to circulate among them its manufactured produce. In like manner, if the Dutch cease to employ themselves in arts and traffic, the Poles must cease to cultivate so much of their soil, and must betake themselves to arts and commerce. To denominate the one nation dependent on the other, and to describe its wealth as comparatively insecure, is justified by no principle of political reasoning whatever.

But there are casualties in trade. Vessels may be lost at sea. fires may consume manufactories and warehouses: And agriculture alone, according to our author, furnishes a solid basis to national prosperity. Now, is not every thing human subject to accident? Is agriculture alone exempt from the general tenure? Is the labour of the farmer never the sport of times and chances; of droughts, and floods, and mildews; of sickness among cattle; tempests

tempests and fires to destroy houses and barns? These are his chances. It is beyond all calculation, indeed, that they should, in the main, affect the general prosperity, by ruining his harvest; and it is also beyond all calculation, that shipwreck should destroy the national commerce and manufactures. A war may indeed injure trade, and an enemy may ravage the country: but the vessels captured may be laden with agricultural, as well as with manufactured produce; and the hostilities may thus affect the husbandman as well as the artizan and merchant. We are therefore reduced to this dilemma,—either we must organize a state, so as to divide its capital and labour into all the requisite branches, and make it a complete whole within itself (which implies the existence of many occupations besides agriculture); or we must admit that the farmer, as well as the artizan and trader, may be affected by the casualties of war, in the very moment in which manufactures and commerce are suffering. Besides, if there be any truth in the foregoing statements, the hostile powers cannot injure each other's commerce with impunity; for if the agriculture of the one was previously calculated, upon the supposition that its market lay in the other (which is necessarily a part of the question), it is a poor advantage to ruin its own customer, and destroy the equivalent that must be paid for its goods. Indeed, we find that this view is so clear and direct, that it influences the mutual proceedings of all contending powers, and reduces to a very trifle the real effects of war upon trade.

It has been still more usual to view colonial trade as an insecure source of wealth. But it should be remembered, that, according to the modern and extensive system of colonization, the traffic between a mother country and her colonies, is exactly in the same predicament with the traffic between a farming and a commercial district; in other words, the colony trade is the carriage of agricultural produce to market. If, then, we talk of insecurity, we must apply the term to this branch of agriculture; and then the question comes to be, Whether a compact or a scattered agricultural territory is most secure? a question which obviously admits of but one answer; though it by no means follows from its decision, that no territory should be cultivated that is not of the very best form and dimensions. It ought never to be forgotten either, that this trade creates its own security, by raising up the species of force calculated to defend straggling possessions. It is the great nursery of seamen, and creator of fleets; and it furnishes the points from which a maritime enemy can best be attacked for our own security and defence. Nor can we figure the grounds on which our author,

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who is the most strenuous advocate of fisheries, and goes farther than all his predecessors in recommending their encouragement, should object to that colonial system, which is composed of a commerce the most nearly allied to the fishing concerns, in all its principles and effects, and of territorial possessions, the most essentially necessary to the progress and security of the fisheries themselves.

A theory still more trite than the preceding, has led some political reasoners, and our author among the rest, to maintain, that a numerous peasantry is the only sure and safe defence of a great country. This doctrine has found multitudes of converts among retailers of sentiment, as well as speculative inquirers. The peasantry, by long usage, has acquired such a firm possession of the titles '*virtuous*,' '*hardy*,' '*spirited*,' '*freeborn*,' and the like, that we almost forget that there can exist in any other class of men, either worth, strength, valour, or freedom; and never reflect that, while the most eminent instances of slavery are to be found in myriads of bondsmen, (the only name for peasants in most countries of Europe), the progress of freedom has uniformly been coeval with the multiplication of the other orders of the community. To render the cultivators of the soil still more *interesting*, they are termed '*simple*,' '*natural*,' '*happy*,' '*ignorant*,' and so forth. Most of the arguments, or rather rhapsodies, in favour of barbarism (what is called the *rude state of society*) are brought to bear upon this view of the question. Every opprobrious epithet is flung upon the artizan in his various capacities, of an inhabitant of towns, a consumer of spirits and other luxuries, a well educated and civilized person. He is sickly, and weak and ugly, and puny and dissipated, and seditious and sedentary, and perhaps a taylor. The aid of poetry has not been wanting; and inferences have actually been founded upon the most splendid and exquisite piece of Roman versification—Virgil's famous panegyric on the happy repose of rustic life. To us, however, notwithstanding all this eloquence, sentiment, and authority, it does appear that the plain facts lie wholly and unequivocally in the opposite scale. If the bodily strength of artizans is less than that of ploughmen, they possess, in a much greater degree, that manual dexterity and skill, so necessary in the evolutions, especially of modern war; their health, impaired perhaps by sedentary labour, is speedily restored by the exertions of discipline, and the practice of the field. Modern warfare consists in reducing men to a state of great mechanical activity, and combining them as parts of a great machine. For this use, which of the two is most fitted by his previous habits—he who has been all his life acting the part of a mechanical imple-

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ment in a combination of movements—or he who has been constantly employed as a thinking, independent, separate, and insulated agent? Obedience is the first requisite in a soldier; and for his pay, he must give up every faculty of body and mind to the will of another. Is such discipline enforced more easily on those who have roamed the woods, and spent their days in a vaunted freedom and self-controul, or in those who have never known the use of their natural independence, but have lived and worked, and almost breathed, at the will of their employers? It must also be remembered, that of all troops, the most expensive are those levied from agricultural occupations; that artizans are naturally thrown idle by every war, but cultivators must work constantly, otherwise the community will starve; that the peasantry can only be drawn into military service during certain seasons of the year, and that hired troops, naturally composed of manufacturers, can be retained in service all the year round. It is, however, a favourite topic with our author, that a militia should defend every country. His opinions on this point coincide indeed with the ordinary, we fear the practical tenets of the day; and we rejoice in having the present opportunity of urging our reasons in opposition to principles of policy, so eminently fatal, in all their consequences, to the wealth, the safety, and the aggrandizement of the country. The doctrine, unfortunately too prevalent in these times, is thus stated with considerable accuracy by our author; who, it must be remarked, in the outset, does not object to standing armies, and has no sort of antipathy, on constitutional grounds, to the most extensive and regularly organized military establishments, on the most permanent footing.

* The proprietors of the soil are the order in the society that have the most immediate and real interest in the permanent prosperity of the state. They and the cultivators are those most attached to their country. These men are the natural supporters of the monarchy; they are its hereditary guardians; and their rank should be at the head of the community. From amongst the proprietors and cultivators, the military force of the empire should be composed; the public functions of the state are their legal patrimony.

* The militia, instead of being made up of men of all descriptions, some entrapped by stratagem, others compelled by force, or enlisted for the paltry consideration of a few guineas, should be a voluntary chosen band, raised among those who have families to honour, manly affections to gratify, and who have a country to serve. They should be the guard of the nation, the source of the army, and an honourable retreat from the toils of active service. That is, the militia should be an establishment in which every honest Briton would be proud to serve, and in the bosom of which every meritorious soldier returning from the service of his country should find an ample subsistence for life.' p. 44---46.

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The objections to the militia system, in all its modifications, whether as an ultimate object, or as a nursery for the more regular forces, are radical and peremptory.

Militia troops are infinitely less valuable for all the purposes of actual warfare, particularly offensive operations, than regularly raised and disciplined troops, even if the expences of procuring both kinds of force were exactly equal. They are composed of men taken in general from a line of life to which they are naturally attached, and thrown compulsorily into one which they abhor. They are limited in their operations and discipline, by the manifest superiority of the regulars, and the preference universally given to them—by the term of their service, and by the boundaries within which it is confined. The limitation of the time for which they serve is peculiarly fatal to the acquisition of military habits and a state of correct discipline, inasmuch as men must always apply themselves to that line of exertion which they are forced to enter for a time, with very little ardour and anxiety.

But the expence of raising such troops is enormous to the prosperity and wealth of the community. In every populous and wealthy country, there is a certain mass of the inhabitants whose circumstances are uncomfortable; whose fortunes are precarious; who are attached to no regular profession, but ready to shift about, in order to answer any temporary demand for labour that may occur, or to supply any blank in the other bodies, which may leave a vacancy in the ordinary channels of industry. This class of the community is in every respect the least valuable. Its members are persons of bad character and idle habits—men who generally owe their misfortunes to their follies or their vices, or who are driven, by more inevitable calamities, into idle and criminal habits. They are a congeries of outcasts from the sound branches of the population, and have a tendency to corrupt the rest of its members; they are the scum and offscourings of society, or those parts which are, from being thrown off, in a progress towards this impure and noxious state. Their numbers are continually varying with all the changes in the fortunes of the society—with the wisdom of its internal administration—the encouragements which its police affords to industry or to idleness—the changes in its domestic prosperity, and in its external security and power. They scarcely exist at all in a country purely agricultural, in one like America, for example, where the abundance of good land, and the constant demands for labour, give every man the choice of being either a proprietor of stock, or a possessor of revenue. They abound in commercial and manufacturing communities, and are chiefly to be met with in districts which supply the more capricious desires of mankind, and are most liable to sudden variations of demand. In an overpeopled and overtrading country,

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they are always numerous ; and the miseries they occasion should reconcile a poorer territory to various lesser hardships in its circumstances. Every sudden change from peace to war, multiplies the numbers of this class. The loss of foreign territories and of contiguous provinces, or of colonial establishments, has the same effect, in a similar degree.

Now, the natural destination of this class of men seems to be, the naval and military service of the state. Discipline will excite industry, or at least exertion, in those whom habits of idleness had rendered callous to all the temptations of hire. Strict government will reform the manners, or at least restrain the conduct, of those whom a life of lawless dissipation had corrupted. It is highly beneficial to the sounder parts of the community, that such rotten members should be at least separated from contact with the rest, if they cannot be cured by a strongly alterative regimen. Above all, it is highly beneficial to the state, that its pressing demands for soldiers and sailors should be supplied easily and suddenly, without disturbing, in the slightest degree, the arrangements of the community. War thus creates the very means of supplying its demands, without convulsion or derangement of the society. It furnishes men to the army and navy, without disturbing the loom and the plough, or drying up the sources of national wealth, from which its expences are to be provided. It carries off the bad humours formerly secreted in the body-politic, without any danger from their contagious influence, to the sounder parts of the system.

Hence we may infer, that in a country wholly agricultural, and thinly peopled in proportion to its natural resources—one where land is plentiful, and labour uniformly bears a monopoly price—where, of consequence, the floating or shifting mass of population above described does not exist—militia troops are naturally the most safe and æconomical mode of national defence. War is most to be dreaded, and offensive hostilities constantly to be avoided. In commercial, well-peopled, luxurious, and manufacturing countries, where the competition exists among labourers, and not among capitalists—where, of consequence, there is always a large and a noxious mass of shifting population secreted, varying in size with the circumstances of the community, and increased by the necessary operations of warfare—in such a state, the recruiting of the regular army should always be preferred to the raising of militia forces. War is there less dangerous ; and offensive measures of hostility are generally much more safe than operations of a defensive nature at home. All this is extremely clear, if we reflect that a militia, being raised compulsorily from all the orders of the community alike, is formed of the sound as well as of the floating

floating population, and consists of the industrious labourer, as well as of the idle and profligate vagrant. An army so raised takes away both that part of the people which should remain at their looms and ploughs, and that part which ought to be enlisted or impressed. It confounds, in one indiscriminate levy, the persons least fitted for military pursuits, and those who are formed for the army by all their previous habits. It falls alike on those who are benefited, and those who are ruined, by the change of life, and drains those parts of the country where no fit subjects are to be found, as well as those which abound in materials for the recruiting service. The regular army, recruited by voluntary enlistment, draws off precisely those who ought to enter, and leaves all those free who can be better employed as citizens than as soldiers. It is supplied by the districts where a floating population abounds, and does not grow at the expence of those which are full of industry and morals. It is supplied by the very circumstances which render its existence necessary; and, instead of greatly aggravating, it eminently alleviates, the evils of a state of warfare.

The benefits of this system in military policy, are exactly analogous to those of the funding system in finance. The practice of raising money by loan enables capital to find an investment when it is shut out from all the ordinary channels of employment, and gives the state the benefit of sudden assistance, without cramping the commerce which the war may still allow to exist in the country. It forces nothing; it avails itself of circumstances; it turns an evil into a benefit; and prevents the shocks of war from falling on the most delicate parts of the political machine.

But, admitting that the expence, that is, the loss attendant upon the two systems of raising troops, were precisely equal, they fall, it is evident, with very different degrees of justice upon the community. While the army can be recruited at the proportioned expence of the whole nation, the militia must be raised from the poorer classes, as rigorously as from the rich; so that a man not paying taxes at all, a pauper, is liable to pay as much, or to be as much harassed, for the public defence, as one who has 100,000*l.* a year. It has therefore all the evils of a poll-tax. Nay, more: on the rich it falls as a tax which they can easily pay; on the poor it falls as a compulsory levy of personal service. On the rich it operates as a light fine; on the poor as imprisonment, hard labour, or exile. Last of all, it falls on each rank of society by lot. It is therefore a burthen imposed on all orders with equal severity; or rather it is a burthen imposed with most severity on those least able to bear the load; and it falls not equally on every person in the same class, but on individuals chosen
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by hazard to bear the whole. It is, at least, as absurd to defend the country in this equal manner, without regard to means, and to the stake which each subject has in its preservation, as it would be to make every man pay an equal income-tax, whether he be rich or poor. To let the burthen fall indifferently on various classes, is as unjust as it would be to make all the wealthy orders pay a trifling contribution, and force all the poor to be servants of the public. To determine by lot who shall be affected by the burthen, is as palpable a blunder in taxation, as it would be to cast lots for the individuals who should pay the whole taxes of the country, and to give every man the same chance of paying the same enormous sums, whatever be his means or his interest in the fate of the nation. Such are the two systems of militia and regular service; and it is our astonishment, that in this enlightened country, even an old constitutional prejudice, derived from times utterly opposite to the present, has been able to blind the wisest persons of the nation, so far as to extend, instead of abolishing, a scheme so palpably absurd and ruinous as the militia law. The author of the book now before us, with many enlightened ideas on the subject of regular armaments, is tinctured with some of the worst of these errors, which have rooted a love of the militia system in the minds of Englishmen; and it was of the more consequence to expose his mistakes, that he defends them on grounds considerably less absurd, than those foolish declamatory notions of the danger to liberty, which are generally blazoned forth for the attack of the regular recruiting system. We now proceed to the plans contained in this speculative volume, beginning with that which we think most exceptionable—the agricultural scheme propounded in the remaining part of the Introduction.

It is the fundamental principle of this author, that there ought always to be a certain proportion between the agricultural and the other branches of industry in every state. He maintains that, in Great Britain, this proportion does not prevail; but that, on the contrary, the husbandry of the country is below its due amount; and he argues from these premises, (as may be expected in a theory which undervalues all occupations except agriculture), that it is the indispensable duty of the government to interfere for the safety of the state, and to afford such positive encouragement, as, without hampering the natural liberty of the subject, may restore the right proportion between the kinds of industry. Now, certainly, if the fundamental position be conceded, all this follows of course. For no one can deny, that if the security of the community demands such a distribution as is thus alluded to, and if there is no natural provision in the wants and desires of
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men, sufficiently powerful constantly to maintain the necessary equilibrium, a case is made out, which calls for the interposition of a superintending power. But we utterly deny the truth of the first principle. We cannot imagine how any thing else than an obvious logical error could have led our author to suppose that there is such a natural proportion as he talks of. It is clear that he reasons in a circle, in order to arrive at this conclusion; for how can any proportion be natural, but that which we find to result, in point of fact, from the collision of human passions, interests, and prudential views? Those principles naturally tend to preserve exactly that *ratio*, between the different employments of stock and labour, which the gratification of our wants and the supply of our enjoyments requires. Left to itself, every community will naturally and certainly grow as much corn, and breed as many cattle, as the demands of its members for bread and butchers'-meat, require. It will manufacture as many articles of luxury as the price of foreign goods and the circumstances of its members excite and enable it to work up. It will import as many articles of necessary comfort and enjoyment, as the cheapness of foreign countries and the wealth of its members allow. To invert the proportions thus established, is the greatest danger to which the society can be exposed. Such interference alone can destroy the due and safe proportion of agricultural to manufacturing and commercial pursuits. Such undue encouragements alone can derange that vast and complicated machine, whose parts are naturally balanced in the nicest adjustment; whose operations, if left to the controul of human wisdom and foresight, could not subsist for one instant in their necessary vigour; whose arrangement is only to be preserved, by allowing free scope to the master-principle of individual interest--the power which connects and maintains the whole system, as gravitation regulates the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Such being our opinion as to the postulate on which our author's schemes are built, it is of infinitely less consequence to inquire into the merits of the details. We shall only sketch the plans, and offer a single remark on their organization. He recommends that a national Board of Agriculture be established under the patronage of the King; that it consist of two colleges; the one under the presidency of the Prince of Wales, with a vice-president, who shall be a peer, and its members the hereditary nobility; the other under an elective president, and composed of hereditary landholders, possessing a certain rental. The first college is to be indivisible, and to sit in the metropolis; the other is to consist of sub-departments, one in each country. The Board (or rather, we should apprehend, the first college, for we cannot

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see how the departments are to act jointly) is to have most extensive powers, and high honorary, as well as substantial privileges. It is first to compile a general *cadastre*, somewhat in the style of our old *doomsday-book*, and from thence to judge how far the labour and capital of the nation are judiciously vested; what waste lands need to be enclosed; what rivers to be embanked, or rendered navigable; what parts to be defended from the sea; what districts to be furnished with roads, canals, and bridges:—So extensive are the duties of this body. Having ascertained what the agriculture of the country requires, the Board is then to set immediately about performing the work, by raising as much money as the above purposes may require, and superintending its immediate expenditure; and our author sketches out the method in which he imagines the Board might devise its imports:—So prodigious are the powers of this body.

Thus, according to our author's strange plan, the whole improvements, in fact the whole rural economy, of the country, and, we may say, every branch of agricultural industry, as well as all public works even remotely influencing cultivation, are to be placed at the absolute disposal of a board of hereditary landed proprietors, utterly uncontrouled by the Legislature, and scarcely subject (if we rightly comprehend the provision of p. 31.) to the jurisprudence of the State. This new tribunal is to levy taxes at its own discretion to an enormous amount, in fact to any amount it may please to name, and then to expend the produce of the imposts as it may think proper. If its powers do not altogether overawe the whole Legislature of the State, it must be admitted that they at least render it quite independent of every other constituted authority, and make it a substitute for the Parliament in the most important of all the legislative functions. Besides, although from the constitution of the Board, its authorities cannot bear hard or unequally upon the greater landed proprietors, yet it is clear that the Board is a landed aristocracy, and destroys the very idea of independence in the inferior proprietors. But, admitting that all proprietors of land had an influence in its management, still it would subject the manufacturing and commercial interests of this great trading country, as well as the large class of annuitants who have no capital, including all mortgagees, to the controul of the landed interest. For the only circumstance in which the proposed board differs from the present Parliament is, that it consists entirely of landholders and nobles; and is formed, not by representation and election, but by the admission of every proprietor of a large estate to act in his own person. These considerations are of themselves sufficient to condemn, from the beginning to the end, the whole of this preposterous system, and

to preclude the necessity of urging any more of the reasons which immediately suggest themselves in unlimited abundance against the principles, as well as the details of a scheme, the wildest and least consistent that ever was sketched out by the heated fancy of a projector.

We now proceed, with greater brevity, to consider the plans proposed by our author, relative to the improvement of the fisheries. Although we are far from agreeing with him in his practical expedients on this branch of his subject, we have no hesitation in affirming, that it contains much valuable information on a topic highly important, and too generally neglected; and that it offers several very useful hints on the extension of a most fertile branch of our national resources.

Our author introduces his discussion of the fisheries, by various statements of detail, illustrating the immense importance of this branch of industry, as a source of solid and increasing wealth. He enlarges upon the benefits derived from it by the Scandinavian nations in early times, and more especially by the Dutch, whose northern fishery maintained a hundred and fifty thousand tons, or from eight hundred to twelve hundred decked vessels, and brought in a clear sum equal to 6,000,000*l.* Sterling in the present day. He then traces the gradual decline of this branch of industry. This began first in Scandinavia, chiefly from the political circumstances of the rival powers, as, *e. g.* the long wars which grew out of the Convention of Calmar. At present, though Denmark possesses every facility for engaging in the fisheries, both in point of territory, skill, population, and shipping; yet her whole exportation of fish during the last fifty years, has not exceeded the average of 120,000*l.* Sterling. The decline of the Dutch fisheries, our author ascribes to the insecurity of the capital and industry vested in them, in consequence of the inferiority of the Dutch navy, and the maritime power and rival claims of England; at any rate, the fact is certain, that though the quantity, as well as the courses of the fish remain the same, Holland does not now employ, on an average of forty years of peace, one fifth of the tonnage which she formerly engaged in this line of industry, and scarcely takes and cures enough for her own internal consumption of the article.

We are next presented with some details, illustrating very strongly the facility with which England might enter into the line abandoned by the Danes, Swedes, and Dutch. These proofs consist in the statement of the immense quantities of the fish, and the ease with which a supply to a very large amount might find a good and near market. Our author estimates, from the consumption of Holland, that Austria, Russia,

sia, and Poland, could take off nearly 3,000,000 of barrels, and would certainly be tempted to buy as many, if they were furnished in sufficient excellence and cheapness. On this estimate, we have to remark in passing, that it obviously proceeds upon the assumption of a doubtful, we are disposed to think, a false position, that the natives of those countries would suddenly become enabled to pay for articles of some cost, and of mere luxury. It would be no small enjoyment for Polish peasantry to exchange their present frugal relish of an onion, or a piece of lean and most cheap meat, for a well cured, fat herring, carried a long sea voyage, and then transported over a considerable tract of country by the worst of roads. The price to be paid for such a supply would be enormous. By our author's own showing, it appears that at the Dutch and Norwegian maritime ports, the salt cod sells at present for three and four pounds a barrel. It is not allowing too much for expence of carriage and freight, to suppose that in Poland and Austria and Russia, the average will be five pounds. So that a sum of fifteen millions Sterling, yearly, must be found in those poor countries, for the expence of purchasing our salt fish. Nay, all this must be raised by the improvement of agriculture in those countries; for they deal entirely in rude produce, so that our agriculture must necessarily suffer, and the fisheries be supported at the expence of our own landed interest and farmers; a thing very inconsistent with the tenor of our author's general principles and agricultural plans. Let it also be remarked, that the fish are to be consumed as a gratification by the lower ranks, so that the increasing wealth of our new customers must be acquired in that very order which is unhappily at all times the least likely to acquire it; and an event must be suddenly anticipated (*viz.* the improvement of the peasant's condition) which is least of all to be expected in feudal and enslaved, inland and uncivilized communities, like Austria, Poland, and Russia.

But, admitting the possibility of procuring such an extensive market as the supply of our augmented fisheries may require, let us hastily survey our author's plan for improving them. He estimates, with great apparent fairness, the expence of obtaining 600,000 barrels of cod-fish at 764,000*l.* Sterling; and 1,500,000 barrels of herring at 1,673,250*l.*; the total tonnage required at 100,000, and the seamen at about 20,000 men and boys. The clear gains would evidently be great. The whale fishery, he estimates at 60,000 tons and 9,500 good seamen, bringing in likewise a large clear profit. So that, according to a moderate computation, there will result from the proposed extension of the three great fisheries, the cod, the herring, and the whale,

an additional tonnage of 160,000, and seamen to the number of about 30,000, besides the gains in produce.

In order to carry into execution these splendid plans, our author, who has always at hand a convenient supply of schemes, details a project of what he calls ‘*A National Corporation for carrying on the British Fisheries.*’ This body is to have stock divided into shares, upon which the public is to guarantee an yearly dividend of five *per cent.* The maritime towns shall all have shares in the stock and administration; the managers shall have the sole and entire administration of the salt required in the fisheries; and the fish caught and cured shall be liable to no revenue duties. Those who have served in it a certain time, shall be entitled to a provision for their widows and families, and, if disabled, to support for themselves. And the managers of the institution shall have certain municipal powers, in order to enforce discipline among their workmen and fishermen.

Although this plan does not embrace the establishment of a monopoly in direct and express terms, it obviously amounts to the very same thing in substance. The grant of privileges; the establishment of perquisites and provisions to the men employed; above all, the guarantee of a high dividend, independent of the success of the fishing and trading operations, and the exclusive management of the salt trade, amount to a complete monopoly of the whole fisheries of Great Britain, and of the traffic in salt and fish. We disapprove entirely of all this, on general principles. The plan has the obvious tendency to draw capital and industry, to an enormous amount, into a channel that would otherwise not be filled in any thing like the same degree. It prescribes a large profit, independent of all exertion or success; and thus encourages, still more, that dilapidation of the funds, which, even without such a great inducement to careless expenditure, is inseparable from the management of company affairs. It checks the growth of seamen and fisheries in the quarters where they are naturally produced in the most convenient and economical manner; and it throws into the hands of a body unconnected with Government, and uncontrolled by Parliament, a sort of *imperium in imperio*, the greatest influence and power of creating jobs. The idea of such an establishment is far from being original. The part of it that relates to a federal union, as it were, of the seaport towns in the common concern, is copied exactly from the organization of the Dutch East India Company; in which, as in the government of the republic, each province and great trading town had a specific and definite share. The general scheme of a corporation for fishing, is accurately sketched in a tract of some ability, containing much information

information on the fisheries, and written for the express purpose of recommending the extension of them in England. It is entitled, 'England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman.' The motto is a text from St Luke's Gospel, chap. v. verse 4.—'Launch out into the deep, and let down your net for a draught.' It was published in 1750, by Cogan in Fleetstreet. We recommend it to such of our readers as value this very interesting branch of national policy. They will find (p. 42. *et seqq.*) a better plan for improving the fisheries than is to be met with in the crude draught now before us. The principle of it is to find employment for the poor, and alleviate the intolerable burthen of the English poor rates. It is, however, liable to a great number of objections, though not to all those fundamental ones which we have urged against the project now under review.

One peculiarity we have already remarked in our author;—he seems, unlike other projectors, to have profited by his individual experience; and his disappointment has increased the natural sourness of his temper towards governments and parliaments. We conclude our strictures upon his scheme, by the following extract, written with no small strength of language, and, we fear, with too much truth of description.

'If we have, during the last century, extended our maritime trade, and increased our manufactures, these have been done by improving the sources we already possessed; for we have made no useful acquisitions; we have expended 500 millions merely to defend what we had; and, in a political sense, we are not at this time so powerful as we were a hundred years ago. Let us now, instead of expending millions upon millions in cultivating the colonies of France and of her dependant, only lay out, upon the best of all security, and on certain interest, that is, upon the improvement of the soil of the United Kingdom, and to extend and improve the British fisheries, only *eight millions Sterling*, and in less than twenty years we shall double the internal strength of the State, and affirm the permanency of the Empire.' p. 121. 122.

'In Great Britain, we have several private works of much use to those towns and corporations for which they have been constructed; but for a nation of our rank, wealth, and commerce, I do not recollect any work that deserves the name of public. A Board of Agriculture and a Fishery Corporation, such as I have proposed, would be great national institutions, and they would soon produce effects that would deserve public consideration.

'A naval port or road-stead at Buchanness, one on the coast of Norfolk, (and a Naval canal from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea), if executed upon a proper scale, would be works of great public utility; especially as the safety of the British Kingdoms now requires that the British navy be provided with harbours or safe road-steads at the head

lands on the east coast of the island such might, in my opinion, be made, by mooring round the anchorage, single, double, or, if necessary, triple lines of floating rafts, well constructed, to ride like our floating lights. It is now upwards of nineteen years since I first mentioned these matters to those charged with the improvement and defence of the country, and I have frequently repeated them. But to offer advice or venture opinion to official men is an ungrateful task: it has been dangerous in more countries than one—" *Periculosum quippe illis temporibus veritas erat, quæ mala Urbi, et Imperiis imminébant.*" *TACIT.* p. 120. 121.

However inimical to governments in the mass, our author is no enemy to princes. The main burthen of his thoughts on Invasion, and his Appendix on the conquest of Hanover, is to praise the British Royal Family. We join with every good subject in the motives and general tenor of those well deserved eulogies; but our respect even for the most exalted of stations, and the most meritorious of characters, will not prevent us from exposing what we conceive to be a bad and awkward compliment, paid at the expence of truth, with mean views and a dangerous tendency. We have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that we do not, in the slightest degree, believe that the enemy would be infinitely gratified by any change of measures which should place the operations of the British army somewhat more immediately under the controul of a military council, formed of the combined talents and experience of the British Staff; and we are still more decided in our disbelief of the silly assertion, contained in p. 135, that 'Bonaparte doth by no means ever wish to break a spear with the *present Commander in Chief.*' This, be it observed, is applied to that illustrious prince personally, and as separated from the British army; and though the author says he knows it from particular sources of information, we cannot help suspecting that he is mistaken. We likewise are sufficiently attached to our country and its constitution, not to sympathize in the sentiment expressed in p. 151, that the duty of the British princes is always to stand between the kingdom and the enemy. Without desiring to see that illustrious body indifferent to the public safety, or inactive in defending our common cause, at this momentous crisis, we do not acknowledge their natural and hereditary right to expose themselves in the breach, and provide for the security of the fortress, to the exclusion of all the talents and gallantry which, from so many other quarters, the British nation can always command.

ART. II. *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson, Author of Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison; selected from the Original Manuscripts bequeathed to his Family. To which are prefixed, a Biographical Account of that Author, and Observations on his Writings.* By Anna Lætitia Barbauld. 6 vol. 8vo. Phillips, London. 1804.

THE public has great reason to be satisfied, we think, with Mrs Barbauld's share in this publication. She has contributed a very well written Introduction; and she has suppressed about twice as many letters as are now presented to our consideration. Favourably as we are disposed to think of all for which she is directly responsible, the perusal of the whole six volumes has fully convinced us that we are even more indebted to her forbearance than to her bounty.

The fair biographer unquestionably possesses very considerable talents, and exercises her powers of writing with singular judgement and propriety. Many of her observations are acute and striking, and several of them very fine and delicate. Yet this is not, perhaps, the general character of her genius; and it must be acknowledged, that she has a tone and manner which is something formal and heavy; that she occasionally delivers trite and obvious truths with the pomp and solemnity of important discoveries, and sometimes attempts to exalt and magnify her subject by a very clumsy kind of declamation. With all those defects, however, we think the *Life and Observations* have so much substantial merit, that most readers will agree with us in thinking that they are worth much more than all the rest of the publication.

She sets off indeed with a sort of formal dissertation upon novels and romances in general; and, after obligingly recapitulating the whole history of this branch of literature, from the *Theagenes* and *Chariclea* of *Heliodorus* to the *Gil Blas* and *Nouvelle Heloise* of the present day, she proceeds to distinguish these performances into three several classes, according to the mode and form of narration adopted by the author. The first, she is pleased to inform us, is the narrative or epic form, in which the whole story is put into the mouth of the author, who is supposed, like the *Muse*, to know every thing, and is not obliged to give any account of the sources of his information; the second is that in which the hero relates his own adventures; and the third is that of epistolary correspondence, where all the agents in the drama successively narrate the incidents in which they are principally concerned. It was with Richardson, Mrs Barbauld then informs us, that this last mode of novel writing originated; and

she enters into a critical examination of its advantages and disadvantages, and of the comparative probability of a person dispatching a narrative of every interesting incident or conversation in his life to his friends by the post, and of his sitting down, after his adventures are concluded, to give a particular account of them to the public. There is something rather childish, we think, in all this investigation; and the problem of comparative probability seems to be stated purely for the pleasure of the solution. No reader was ever disturbed, in the middle of an interesting story, by any scruple about the means or the inducements which the narrator may be presumed to have had for telling it. While he is engaged with the story, such an inquiry never suggests itself; and when it is suggested, he recollects that the whole is a fiction, invented by the author for his amusement, and that the best way of communicating it must be that by which he is the most interested and the least fatigued. To us it appears very obvious, that the first of the three modes, or the author's own narrative, is by far the most eligible; and for this plain reason, that it lays him under much less restraint than either of the other two. He can introduce a letter or a story whenever he finds it convenient, and can make use of the dramatic or conversation style as often as the subject requires it. In epistolary writing, there must be a great deal of repetition and egotism; and we must submit, as on the stage, to the intolerable burden of an insipid confidant, with whose admiration of the hero's epistles the reader may not always be disposed to sympathize. There is one species of novel, indeed, (but only one), to which the epistolary style is peculiarly adapted; that is, the novel, in which the whole interest depends, not upon the adventures, but on the characters of the persons represented, and in which the story is of very subordinate importance, and only serves as an occasion to draw forth the sentiments and feelings of the agents. The *Heloise* of Rousseau may be considered as the model of this species of writing; and Mrs Barbauld certainly overlooked this obvious distinction, when she asserted that the author of that extraordinary work is to be reckoned among the imitators of Richardson. In the *Heloise*, there is scarcely any narrative at all; and the interest may be said to consist altogether in the eloquent expression of fine sentiments and exalted passion. All Richardson's novels, on the other hand, are narrative; and the letters of most of his characters contain little more than a minute journal of the conversations and transactions in which they were successively engaged. The style of Richardson might be perfectly copied, though the epistolary form were to be dropped; but no imitation of the
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Heloise could be recognised, if it were not in the shape of letters.

After finishing her discourse upon Novels, Mrs Barbauld proceeds to lay before her readers some account of the life and performances of Richardson. The biography is very scanty, and contains nothing that can be thought very interesting. He was the son of a joiner in Derbyshire; but always avoided mentioning the town in which he was born. He was intended at first for the church; but his father, finding that the expence of his education would be too heavy, at last bound him apprentice to a printer. He never was acquainted with any language but his own. From his childhood, he was remarkable for invention, and was famous among his schoolfellows for amusing them with tales and stories which he composed extempore, and usually rendered, even at that early age, the vehicle of some useful moral. He was constitutionally shy and bashful; and, instead of mixing with his companions in noisy sports and exercises, he used to read and converse with the sedate part of the other sex, or assist them in the composition of their love-letters. The following passage, extracted by Mrs Barbauld from one of the suppressed letters, is more curious and interesting, we think, than any thing in those that are published.

‘As a bashful and not forward boy, I was an early favourite with all the young women of taste and reading in the neighbourhood. Half a dozen of them, when met to work with their needles, used, when they got a book they liked, and thought I should, to borrow me to read to them; their mothers sometimes with them; and both mothers and daughters used to be pleased with the observations they put me upon making.

‘I was not more than thirteen, when three of these young women, unknown to each other, having an high opinion of my taciturnity, revealed to me their love-secrets, in order to induce me to give them copies to write after, or correct for answers to their lover’s letters; nor did any of them ever know that I was the secretary to the others. I have been directed to chide, and even to repulse, when an offence was either taken or given, at the very time that the heart of the chider or repulser was open before me, overflowing with esteem and affection; and the fair repulser, dreading to be taken at her word, directing *this* word, or *that* expression, to be softened or changed. One highly gratified with her lover’s fervour and vows of everlasting love, has said, when I have asked her direction,—I cannot tell you what to write; but (her heart on her lips) you cannot write too kindly. All her fear was only, that she should incur slight for her kindness.’ Vol. I. Introduction, p. xxxix. xl.

We add Mrs Barbauld’s observation on this passage, for the truth of the sentiment it contains, though more inelegantly written.

ten than any other sentence in her performance.

‘ Human nature is human nature in every class ; the hopes and the fears, the perplexities and the struggles, of these low-bred girls in probably an obscure village, supplied the future author with those ideas which, by their gradual developement, produced the characters of a *Clarissa* and a *Clementina* ; nor was he probably happier, or amused in a more lively manner, when sitting in his grotto, with a circle of the best informed women in England about him, who, in after times, courted his society, than in reading to these girls in, it may be, a little back-shop, or a mantuamaker’s parlour, with a brick-floor p. xl. xli.

During his apprenticeship, he distinguished himself only by exemplary diligence and fidelity ; though he informs us, that he even then enjoyed the correspondence of a gentleman of great accomplishments, from whose patronage, if he had lived, he entertained the highest expectations. The rest of his worldly history seems to have been pretty nearly that of Hogarth’s virtuous apprentice. He married his master’s daughter, and succeeded to his business ; extended his wealth and credit by sobriety, punctuality, and integrity ; bought a residence in the country ; and though he did not attain to the supreme dignity of Lord Mayor of London, arrived in due time at the respectable situation of Master of the Worshipful Company of Stationers. In this course of obscure prosperity, he appears to have continued till he had passed his fiftieth year, without giving any intimation of his future celebrity, and even without appearing to be conscious that he was differently gifted from the other flourishing traders of the metropolis. He says of himself, we observe, in one of these letters:—‘ My business, till within these few years, filled all my time, I had no leisure ; nor, being unable to write by a regular plan, knew I that I had so much invention, till I almost accidentally slid into the writing of *Pamela*. And besides, little did I imagine that any thing I could write would be so kindly received by the world.’ The commencement of his literary career is announced by Mrs Barbauld, in the following magnificent period, with a pomp and solemnity so extremely unsuitable to the occasion, as to give the whole passage in our eyes very much the appearance of burlesque.

‘ But the genius of Richardson was not destined to be for ever employed in ushering into the world the productions of others. Neither city feasts and honours, nor printing law books and acts of Parliament, nor the cares of a family, and the management of so large a concern of business, could quench the spark that glowed within him, or hinder the lovely ideas that played about his fancy, from being clothed in words, and produced to captivate the public ear. The printer in Salisbury Court was to create a new species of writing ; his name was to be

be familiar in the mouths of the great, the witty and the gay ; and he was destined to give one motive more to the rest of Europe, to learn the language of his country.' Introd. p. li. lii.

His first work was *Pamela* ; of the origin and progress of which, he has himself left the following authentic account.

" Two booksellers, my particular friends, entreated me to write for them a little volume of Letters, in a common style, on such subjects as might be of use to those country readers who were unable to indite for themselves. Will it be any harm, said I, in a piece you want to be written so low, if we should instruct them how they should think and act in common cases, as well as indite ? They were the more urgent with me to begin the little volume for this hint. I set about it ; and, in the progress of it, writing two or three letters to instruct handsome girls, who were obliged to go out to service, as we phrase it, how to avoid the snares that might be laid against their virtue ; the above story recurred to my thought : And hence sprang *Pamela*." Introd. p. liii.

This publication, we are told, which made its first appearance in 1740, was received with a burst of applause. Dr Sherlock recommended it from the pulpit. Mr Pope said it would do more good than volumes of sermons ; and another literary oracle declared, that if all other books were to be burnt, *Pamela* and the Bible should be preserved. Its success was not less brilliant in the world of fashion. ' Even at Ranelagh,' Miss Barbauld assures us, ' it was usual for the ladies to hold up the volumes to one another, to shew that they had got the book that every one was talking of.' And, what will appear still more extraordinary, one gentleman declares, that he will give it to his son as soon as he can read, that he may have an early impression of virtue.---After faithfully reciting these and other testimonies of the high estimation in which this work was once held by all ranks of people, Mrs Barbauld subjoins some very acute and judicious observations both on its literary merits and its moral tendency. We cannot find room for the whole of this critique ; but there is so much good sense and propriety in the following passage, that we cannot refrain from inserting it.

' So long as *Pamela* is solely occupied in schemes to escape from her persecutor, her virtuous resistance obtains our unqualified approbation ; but from the moment she begins to entertain hopes of marrying him, we admire her guarded prudence, rather than her purity of mind. She has an end in view, an interested end ; and we can only consider her as the conscious possessor of a treasure, which she is wisely resolved not to part with but for its just price. Her staying in his house a moment after she found herself at liberty to leave it, was totally unjustifiable : her repentant lover ought to have followed her to her father's cottage, and to have married her from thence. The familiar footing upon which she condescends to live with the odious Jewkes, shews
also

also, that her fear of offending the man she hoped to make her husband, had got the better of her delicacy and just resentment ; and the same fear leads her to give up her correspondence with honest Mr Williams, who had generously sacrificed his interest with his patron in order to effect her deliverance. In real life, we should, at this period, consider Pamela as an interested girl ; but the author says, she married Mr B. because he had won her affection : and we are bound, it may be said, to believe an author's own account of his characters. But again, is it quite natural that a girl, who had such a genuine love for virtue, should feel her heart attracted to a man who was endeavouring to destroy that virtue ? Can a woman value her honour infinitely above her life, and hold in serious detestation every word and look contrary to the nicest purity, and yet be won by those very attempts against her honour to which she expresses so much repugnance ? — His attempts were of the grossest nature ; and previous to, and during those attempts, he endeavoured to intimidate her by sternness. He puts on the master too much, to win upon her as the lover. Can affection be kindled by outrage and insult ? Surely, if her passions were capable of being awakened in his favour, during such a persecution, the circumstance would be capable of an interpretation very little consistent with that delicacy the author meant to give her. The other alternative is, that she married him for

“ The gilt coach, and dappled Flan lers' mares ”

Indeed, the excessive humility and gratitude expressed by herself and her parents on her exaltation, shews a regard to rank and riches beyond the just measure of an independent mind. The pious Goodman Andrews should not have thought his virtuous daughter so infinitely beneath her licentious master, who, after all, married her to gratify his own passions. Introd. p. lxxiii. — lxxvi.

The first part of this work, which concludes with the marriage of the heroine, was written in three months ; and was founded, it seems, on a real story which had been related to Richardson by a gentleman of his acquaintance. It was followed by a second part, confessedly very inferior to the first, and was ridiculed by Fielding in his *Joseph Andrews* ; an offence for which he was never forgiven.

Within eight years after the appearance of *Pamela*, Richardson's reputation may be said to have attained its zenith, by the successive publication of the volumes of his *Clarissa*. We have great pleasure in laying before our readers a part of Mrs Barbauld's very judicious observations upon this popular and original performance. After a slight sketch of the story, she observes,

“ The plot, as we have seen, is simple, and no underplots interfere with the main design---no digressions, no episodes. It is wonderful that, without these helps of common writers, he could support a work of such length. With *Clarissa* it begins,---with *Clarissa* it ends. We

do not come upon unexpected adventures and wonderful recognitions, by quick turns and surprises : We see her fate from afar, as it were through a long avenue, the gradual approach to which, without ever losing sight of the object, has more of simplicity and grandeur than the most cunning labyrinth that can be contrived by art. In the approach to the modern country seat, we are made to catch transiently a side-view of it through an opening of the trees, or to burst upon it from a sudden turning in the road ; but the old mansion stood full in the eye of the traveller, as he drew near it, contemplating its turrets, which grew larger and more distinct every step that he advanced ; and leisurely filling his eye and his imagination with still increasing ideas of its magnificence. As the work advances, the character rises ; the distress is deepened ; our hearts are torn with pity and indignation ; bursts of grief succeed one another, till at length the mind is composed and harmonized with emotions of milder sorrow ; we are calmed into resignation, elevated with pious hope, and dismissed glowing with the conscious triumphs of virtue. Introd. p. lxxviii. lxxiv.

She then makes some excellent remarks on the conduct of the story, and on the characters that enliven it ; on that of the heroine, she observes,

‘ In one instance, however, *Clarissa* certainly sins against the delicacy of her character, that is, in allowing herself to be made a show of to the loose companions of *Lovelace*. But, how does her character rise, when we come to the more distressful scenes ; the view of her horror, when, deluded by the pretended relations, she re-enters the fatal house ; her temporary insanity after the outrage, in which she so affectingly holds up to *Lovelace* the licence he had procured, and her dignified behaviour when she first sees her ravisher, after the perpetration of his crime ! What finer subject could be presented to the painter, than the prison scene, where she is represented kneeling amidst the gloom and horror of the dismal abode ; illuminating, as it were, the dark chamber, her face reclined on her crossed arms, her white garments floating round her in the negligence of woe ; *Belford* contemplating her with respectful commiseration : Or, the scene of calmer but heart-piercing sorrow, in the interview *Colonel Morden* has with her in her dying moments ! She is represented fallen into a slumber, in her elbow-chair, leaning on the widow *Lovick*, whose left arm is around her neck ; one faded cheek resting on the good woman’s bosom, the kindly warmth of which had overspread it with a faintish flush, the other pale and hollow, as if already iced over by death ; her hands, the blueness of the veins contrasting their whiteness, hanging lifelessly before her—the widow’s tears dropping unfelt upon her face—*Colonel Morden*, with his arms folded, gazing on her in silence, her coffin just appearing behind a screen. What admiration, what reverence, does the author inspire us with for the innocent sufferer, the sufferings too of such a peculiar nature !

‘ There is something in virgin purity, to which the imagination willingly pays homage. In all ages, something saintly has been attached

to the idea of unblemished chastity; but it was reserved for Richardson to overcome all circumstances of dishonour and disgrace, and to throw a splendour round the *violated virgin*, more radiant than she possessed in her first bloom. He has drawn the triumph of mental chastity; he has drawn it uncontaminated, untarnished, and incapable of mingling with pollution.---The scenes which follow the death of the heroine, exhibit grief in an affecting variety of forms, as it is modified by the characters of different survivors. They run into considerable length, but we have been so deeply interested, that we feel it a relief to have our grief drawn off, as it were, by a variety of sluices, and we are glad not to be dismissed till we have shed tears, even to satiety.' *Introd. p. xciii.---xcvii.*

This criticism we think is equally judicious and refined; and we could easily prolong this extract, in a style not at all inferior. With regard to the morality of the work, Mrs Barbauld is very indignant at the notion of its being intended to exhibit a rare instance of female chastity. After alluding to the circumstances, in *Clarissa's* situation, that would have made any failure in that particular altogether inexcusable, she says,

'It is absurd, therefore, in Lovlace to speak of trying her chastity; and the author is not free from blame, in favouring the idea that such resistance had any thing in it uncommon, or peculiarly meritorious. But the real moral of *Clarissa* is, that virtue is triumphant in every situation; that in circumstances the most painful and degrading, in a prison, in a brothel, in grief, in distraction, in despair, it is still lovely, still commanding, still the object of our veneration, of our fondest affections.---The novelist that has produced this effect, has performed his office well; and it is immaterial what particular maxim is selected under the name of a moral, while such are the reader's feelings. If our feelings are in favour of virtue, the novel is virtuous; if of vice, the novel is vicious.' *Introd. p. ci. cii.*

She objects, with some reason, to the number of interviews which *Clarissa* is represented to have had with Lovlace after the catastrophe; and adds, 'If the reader, on casually opening the book, can doubt of any scene between them, whether it passes before or after the outrage, that scene is one too much.---The character of Lovlace, she thinks, is very much of a fancy piece; and affirms, that our national manners do not admit of the existence of an original. If he had been placed in France, she observes, and his gallantries directed to married women, it might have been more natural; but, in England, Lovlace would have been run through the body, long before he had seen the face of *Clarissa* or Colonel Morden.'

Mrs Barbauld gives us a copious account of the praise and admiration that poured in upon the author from all quarters, on the publication of this extraordinary work: He was overwhelm-
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ed with complimentary letters, messages, and visits. But we are most gratified with the enthusiasm of one of his female correspondents, who tells him that she is very sorry 'that he was not a *woman*, and blest with the means of shining as Clarissa did; for a person capable of drawing such a character, would certainly be able to act in the same manner, *if in a like situation*.

After Clarissa, at an interval of about five years, appeared his *Sir Charles Grandison*. Upon this work, also, Mrs Barbauld has made many excellent observations, and pointed out both its blemishes and beauties, with a very delicate and discerning hand. Our limits will not permit us to enter upon this disquisition: we add only the following acute paragraph.

'Sir Charles, as a Christian, was not to fight a duel; yet he was to be recognised as the finished gentleman, and could not be allowed to want that most essential part of the character, the deportment of a man of honour, courage and spirit. And, in order to exhibit his spirit and courage, it was necessary to bring them into action by adventures and rencounters. His first appearance is in the rescue of Miss Byron, a meritorious action, but one which must necessarily expose him to a challenge. How must the author untie this knot? He makes him so very good a swordsman, that he is always capable of disarming his adversary without endangering either of their lives. But are a man's principles to depend on the science of his fencing-master? Every one cannot have the skill of Sir Charles; every one cannot be the *best* swordsman; and the man whose study it is to avoid fighting, is not quite so likely as another to be the best.' *Introd. p. cxxvii. cxxviii.*

Besides his great works, Richardson published only a paper in the *Rambler* (the 97th); an edition of *Æsop's Fables*, with *Reflections*; and a volume of *Familiar Letters* for the use of persons in inferior situations. It was this latter work which gave occasion to *Pamela*: It is excellently adapted to its object, and we think may be of singular use to Mr Wirsdworth and his friends in their great scheme of turning all our poetry into the language of the common people. In this view, we recommend it very earnestly to their consideration.

There is little more to be said of the transactions or events of Richardson's life. His books were pirated by the Dublin booksellers: At which he was very angry, and could obtain no redress. He corresponded with a great number of females; and gradually withdrew himself from the fatigues of business to his country residence at Parson's Green; where his life was at last terminated in 1761, by a stroke of apoplexy, at the age of seventy-two.

His moral character was in the highest degree exemplary and amiable. He was temperate, industrious, and upright; punctual and honourable in all his dealings; and with a kindness of heart,
and

and a liberality and generosity of disposition, that must have made him a very general favourite, even if he had never acquired any literary distinction.---He had a considerable share of vanity, and was observed to talk more willingly on the subject of his own works than on any other. The lowness of his original situation, and the lateness of his introduction into polite society, had given to his manners a great shyness and reserve; and a consciousness of his awkwardness and his merit together, rendered him somewhat jealous in his intercourse with persons in more conspicuous situations, and made him require more courting and attention, than every one was disposed to pay. He had high notions of parental authority, and does not seem always quite satisfied with the share of veneration which his wife could be prevailed on to shew for him. He was particularly partial to the society of females; and lived, indeed, as Mrs Barbauld has expressed it, in a flower-garden of ladies. Mrs Barbauld will have it, that this was in the way of his profession as an author; and that he frequented their society to study the female heart, and instruct himself in all the niceties of the female character. From the tenor of the correspondence now before us, however, we are more inclined to believe, with Dr Johnston, that this partiality was owing to his love of continual superiority, and that he preferred the conversation of ladies, because they were more lavish of their admiration, and more easily engaged to descant on the perplexities of Sir Charles, or the distresses of Clarissa. His close application to business, and the sedentary habits of a literary life, had materially injured his health: He loved to complain, as most invalids do who have any hope of being listened to, and scarcely writes a letter without some notice of his nervous tremors, his giddiness and catchings. 'I had originally a good constitution,' he says in one place, 'and hurt it by no intemperance, but that of application.'

In presenting our readers with this imperfect summary of Mr Barbauld's biographical dissertation, we have discharged by far the most pleasing part of our task; and proceed to the consideration of the correspondence which it introduces, with considerable heaviness of spirit, and the most unfeigned reluctance. The letters are certainly authentic; and they were bought, we have no doubt, for a fair price from the legal proprietors: but their publication, we think, was both improper and injudicious, as it can only tend to lower a very respectable character, without communicating any gratification or instruction to others. We are told, indeed, in the preface, 'that it was the employment of Mr Richardson's *declining* years, to select and arrange the collection from which this publication has been made; and that he always looked forward to their publication at some dis-

tant period ;' nay, ' that he was not without thoughts of publishing them in his lifetime ; and that, after his death, they remained in the hands of his last surviving daughter, upon whose decease they became the property of his grandchildren, and were purchased from them at a very liberal price by Mr Philips.' We have no doubt that what Mrs Barbauld has here stated to the public, was stated to her by her employers : but we cannot read any one volume of the letters, without being satisfied that the idea of such a publication could only come into the mind of Richardson, after his judgment was impaired by the infirmities of ' *declining years* ;' and we have observed some passages in those which are now published, that seem to prove sufficiently his own consciousness of the impropriety of such an exposure, and the absence of any idea of giving them to the world. In the year 1755, when nine tenths of the whole collection must have been completed, we find him expressing himself in these words to his friend Mr Edwards :

' I am employing myself at present in looking over and sorting and classing my correspondences and other papers. This, when done, will amuse me, by reading over again a very ample correspondence, and in comparing the sentiments of my correspondents, at the time, with the present, and improving from both. The many letters and papers I shall destroy will make an executor's work the easier ; and if any of my friends desire their letters to be returned, they will be readily come at for that purpose. Otherwise they will amuse and direct *my children*, and teach them to honour their father's friends *in their closets* for the favours done him.' Vol. III. p. 113, 114.

Accordingly, they remained in the closet till the death of the *last of his children* ; and then the whole collection is purchased by a bookseller, and put into the hands of an editor, who finds it expedient to suppress two thirds of it !

Those who have looked into the volumes in question, will be at no loss to comprehend the reasons of the unqualified reprehension we are inclined to bestow on their publication. For the information of those who have not had an opportunity of seeing them, we may observe that, so far from containing any view of the literature, the politics, or manners of the times—any anecdotes of the eminent and extraordinary personages to whom the author had access—or any pieces of elegant composition, refined criticism, or interesting narrative, they consist almost entirely of compliments and minute criticisms on his novels, a detail of his ailments and domestic concerns, and some tedious prattling disputations with his female correspondents, upon the duties of wives and children ; the whole so loaded with gross and reciprocal flattery, as to be ridiculous at the outset, and disgusting

in the repetition. Compliments and the novels form indeed the staples of the whole correspondence. We meet with the divine *Clarissa*, and the more divine Sir Charles, in every page, and are absolutely stunned with the clamorous raptures and supplications with which the female train demand the conversion of *Lovelace*, and the death or restoration of *Clementina*. Even when the charming books are not the direct subject of the correspondence, they appear in eternal allusions, and settle most of the arguments by an authoritative quotation. In short, the *Clarissa* and *Grandison* are the scriptures of this congregation; and the members of it stick as close to their language upon all occasions, as any of our sectaries ever did to that of the Bible. The praises and compliments, again, which are interchanged among all the parties, are so extremely hyperbolical as to be ludicrous, and so incessant as to be excessively fatiguing.

Mrs Barbauld, who does not venture to say much in favour of the collection she was employed to usher into the world, has ventured, however, to observe, 'that nothing tends so strongly to place us in the midst of the generations that are past, as a perusal of their correspondence; and that to have their letters, and their very handwriting before our eyes, gives a more intimate feeling of their existence, than any other memorial of them.' The observation is unquestionably just; but the writer of it certainly could not be ignorant, that the interest to which she alludes is entirely of a secondary nature, and depends altogether upon the character of those whose existence is thus strikingly recalled to us. Almost any memorial of great and celebrated persons is acceptable; and we grasp eagerly at every trifle which may enable us to form a lively conception of them as individuals, or to connect a private character with their public fame. But we necessarily care very little about the past existence of those who have never filled any place in our imagination, and attach no value to an ordinary epistle, merely because the writer has been half a century in his grave.

The correspondence before us, with a very few exceptions, seems to have no greater claim to the attention of the public, than might be made for the private correspondence of any given set of persons in the middling rank of life: nor, indeed, would it be easy to collect an equal number of well spelled letters, with so little variety of subject, and so little amusing anecdote. We shall endeavour to give our readers an idea of the contents of these six volumes.

The first series of letters is from Aaron Hill, a poet of some notoriety in his day; but, if we may judge from these epistles, a very bad composer in prose. The only amusing things we have met with in this volume, of his inditing, are his prediction
of

of his own great fame, and of the speedy downfall of Pope's ; and his scheme for making English wine of a superior quality to any that can be imported. Of Pope he says, that he died ' in the wane of his popularity ; and that it arose originally only from meditated little personal assiduities, and a *certain bladdery swell of management.*' And a little after—

' But rest his memory in peace ! it will very rarely be disturbed by that time he himself is ashes. It is pleasant to observe the justice of forced fame ; she lets down those, at once, who got themselves pushed upward ; and lifts none above the fear of falling, but a few who never teased her.

What she intends to do with *me* the Lord knows.

Vol I. p. 107.

In another place he adds, ' For my part I am *afraid* to be popular, I see so many who write to the living, and deserve not to live, that I content myself with a resurrection when dead ;' and, after lamenting the unpopularity of some of his writings, he says,

' But there *will* arise a time in which they will be seen in a far different light. I know it on a surer hope than that of vanity.' The wine project, which is detailed in many pages, requires no notice. As a specimen of the adulation with which Richardson was incensed by all his correspondents, we insert the following sentences :

' Where will your wonders end ? or how could I be able to express the joy it gives me to discern your genius rising with the grace and boldness of a pillar ! &c. Go on, dear Sir, (I see you will and must) to charm and captivate the world, and force a scribbling race to learn and practise one rare virtue---to be pleased with what disgraces them.' —' There is a manner (so beyond the matter, extraordinary always too as that is) in whatever you say or do, that makes it an impossibility to speak those sentiments which it is equally impossible not to conceive in reverence and affection for your goodness.'

In allusion to the promise of Sir Charles, he says—

' I am greatly pleased at the hint you gave of a design to raise another Alps upon this Appenine : we can never see too many of his works who has no equals in his labours.'

These passages, we believe, will satisfy most readers ; but those who have any desire to see more, may turn up any page in the volume : It may be of some use, perhaps, as a great common-place for the materials of ' soft dedication.'

After the letters from Hill, there is *one* from Bishop Warburton, which has no recommendation but his name ; and six or seven from Mr Strahan the printer, which are very simple, affectionate and unassuming, but contain nothing whatever, either in respect of composition or information, that can entitle them to the attention of the public. It was very proper and natural

for Mr Strahan to write such letters to his friends ; but it was most absurd and improper to publish them. In this volume there are not more than two or three letters from Richardson ; and there seem very much in the taste of the poet to whom they are addressed.

The second volume begins with some letters from the author of the *Night Thoughts*, written, however, as the editor acknowledges, in the decline of his genius. They are devout and serious, but affected and hyperbolical about trifles. He outdoes almost all his competitors in the extravagance, and, we might say, the indecency of his flattery. He tells Richardson ‘ to continue, by his conduct, to convince the hypercritics that Sir Charles is by no means drawn beyond the life ;’ that he is ‘ a peculiar instrument of Providence adjusted to the exigence of the times :’ and adds, ‘ as I look upon you as an instrument of Providence, I likewise look upon you as a sure heir of a double immortality. When our language fails, one indeed may cease ; but the failure of the heavens and the earth will put no period to the other. Happy is the man whose head has secured him one immortality, and whose heart entitles him to the other !’

The next series of letters is from Miss Fielding, who wrote *David Simple*, and Miss Collicr, who assisted in writing *The Cry*. What modern reader knows any thing about the *Cry*, or *David Simple* ? And if the elaborate performances of these ladies have not been thought worthy of public remembrance, what likelihood is there that their private and confidential letters should be entitled to any notice ? They contain nothing, indeed, that can be interesting to any description of readers, and only prove that Richardson was indulgent and charitable to them, and that their gratitude was a little too apt to degenerate into flattery.

The letters of Mrs Pilkington and of Colley Cibber appear to us to be still less worthy of publication. The former seems to have been a profligate, silly actress, reduced to beggary in her old age, and distressed by the misconduct of her ill educated children. The compassionate heart of Richardson led him to pity and relieve her ; and she repays him with paltry adulation, and interlarded, in the bombastic style of the green room, with dramatic misquotations misapplied. Of the letters of Cibber Mrs B. says that ‘ they shew in every line the man of wit and the man of the world.’ We are sorry to dissent from so respectable an opinion ; but the letters appear to us in every respect contemptible and disgusting, without one spark of wit or genius of any sort, and bearing all the traces of vanity, impudence, affectation, and superannuated debauchery, which might have been expected from the author. His first epistle is to
Mrs

Mrs Pilkington (for the editor has more than once favoured us with letters that have no sort of relation to Richardson or his writings) and sets off in this manner :

‘ Thou frolicsome farce of fortune ! What ! Is there another act of you to come then ? ’ I was afraid, some time ago, you had made your last exit. Well !—but, without wit or compliment, I am glad to hear you are so tolerably alive,’ &c.

We can scarcely conceive that this pitiful slang could appear to Mrs Barbauld like the pleasantry of a man of fashion. His letters to Richardson are, if any thing, rather more despicable. After reading some of the proof sheets of Sir Charles, he writes,

‘ Z——ds ! I have not patience, till I know what is become of her. Why, you—I do not know what to call you !—Ah ! Ah ! you may laugh if you please : but how will you be able to look me in the face, if the lady should ever be able to shew *hers* again ? What piteous, d——d, disgraceful pickle have you plunged her in ? For God’s sake send me the sequel ; or—I don’t know what to say !—’

The following is an entire letter :

‘ The delicious meal I made of Miss Byron on Sunday last has given me an appetite for another slice of her, off from the spit, before she is served up to the public table. If about five o’clock to-morrow afternoon will not be inconvenient, Mrs Brown and I will come and piddle upon a bit more of her : but pray let your whole family, with Mrs Richardson at the head of them, come in for their share. This, Sir, will make me more and more yours,’ &c.

After these polite effusions, we have one short letter from a Reverend Mr Harvey, about printing some of his theological works, and a long tedious account of the commemoration at Oxford in 1754 from the pen of the Reverend Mr Kennicott. After these, we have a few letters from Richardson to Miss Highmore, very kind and familiar, but written in a girlish and weak style, and every way unfit for publication. No real friend of the author of *Clarissa* would have allowed the stuff we have at page 240, &c. of this volume, to see the light. To this is subjoined, for what reason or under what pretext we know not, a correspondence between Miss Mulso and Miss Highmore, which is a good deal like most correspondences we have seen between young ladies—full of sentimental finery and wordy nothingness. We quote one sentence, to show how exactly misses of the year 1750 wrote like misses of the present day.

‘ Your charming epistle, your tender and affectionate expressions of friendship, gave my heart more delight than it has felt of a long time. Oh ! my dear Hecky, could I say with truth that our souls are sister souls, how pleased should I be with myself !—how sweet the idea of an irresistible sympathy between us !

‘ And so you are not alarmed neither for our lovely favourite, nor

for her and our beloved Sir Charles? Yet, indeed, I am more so now than at first; for Harriet has dreamt, my dear, such foreboding dreams that, were I superstitious, I should not rest for terrible apprehension, about her fate! However, you know I have no faith in dreams, not so much as you have; and I verily believe Mr Richardson has been spiteful enough to send these shocking aerial visions, which discompose the gentle slumbers of the most amiable of her sex, only to revenge himself on you and I, two saucy girls that pretend to be so sure that happiness must reward the virtue and heroic sufferings of the exalted lovers, for whom we interest ourselves so strenuously: Let us remember he can cut their thread of life at pleasure; their destiny is in his hands.' Vol. II. p. 316. 317.

The volume ends with two or three letters from Mr Channing, who supplied the quotations of the pedant Brand in *Clarissa*. They are better written than any we have yet mentioned, though they treat of nothing that can be generally interesting.

The third volume exhibits the correspondence with Mr Edwards, the author of the *Canons of Criticism*, a good deal of which is occupied as usual with flattery and mutual compliments, and the rest with consultations about their different publications. Richardson exclaims, 'O that you could resolve to publish your pieces in two pretty volumes!' And Mr Edwards sends him long epistles in exaltation of Sir Charles and *Clarissa*. It is in this correspondence that we meet with the first symptom of that most absurd and illiberal prejudice which Richardson indulged against all the writings of Fielding. He writes to Mr Edwards—

'Mr Fielding has met with the disapprobation you foresaw he would meet with, of his *Amelia*. He is, in every paper he publishes under the title of the *Common Garden*, contributing to his own overthrow. He has been overmatched in his own way by people whom he had despised, and whom he thought he had vogue enough, from the success his spurious brat *Tom Jones* so unaccountably met with, to write down, but who have turned his own artillery against him, and beat him out of the field, and made him even poorly in his *Court of Criticism* give up his *Amelia*, and promise to write no more on the like subjects.' Vol. III. p. 33-4.

This, however, is but a small specimen of his antipathy. He says to his French translator, 'Tom Jones is a dissolute book. *Its run is over*, even with us. Is it true that France had virtue enough to refuse to license such a profligate performance?' But the worst of all is the following:

'I have not been able to read any more than the first volume of *Amelia*. Poor Fielding! I could not help *telling his sister*, that I was equally surprised at and concerned for his continued lowness. Had your brother, said I, been born in a stable, or been a runner at a sponging-house, we should have thought him a genius, and wished he
had

had had the advantage of a liberal education, and of being admitted into good company ; but it is beyond my conception, that a man of family, and who had some learning, and who really is a writer, should descend so excessively low in all his pieces. Who can care for any of his people ? A person of honour asked me, the other day, what he could mean, by saying, in his *Covent-Garden Journal*, that he had followed Homer and Virgil in his *Amelia*. I answered, that he was justified in saying so, because he must mean Cotton's *Virgil Travestied*, where the women are drabs, and the men scoundrels.' Vol. VI. p. 154-5.

It is lamentable that such things should have been written confidentially ; it was surely unnecessary to make them public.

After the dismissal of Mr Edwards, we meet with two or three very beautiful and interesting letters from Mrs Klopstock, the first wife of the celebrated German poet. They have pleased us infinitely beyond any thing else in the collection ; but how far they are indebted for the charm we have found in them to the lisping innocence of the broken English in which they are written, or to their intrinsic merit, we cannot pretend to determine. We insert the following account of her courtship and marriage :

' After having seen him two hours, I was obliged to pass the evening in a company, which never had been so wearisome to me. I could not speak, I could not play ; I thought I saw nothing but Klopstock. I saw him the next day, and the following, and we were very seriously friends. But the fourth day he departed. It was an strong hour the hour of his departure ! He wrote soon after, and from that time our correspondence began to be a very diligent one. I sincerely believed my love to be friendship. I spoke with my friends of nothing but Klopstock, and showed his letters. They raillied at me, and said I was in love. I raillied them again, and said that they must have a very friendshipless heart, if they had no idea of friendship to a man as well as to a woman. Thus it continued eight months, in which time my friends found as much love in Klopstock's letters as in me. I perceived it likewise, but I would not believe it. At the last Klopstock said plainly that he loved ; and I startled as for a wrong thing. I answered, that it was no love, but friendship, as it was what I felt for him ; we had not seen one another enough to love (as if love must have more time than friendship !) This was sincerely my meaning, and I had this meaning till Klopstock came again to Hamburgh. This he did a year after we had seen one another the first time. We saw, we were friends, we loved ; and we believed that we loved ; and a short time after I could even tell Klopstock that I loved. But we were obliged to part again, and wait two years for our wedding. My mother would not let marry me a stranger. I could marry then without her consentment, as by the death of my father my fortune depended not on her ; but this was an horrible idea for me ; and thank heaven that I have prevailed by

prayers At this time knowing Klopstock, she loves him as her lively son, and thanks God that she has not persisted. We married, and I am the happiest wife in the world. In some few months it will be four years that I am so happy, and still I dote upon Klopstock as if he was my bridegroom.

' If you knew my husband, you would not wonder. If you knew his poem, I could describe him very briefly, in saying he is in all respects what he is as a poet. This I can say with all wifely modesty But I dare not to speak of my husband ; I am all raptures when I do it. And as happy as I am in love, so happy am I in friendship, in my mother, two elder sisters, and five other women. How rich I am !' Vol. III. p. 146-9.

The next letters are those written by Richardson to Miss Mulso, (for her part of the correspondence was prudently withdrawn soon after his death), containing a vast deal of minute disquisition upon the characters and design of his novels, delivered in a very rambling, diffuse, and childish style, though frequently conducted with great acuteness. The letters, we dare say, were very amusing to the young lady at the time ; but they will neither edify nor amuse the public. We add one sentence as a specimen of the tone in which they are written.

" How does your beloved Harriet ?" I can't tell how she does. Alas ! I have a head that troubles itself not much about her.---" Does not Sir Charles love teasing a little !" No he does not. Another person, perhaps, may. But it is a fault too ungenerous for Sir Charles Grandison to be guilty of. But here is the thing : you ladies, some of you, scruple not to deserve blame ; and then, truly, it is teasing to tell you of your faults in a pleasant way.' Vol. III. p. 167.

The same character may be given of the correspondence with Miss Highmore. One of the best letters is dated from Tunbridge in 1751. We shall venture on an extract.

' But here, to change the scene, to see Mr W - sh at eighty (Mr Cibber calls him papa), and Mr Cibber at seventy-seven, hunting after new faces, and thinking themselves happy if they can obtain the notice and familiarity of a fine woman !---How ridiculous !---

' Mr Cibber was over head and ears in love with Miss Chudleigh. Her admirers (such was his happiness !) were not jealous of him : but, pleased with that wit in him which they had not, were always for calling him to her. She said pretty things--for she was Miss Chudleigh. He said pretty things--for he was Mr Cibber ; and all the company, men and women, seemed to think they had an interest in what was said, and were half as well pleased as if they had said the sprightly things themselves ; and mighty well contended were they to be second-hand repeaters of the pretty things. But once I faced the laureat squatted upon one of the benches, with a face more wrinkled than ordinary with disappointment. " I thought," said I, " you were of the party at the tea-treats---Miss Chudleigh is gone into the tea-room."---" Pshaw !" said

said he, "there is no coming at her, she is so surrounded by the toupets"---And I left him upon the fret---But he was called to soon after, and in he flew, and his face shone again, and looked smooth.

'Another extraordinary old man we have had here, but of a very different turn: the noted Mr Whiston, showing eclipses, and explaining other phænomena of the stars, and preaching the millenium and anabaptism (for he is now, it seems, of that persuasion) to gay people, who, if they have white teeth, hear him with open mouths, though perhaps shut hearts; and, after his lecture is over, not a bit the wiser, run from him the more eagerly to C---r and W---sh, and to flutter among the loud-laughing young fellows upon the walks, like boys and girls at a breaking up.' Vol. III. p. 316---319.

The fourth volume contains the correspondence of Mrs Delany and Mrs Donellan, two of the most judicious of the writers that appear in this collection, though they talk of little but their private affairs, their friends, and the works of their correspondent. They are less unmeasured and profuse in their praise than any of the rest. There are some kind and unaffected letters also from Mrs Sheridan, and a vast collection from Lady Braidshaigh, under the name of Belfour. This Lady, whose correspondence fills the half of this, and the whole of the sixth volume, is described by Mrs Barbauld as being by no means a literary character, 'and rather a hearty friend, and a clever, active woman, than a polished one.' When we add that her correspondence does not contain one single anecdote or atom of information, but is wholly made up of prolix discourses on the authority of husbands, the education of women, the reformation of rakes, and such trite topics, we may well ask, what inducement there could be to print her private letters at this time of day? She corresponded with Richardson about his novels for two years, under a feigned name, and at last disclosed herself.

The fifth volume begins with some letters from Lady Echlin, a sister of Lady Braidshaigh, and a person of great worth and piety. As Richardson was in the habit of flattering his female correspondents, by asking their advice (though he never followed it) as to the conduct of his works, he prevailed on her to communicate a new catastrophe which she had devised for his *Clarissa*. She had reformed *Lovelace*, by means of a Dr Christian, and made him die of remorse, though the last outrage is not supposed to be committed. How far Lady Echlin's epistles are likely to meet with readers, in this fastidious age, may be conjectured from the following specimen.

'I heartily wish every Christian would read and wisely consider Mr Skelton's fine and pious lessons. I admire the warmth of this learned gentleman's zeal; it is laudable and necessary, especially in an age like this, which, for its coldness (he observe-) may be called the win-

ter of Christianity.' A melancholy truth, elegantly expressed. I have only perused a small part of this divine piece, and am greatly delighted with what I have read. Surely he is a heavenly man. I am very fond of Dr Clark, and excellent good Seed. I thank you, Sir, for introducing another wise charmer, not less worthy of every body's regard. He merits attention, and religiously commands it.' Vol. V. p. 40.

A few letters from Mr Peckard and Dr Hildesley follow, in the usual strain of adulation. Next come several letters from the Reverend Mr Skelton, mostly on the subject of the Dublin piracy, and the publication of some works of his own. He seems to have been a man of strong, coarse sense, but extremely irritable. Some delay in the publication of his sermons draws from him the following curious piece of fretfulness.

' Johnston kept them a month on the way ; Wilson kept them three, and does nothing, only hints a sort of contemptuous censure of them to you, and huffs them out of his hands. The booksellers despise them, and I am forced to print them, when the season for sale is over, or burn them. God's will be done. If I had wrote against my Saviour, or his religion, my work would long ago have been bought, and reprinted, and bought again. Millar would have now been far advanced in his third edition of it. But why do I make these weak complaints ? I know my work is calculated to serve the cause of God and truth, and by no means contemptibly executed. I am confident also, I shall, if God spares me life to give it the necessary introduction, sell it to advantage, and receive the thanks of every good man for it. I will therefore be in the hands of God, and not of Mr Millar, whose indifference to my performances invites me not to any overtures.' Vol. V. p. 234. 235.

Mr Stintra, the German translator of Richardson's books, then presents us with two or three dull complimentary letters, in which he engrosses his own history and that of his publications, and repeats it as the opinion of a certain minister of the gospel, ' that he doubted not but that if very many parts of *Clarissa* were to be found in the Bible, they would be pointed out as manifest proofs of divine inspiration.' With all his vanity, Richardson was too pious a man to feel any thing but disgust at such a compliment as this.

We next meet with three little notes from Dr Johnson, about a preface and an index ; and the volume concludes with a fragment of the history of Mrs Beaumont, retrenched from Sir Charles Grandison. The sixth volume, as we have already intimated, is entirely filled with the correspondence of Lady Bradshaigh, from which we do not think it necessary to make any extract. Its bulk is considerably increased by *fac-similes* of a letter from almost every one of the correspondents that has been enumerated.

Although

Although Richardson is not responsible for more than one fifth part of the dulness exhibited in this collection, still the share of it that may be justly imputed to him is so considerable, and the whole is so closely associated with his name, that it would be a sort of injustice to take our final leave of his works, without casting one glance back to those original and meritorious performances upon which his reputation is so firmly established.

The great excellence of Richardson's novels consists, we think, in the unparalleled minuteness and copiousness of his descriptions, and in the pains he takes to make us thoroughly and intimately acquainted with every particular in the character and situation of the personages with whom we are occupied. It has been the policy of other writers to avoid all details that are not necessary or impressive, to hurry over all the preparatory scenes, and to reserve the whole of the reader's attention for those momentous passages in which some decisive measure is adopted, or some great passion brought into action. The consequence is, that we are only acquainted with their characters in their dress of ceremony, and that, as we never see them except in those critical circumstances, and those movements of strong emotion, which are but of rare occurrence in real life, we are never deceived into any belief of their reality, and contemplate the whole as an exaggerated and dazzling allusion. With such authors we merely make a visit by appointment, and see and hear only what we know has been prepared for our reception. With Richardson, we slip, invisible, into the domestic privacy of his characters, and hear and see every thing that is said and done among them, whether it be interesting or otherwise, and whether it gratify our curiosity, or disappoint it. We sympathise with the former, therefore, only as we sympathise with the monarchs and statesmen of history, of whose condition as individuals we have but a very imperfect conception. We feel for the latter, as for our private friends and acquaintance, with whose whole situation we are familiar, and as to whom we can conceive exactly the effects that will be produced by every thing that may befall them. In this art Richardson is undoubtedly without an equal, and, if we except De Foe, without a competitor, we believe, in the whole history of literature. We are often fatigued, as we listen to his prolix descriptions, and the repetition of those rambling and inconclusive conversations, in which so many pages are consumed, without any apparent progress in the story; but, by means of all this, we get so intimately acquainted with the characters, and so impressed with a persuasion of their reality, that when any thing really disastrous or important occurs to them, we feel as for old friends and companions, and are irresistibly led to as lively a conception of

of their sensations, as if we had been spectators of a real transaction. This we certainly think the chief merit of Richardson's productions: For, great as his knowledge of the human heart, and his powers of pathetic description, must be admitted to be, we are of opinion that he might have been equalled in those particulars by many, whose productions are infinitely less interesting.

That his pieces were all intended to be strictly moral, is indisputable; but it is not quite so clear that they will uniformly be found to have this tendency. We have already quoted some observations of Mrs Barbauld's on this subject, and shall only add, in general, that there is a certain air of irksome regularity, gloominess and pedantry, attached to most of his virtuous characters, which is apt to encourage more unfortunate associations than the engaging qualities with which he has invested some of his vicious ones. The mansion of the Harlowes, which, before the appearance of Lovelace, is represented as the abode of domestic felicity, is a place in which daylight can scarcely be supposed to shine; and Clarissa, with her scrupulous devotions, her intolerably early rising, her day divided into tasks, and her quantities of needle-work and discretion, has something in her much less winning and attractive than inferior artists have often communicated to an innocent beauty of seventeen. The solemnity and moral discourses of Sir Charles, his bows, minuets, compliments, and immoveable tranquillity, are much more likely to excite the derision than the admiration of a modern reader. Richardson's good people in short are too wise and too formal, ever to appear in the light of desirable companions, or to excite in a youthful mind any wish to resemble them. The gaiety of all his characters is extremely girlish and silly, and is much more like the prattle of spoiled children, than the wit and pleasantry of persons acquainted with the world. The diction throughout, is heavy, vulgar, and embarrassed; though the interest of the tragical scenes is too powerful to allow us to attend to any inferior consideration. The novels of Richardson, in short, though praised perhaps somewhat beyond their merits, will always be read with admiration, and certainly can never appear to greater advantage than when contrasted with the melancholy farrago which is here entitled his *Correspondence*.

ART. III. *Componimenti Lirici de più illustri Poeti d'Italia*. Scelti da T. J. Mathias. 3 vol. Londra. 1803.

THAT all wrote poetry, the learned and unlearned, was the complaint even of the Augustan age : and the art of printing, by facilitating the means of circulation and the attainment of literary fame, has unquestionably increased this evil. At present, in almost every civilized country, poetry has been so multiplied, that judicious selections become very desirable ; and in no cultivated language more than in that of Italy, because none has longer maintained itself unaltered. At the close of the thirteenth century (when the learned tongues were corrupted, the modern barbarous and unformed), the Italian phoenix sprung from the ashes of Roman literature. Dante, Cino, and after them Petrarca, not only created the poetical tongue of their country, but brought it at once to full perfection : their writings are at this day nearly the standard of poetical composition. Less vigorous than those of slower growth, the language of Italy quickly reached that polished maturity which few others have yet attained. Our own is among the most cultivated ; but, three centuries after the days of Petrarch, Waller lamented its fluctuation.

“ For who can hope, his line should long
Live in a daily-changing tongue ?
We write in sand ; our language grows,
And, as the tide, our work o'erflows.”

The poets of Italy, numerous at all times, have continued to write in an unvarying tongue for upwards of five centuries ; and, though they have left no branch of poetry unadorned, the sonnet and lyric muse have been chiefly cultivated. Their infinite increase has rendered selections so necessary, that many have been published, though none that can be reckoned satisfactory : and we lament, that the production of Mr Mathias, though it has considerable merit, does not altogether supply the deficiency. The editor, with a certain degree of information concerning Italian poetry, has undertaken this work without rendering himself completely master of the field from which his resources were to be drawn. It is not sufficient to have chosen some striking poetry, or brought to light some latent beauties : what was wanted, was such a judicious selection from a very bulky stock, as might afford, within a moderate compass, an adequate specimen of the whole ; and this we have not yet attained. In arranging such a work, different schemes might be adopted : a specimen might

might be given from every writer who had gained reputation amongst his contemporaries, with a brief account of his literary history; or a standard of merit might be assumed, and every production superior to it might be chosen, without regard to its author. A selection, that united both these plans, would be most valuable and entertaining; extracting more largely from the best writers, and giving a specimen, with a short account of their other works, from those whose fame might appear to exceed their real merit. We regret that Mr Mathias adopted no regular system. He has omitted altogether several poets of considerable celebrity and excellence; he has extracted largely from some of a heavy vein, little from others of brighter genius; he has given single sonnets from several, who are almost unknown in England, without any notice concerning them, except 'their names, their years,' imperfectly registered in a chronological index. *The omission of such *notizie critiche*, (without which these single sonnets have little interest) is the more singular, as the editor might have reprinted them from the *Parnaso Italiano* where he would have found a concise account of most of the Italian poets. The work is also very deficient in explanatory notes, without which many allusions must be unintelligible to the best Italian scholars. It is entitled *Componimenti Lirici*, but the volumes contain only sonnets, *canzoni*, and a very few odes in *sesta* and *quarta rima*; nor is any reason assigned for the omission of the *canzonette* and other sorts of lyric poetry, which abound in Italy. All other selections, bearing that title, comprehend them; and they are certainly more truly lyric, than the sonnet. Mr Mathias writes Italian with great accuracy; and some lines in his dedicatory ode are *excellent*. His translation from Gray, and the sonnet in the third volume, are not quite so unexceptionable; the last line, 'Beltà con senno sia possente Maga,' reminds us of one in the *Lucciole d'Avanzi*, 'Belrà fascinatrice e d'amor Maga.' With a distinguishing taste, and an accurate knowledge of the language, the editor might have made this work truly valuable, if he had bestowed more labour upon it, and acquired the extensive information without which it could not be rendered perfect.

The English reader, who is not deeply versed in the literature of Italy, but partial to the poetry of his own country, has probably seen with interest in the complimentary letter of Algarotti in Mason's *Gray*, that the odes of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Lazzarini, were the pride of Italy, and considered superior to any other modern productions of the lyric music. Impressed with this idea, and curious to see the poetry, to which the odes of Gray

Gray have been compared by a writer of such eminence, he probably looked with eagerness through the selection for these distinguished authors. Of the two first, he may have found enough perhaps to satisfy his curiosity; but, when he looked for the poetry of Lazzarini, what must have been his surprise at finding one solitary sonnet! In the chronological index, indeed, he is altogether omitted; and, amongst the many Italian names, which are strung together in the preface, and the editor's Arcadian letter, *to his most erudite friends Alcéo and Aristippo*, that of Lazzarini does not appear. Algarotti was not, however, singular in his opinion; for we well remember the elegant lamentation of Bettinelli, his rival in literary fame:

‘ Oimè! le Muse, che allataron Bembo,
Che sul Pò nutricar l’ Italo Omero
Or solitarie in su la fredda tomba
Piangon di *Lazzarini* e di Manfredi.’

Lazzarini's works are scarce in England; but seven of his sonnets and three of his odes will be found in the *Scelta di Gobbi*. He died in 1734.

From the lyric writings of Chiabrera, Mr Mathias has selected eleven *canzoni*. If he had been thoroughly acquainted with his works, he must have known that Chiabrera wrote also near a hundred sonnets, of which a specimen should certainly have been given, as their style is by no means inferior to that of his *canzoni*. The reputation of Chiabrera, which has always been very considerable in Italy, probably surpasses his actual merit; but he was a prolific writer, and attempted every species of poetry.

As Lope de Vega continued the story of Angelica from Ariosto in twenty Spanish cantos, Chiabrera, who was his contemporary, pursued that of Logistella and Rugiero in ten books of blank verse. He wrote also an epic poem on the wars of the Goths in Italy, and several dramatic pieces; but he was most successful in light Anacreontic odes, which * he is said to have introduced into the Italian language. He acquired the high name of *il gran Savonese*, as Menzini styles him, by copying the Greek poets, and abjuring that servile imitation of Petrarch, which had prevailed amongst the Italians; but his verse is seldom animated, and frequently very prosaic. He felt and admired the sublimity of Pindar; and vainly wished to soar after the Theban eagle;

but

* Others attribute their introduction to Bernardo Tasso; but he rather copied Horace than Anacreon.

but the swan† of Savona, ‘*roco angel palustre*,’ was a bird of heavy wing, and could not rise above the marshes of Italy.

The *canzoni* of Alessandro Guidi, to whose excellence the editor has paid a just tribute of praise, stand unrivalled for animation and energetic harmony. Whenever he alludes to the former glory or virtues of Rome, a subject to which his mind perpetually recurred, the spirit of the ancient mistress of the world seems to animate his verse, and breathes into his writings a strain of exalted sublimity, which the poets of old Rome in her golden days were never perhaps able to reach. We could cite with pleasure many pages from this magnificent writer; but a few lines from the first of his odes, in Mr Mathias’s selection, will be sufficient to excite those, who are unacquainted with his poetry, to read and study it.

‘ Ramenta pur le trionfali rote,
I tanti tuoi, che s’ appressaro a i Numi
Per invitti costumi,
Che tal sembianza in vano
Cercasi in grembo allo splendor Romano.

Ardea su l’ alma a i chiari duce tuoi
Sdegno regale e bellicoso ardire,
E quel fatal desire
Di sempre incatenar duci ed eroi;
E così figli suoi
Vide del tuo Signor la stirpe altera
Tanto infiammarli alla stagion guerriera.
Ed ebbe sempre o il forte Scipio a lato
O il buon Fabrizio armato,
Ne in van dielle il destino
I nomi grandi del valor Latino.

Tracia sel sa, ch’ oltre all’ angusti foci
Pallida e fugitiva in Asia corse;
Quanto sopra se scorse
Con la grand’ ira i cavalier feroci,
O qual orride voci

Mando Bizanzio! a lui tremo la mente.’—*Vol. III. p. 13.*

We think the selection of Mr Mathias has done justice to this excellent poet: one valuable ode to Cardinal Albano is however omitted:

† ‘ ----- di Dirce al fonte
Spensi primier la sete,
Che già Savona mia lunga sostenne;
E di Parnaso al monte
Sulle piaggie segrete
Di lei Cigno novel Sciolsi le penne.’

Chiabrera, Canz. lug. 15.

omitted, which, if the editor had seen, we think he would have inserted. It is not published with the rest of his *canzone*, but may be found at the head of his *Endimione*, in the 36th vol. of the *Parnaso Italiano*. Its commencement is very spirited.

‘Io’ mercè de le figlie alme di Giove,
Non d’ armento o di grege
Son ne’ campi d’ Arcadia umil custode :
Cultor son io de l’ altrui bella lode,
Che levo in alto co’ sonori versi ;
Ed ho cento destrieri
Su la riva d’ Alfeo
Tutti d’ eterne penne armati il dorso,
Che certo varcherian l’ immenso corso,
Che fan per l’ alta mole
I cavalli del sole.’

Guidi was born about thirteen years after the death of Chiabrera, and a few months after the martyrdom of King Charles, whose murderers his verse has execrated. With ardent ambition, and a confidence in his own talents, which seems to have been very offensive to his countrymen, he deserted the beaten path of Petrarch, and Pindar was the only model he condescended to admire ; *Παυρὸν ἄσπερ ἑστῆς δι’ ἰσθμῶς*. He felt, indeed, that the minute rules of the *canzone*, as established by Petrarch, and servilely adhered to by his followers, were pedantic restrictions, which shackled the subject, and rendered the harmony weak and monotonous. The close imitators of Petrarch thought it expedient not only to use his metre, but even the arrangement, and sometimes the incipient words of his sentences, though their subject might be completely different. By his system no couplet in one stanza was allowed to rhyme with one another, however distant, though the stanzas might be ten in number, and each consisting of twenty lines. All such unmeaning restrictions of rhyme, all the subdivisions of the stanza into *Piedi* and *Sirima*, *Front*, and *Volte* (which the reader, who wishes to understand minutely² may find at length in *Quidrio*), were at once rejected. He considered also, that a perpetual recurrence of rhymes was not so necessary as an artful disposition of them, which might be sufficient to gratify the ear, without shackling or embarrassing the subject ; and his harmony was so perfect, that although many blank lines occur in his odes, as in the *Lycidas* of Milton, the ear is never offended by them. No bard has ever struck the Pindaric lyre with such boldness and success ; but few have ventured to imitate him. The Italian critics, indeed, acknowledge his merit ; but warn other writers to decline a career, in which, without the extraordinary genius of Guidi, they would inevitably fail. Per-

haps, however, the narrow rules of the *Petrarchesque* ode have produced more dull poetry, than any licence of metre could have done: his imitators were forced to attend so much to the formal part of their composition, that the matter of their verse became a secondary consideration. Tiraboschi states, that the presumptuous manner in which Guidi spoke of himself, and the uncomeliness of his person, rendered him very unpopular, and contributed to prevent his style being imitated. His temper was irritable; and he died at last in a fit produced by ill-humour at errors of the press in his version of the homilies. He seldom condescended to imitate any Italian writer; but the following lines are closely copied from Molza:

‘Sorgere in ogni etate
Fuor da queste ruine
Qualche spirito real sempre si scorse,
Che la fama del Tebro alto Soccorse.’ *Guidi*
‘Che sempre alcun real spirito è giunto
Fuor di queste ornate alte ruine
A ristorarle d’ogni colpo ingiusto.’ *Molza*.

Very different in style from the bold flights of Guidi, but little inferior in poetical beauty, is the pathetic eloquence of Celio Magno, a Venetian writer of the sixteenth century. The flow of his verse is so natural, tender, and interesting, that his pathetic odes have never been equalled: and (as Rubbi observes) he proved to Italy, that love was not indispensably necessary to the production of beautiful poetry; a truth which, however, Sannazaro had begun to suspect, when he wrote,

‘Che senza dir degli occhi, o del bel velo,
O di lei che mi fugge,
Si può con altra gloria andar in cielo.’

Indeed, Sannazaro sometimes ventured to write in a better manner; and his ‘Incliti spirti, a cui fortuna arride,’ is far superior to his trivial odes in this selection. The editor has not done justice to the superior merit of Celio Magno, from whose *canzoni* he has printed only two, on the Deity, and the Death of his father. They are both excellent: the former is a masterly composition; and as its subject is the most sublime, its poetry is the most elevated. He attempted an ode of exultation for the victory of Lepanto; but the theme did not suit his genius, and it is not at all comparable to the sublime Spanish ode of Fernando de Herrera upon the same subject. His pathetic poetry, however, is exquisite; and the editor should have printed the odes on his return from banishment, and on the approach of his death. The latter would have been particularly interesting to English readers, as they would have discovered in that, and a few

few other passages by the same author, the source of some of the most striking beauties in Gray's celebrated elegy. We shall transcribe a few passages in which the coincidence appears to be most remarkable :

- ' Ne per lor mai più luce
Febo, o scopre per lor più Cintia i rai.'
Celio Magno, Canz. 11.
- ' The breezy call of incense breathing morn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed.' *Gray.*
' O d' ogni uman sudor meta infelice
Da cui torcer non lice
Pur orma, ne sperar pietade alcuna !
Che val, perch' altrisìa chiaro e felice
Di gloria d'a vi, o d' oro in arca ascose,
E d' ogni ben giososo
Che natura può dar larga e fortuna,
Se tutto è falso ben sotto la luna,
E la vita sparisce a lampo eguale
Che subito dal cielo esca e s' asconda.' *C. Magno, 11.*
- ' Let not ambition, &c. *down to*
' The paths of glory lead but to the grave.' *Gray.*
' In bel sepolcro, tal non visto avanti
Con larghe esequie di lamenti e doglia
Poser la sua terreda esangue scorza.
Ecco il ciel risonar di chiara tromba
Ecco sovra la tomba
La fama in arid.' *C. Magno, 10.*
- ' If memory o'er their tombs,' &c. *Gray.*
' Mu (qual in parte ignota
Ben ricca gemma altrui celsa il suo pregio,
O fior, ch' alta virtù ha in se riposta)
Visse in sen di castità nascosta
In sua virtute c'n Dio contento visse
Lunge dal visco mondan, che l' alma intrica.' *C. Magno, 6.*
- ' Full many a gem, &c. *and*
Far from the madding crowds,' *Gray.*
' Una (*one of the Muses*) di scolpir si sforza
Nel duro marmo, e porvi ad altrui voglia
Breve detto, che'l nome e i meriti accoglia.
And — — il nome e i pregi
Render palesi in questo marmo adorno.' *C. Magno, 10.*
- ' Some frail memorial,' *and the four next lines.* *Gray.*
' Lasso me, che quest' alma e dolce luce,
Questo bel ciel, quest' aere onde respiro,
Lasciar convegno ; e miro
Fornito il corso di mia vita orrai,

E l' esalar d'un sol breve sospiro
 A languid' occhi eterna notte adduce' *C. Magno, 11*
 ' For who to dumb forgetfulness,' &c. *Gray,*
 ' Da miei più cari e fidi
 Amor cortese guidi
 Al marmo in ch' io sarò tosto sepolto,
 E la pietà, che in lor mai sempre vidi
 Qualche lagrime doni a mia sventura.' *C. Magno, 11.*
 ' On some fond breast,' &c. *Gray.*

The leading thoughts of the *epitaph* will be found in the following lines:

' Prestin le Muse ancor benigno e pio
 Officio al cener mio,
 E su la tomba il mio nome si scriva;
 Acciò, se 'l tacerà d'altro onor casso
 La Fama, almen ne parli il muto sasso.
 * * * * *

Benchè parco bramar fu'l mio tesoro
 E l' alma in se di libertà vaga,
 E d' onest' ozio più che d' altro ardente,
 Resa talor la mente
 Quasi per furto infra le Muse paga
 Che di prim' anni miei dolci nodrici
 Fur poi conforto a miei giorni infelici.
 * * * * *

Ahi, ch' anzi pur, Signor, pregar dovrei
 Per le mie gravi colpe al varco estremo
 Dove pavento e tremo
 Da la giust' ira tua, mentre a lor guardo.' *C. Magno, 11.*

The imitations of Dante and Petrarch, in Gray's elegy, have been noted; but we believe the beautiful passage, which he has translated from Petrarch in his *Bard*, has not been observed. See the 2d Stanza of the *canzone*, which commences *Standomi un giorno*. 'Fair laughs the morn,' &c.—Gray. The sixth stanza of his elegy is also translated from the third book of Lucretius, 'At jam non domus,' &c. Considering how much he was indebted to the Italian poets, he seems to have treated them ungenerously in his ode on the Progress of Poetry, where he might have bestowed some praise on those who sung even after 'Latium had her lofty spirit lost.' Pignotti has, however, since avenged the cause of Italy by retaliation, and has stolen as much from Gray as Gray did from the Italians.

Having given the palm for animation to Guidi, and for tenderness to Celio Magno, we cannot withhold our commendations from the serious and dignified strength of Filicaja, or the simple elegance and Horatian neatness of Testi. The sublimity

of Filicaja is not so much derived from Pindar, as from the sacred writings. Probably the success with which Herrera diffused the spirit of Isaiah into his writings, as well as the piety of his own mind, directed the thoughts of Filicaja to that fountain of poetical beauty. His ode on the victory gained by the Poles and Imperialists over the Turks, bears a strong resemblance to that of Herrera on the battle of Lepanto. In his address to the Deity, he says,

‘Tolsi all’ Ebreia faretra
L’auree quadrella.’

And in another *canzone*,

‘————all’ Idumea faretra
Le saette involai.

Ond’ io dell’ Asia il fier Pithon paigai.’

The odes selected by Mr Mathias from Filicaja have all considerable merit; but the first is such an extravagant encomium on the profligate and contemptible Christina, that we wish it had been omitted: many others might have been chosen of equal poetical beauty. That on his departure from Florence, is excellent, and truly original, although he seems to have held in view the lines of Celio Magno, which commence *Rimanetevi in pace*. As a specimen of Filicaja’s poetry, we will quote some lines from his *canzone sopra l’assedio di Vienna*, which is not printed in these volumes:

‘A ’tuoi santi decreti
Pein di timore e d’umiltà m’inchino.
Vinca, se così vuoi,
Vinca lo Scita; e ’l glorioso sangue
Versi l’ Europa esangue
Da ben mille ferite. I voler tuoi
Legge son fermi a noi;
Tu sol se’ buono e giusto; e guista e buona
Quell’ opra è sol, che al tuo voler consuona.
Ma sarà mai, ch’ io veggia
Fender barbaro aratro all’ Austria il seno?
E pascolar la greggia
Ove or sorgon cittadi, e senza tema
Starsi gli Arabi armenti in riva al Reno?
Fia, che dell’ Istro la famosa reggia
D’ ostile incendio avvampi?
E, dove siede or Vienna, abiti l’ Eco
In solitario speco,
Le cui deserte arene orma non stampi?’

The numerous odes of Testi are uniformly good; his thoughts are natural and pleasing, his expression neat and chaste. He

says of himself, that he handled the lyre of Pindar as well as Horace

‘ ——— L’ eburnea lira
Che a l’ Aufid’ ora, ed or a Dirce in riva,
Trattar Clio m’ insegnò con music’ arte.’

But though his vein have little resemblance to that of the Theban bard, he may truly be called the second Horace of Italy; their genius, their turn of mind, and the character of their lyric poetry, are very similar. The taste of Testi was pure and almost faultless: his attempts at sublimity, like those of Horace, steered a midway course; and, conscious of his inability to soar into the loftiest regions of poetry, he seems, like his pattern, to have mistrusted the waxen wings of Dædalus. His style is very uniform; and though amongst his numerous *canzoni* there are many equal, if not preferable, to those chosen by Mr Mathias, we object to no one of them, excepting *Di Troja al domator*, which is one of his worst compositions. We will quote a few lines from the first book of his odes, as an example of his elegant Horatian manner.

‘ Beato è quel, che in libertà sicura.
Povero, ma contento, i giorni mena;
E che fuor di speranze e fuor di pena
Pompe non cerca, e dignità non cura.
Pago di se medesimo e di sua sorte
Ei di nemica man non teme offesa;
Senza ch’ armate schiere in sua difesa
Stian de l’ albergo a custodir le porte.
Innocente di cor, di colpe scarco,
E non impallidisce e non paventa
Se tuona Giove, e se saette avventa.
Del giusto ciel l’ inevitabil’ arco.’

The following spirited address to Venice is a fair example of his most elevated verse.

‘ O reina del mar, reliquia grande
De la Latina libertade, ascolta
Le voci del mio cor! Forse una volta
Famose esser potrian, a memorande
Corran l’ insegne tue dal Moro al Trace
Sempre vittoriose, e per tua spada,
Ogni barbara turba estinta cada,
Che osi de’ regni tuoi tubar la pace.’

Having spoken at length of the four Italian bards, whose poetry, though very different, has given us most pleasure, we will not detain the reader with particular observations on the other writers whose works have found a place in this selection. Many of the *canzoni* in the first volume are very dull, and might have

have been well omitted. We should also have been contented with fewer specimens from Ariosto, Tasso, Bembo, Sannazaro, and Paterno. Most of their *canzoni* (as well as those selected from Lorenzo di Medici, Politiano, and Colonna) are tediously harmonious, and run on through a maze of mellifluous diction without force or spirit, and almost without a subject. From the second volume we could have spared many of Chiabrera's odes. Their places might easily have been filled by better poetry from other authors, some of whom are unnoticed, some not sufficiently distinguished, in this selection. From the poetry of Gabriele Fiamma, a Venetian writer of the sixteenth century, Mr Mathias has selected two sonnets, but he has omitted a very fine ode, the subject of which is a beatific vision, like the Deus of Celio Magno. It has few equals in Italian sacred poetry. Amongst many others which we could point out, the Petrarchesque *canzone* of Zappi on Louis the XIV. deserved notice; it is little, if at all, inferior to its beautiful model, 'Standomi un giorno solo a la finestra,' Petrarch, II. 3. We observe a *canzone* written by Bedori on the model of the second of Petrarch's *sorelle*, of which the last lines are not printed as we have been accustomed to read them. We are ignorant whether these variations spring from the editor, or from Bedori himself. His imitation of the third *sorella* has been more esteemed than this *canzone*. He was a Bolognese, and died in 1718. His name is altogether omitted in the chronological index. Mr. Mathias has left a blank in the column of births in the index to the name of Lodovico Paterno; we imagine that he has not seen his *Nuovo Petrarca*, where, in the *Trionfo d'amore*, the time of his birth is stated with curious minuteness.

' Dal dì che nacqui, (o fossi allhor io spento)
Il duodecimo dì, sul mezo giorno,
Con trenta tie nel nulle e cinquecento
Duo mesi inanzi Aprile ' p. 521.

This work was written on the model of Petrarch 'In vita e morte di M. Mirtia,' and was published in 1560. Mr. Mathias's specimens are taken from his other works, which are little (if at all) preferable to this. His poetry gained him considerable reputation amongst his contemporaries.

Seven odes by Menzini are printed in the second volume. He was a follower of Chiabrera, whose insipidity he inherited. His odes are deficient in spirit and animation: he copied happily the terse, sententious manner of Pindar, but was unequal to his higher flights. The third ode of his first book, 'E' ver che l'umo ha sua milizia in terra,' is a most extraordinary imitation of Pindar's style, though no expression is directly borrowed from him. We should

should have preferred it to many that Mr Mathias has printed. The two first odes by Frugoni are also inferior to his 'Orano espugnata,' which might have filled their place.

Without entering into further particulars, we shall now dismiss the *canzoni*, and proceed to the consideration of the sonnets, which fill the larger part of the third volume. Of the selection from Petrarch, we have said nothing, because he is in the hands of every reader of Italian poetry. These volumes contain four of his *canzoni*, one *sestina*, and ten of his *sonnets*. If the editor intends them as the cream of Petrarch, we certainly differ from him. If (as we understand from the advertisement) they are meant as supplement to a selection from Petrarch, which he had before published, they are improperly placed in this work.

Bettinelli, in an interesting treatise which he has written upon sonnets, after stating the decided superiority of Petrarch, gives the preference to that which commences 'Levommi il mio pensier;' though he has pointed out seven trifling faults in it, of which two are grammatical liberties. In reviewing the different sonneteers who have flourished in Italy (with the exclusion of all living authors) he divides those whom he considers most excellent into two classes, the one containing twelve, and the other twenty-four. He excludes also Filicaja, Lorenzini, Zappi, Pastorini, and others, observing that they are 'Benchè ricchi di pensier nuovi e vivaci, d'ingegnose fantasie, di forza, di tessitura, di sonorità, e d'altre doti, ma del perfetto scriver digiuni poetico insieme e Italiano.' It is remarkable, that of the thirty-six primary authors, according to Bettinelli, four of the first class and eleven of the second are altogether unnoticed by Mr Mathias; and that only five of Bettinelli's chosen sonnets appear amongst 211 which have found a place in this publication. We do not pretend to agree exactly with the decisions of Bettinelli; but, differing from him in a few respects, we do it with the deference due to his well-approved reputation as a critic; especially as his own sonnets are so valuable that his opinion upon those of other poets deserves the greatest attention. The best sonneteer, if he judges with impartiality, must necessarily be the best selector of sonnets. We believe Bettinelli is still living, and on that account his compositions should be excluded from the selection of Mr Mathias, who states in his preface that it is made from the *Lirici passati*; but we think it fit to quote one of them, which by its excellence will give greater weight to his opinion upon this subject. He was an avowed enemy to the empty harmony which has long been the pride of many Italian versificators; in his own strong expressions, 'Il ciel n'ajuti da tanta noja e fastidio di versi, magri di cose, a ricchi di bagatelle canore.' His sonnets have so much substantial

tial merit, that it is very difficult to give a decided preference to any one ; and we are aware that there are many equal (perhaps, in the opinion of some, superior) to that we have selected:

‘ SOPRA VENEZIA.

‘ Spiegato il crudo sanguinoso artiglio,
Delle grand’ ale con terribil rombo
L’Unno sparvier (della vendetta figlio)
Cadea dall’ Alpe in sù l’ Italia a piombo.
Da monte e pian, qual trepido colombo,
Fuggia davanti a lui senza consiglio
D’ incendi e stragi all’ orrido rimbombo
L’ abitator in disperato esiglio.
Ma d’ accorti Alcion candido stuolo
Cercando all’ onde in seno albergo fido
Stende dall’ arse patrie a gara il volo ;
Di libertà, di valor vero al grido,
Tra città spente e regni intatto e solo
Dopo mill’ anni e più cresce il bel nido.’

Opere di Bettinelli, Vol. XVIII. p. 143.

Trusting that our readers will have formed no mean opinion of the talents and taste of the writer we have now quoted, we shall proceed with his scheme for a selection of sonnets, divided into two classes, according to their degrees of merit. He admits, that they border so closely on each other, that it is very difficult to form a decision : and, having stated his own opinion, he adds, ‘ Tu puoi far nuova scelta e saprotte grado io ’l primo, e loderò a cielo i migliori. Ma studiati d’ esser parco tu pure, ed anzi avaro, e ben sai perchè.’ In Bettinelli’s schemes I have marked thus * the sonnets which are in Mr. Mathias’s book ; and thus † the poets from whom he has given some other specimen. The rest are wholly unnoticed by him. Bettinelli cites only the first line of each sonnet.

FIRST CLASS.

† *Petrarca*. Levomme il mio pensier in parte, ov’ era.

* *Costanzo*. Quella cetra gentil, che in su la riva.
Next to this the following two equal in merit,
* Cigni felici, &c. *Aud*, Odo cin qui, &c.

Coppetta. Perche sacrar non posso altari e tempi.
Nearly equal to this, Porta il buon villanel, &c,

† *Bembo*. Anime, tra cui spazia or la grand’ ombra.

† *Casa*. Cura, che di timor, ti nutri e cresci-

* *Castiglione*. Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine.

Vaccari. Io giuro per l’ eterne alte faville.

† *Manfredi*. Non templi od archi, e non figure o segne.

He praises also, L’ Augusto ponto, and six others in the *Paris selection*.

* *Lazzarini*. Se da te apprese, Amore, e non altronde.

He

He adds, Sino a sei ponno citarsi tra gli eccellenti di questo gran maestro di stile.

Ghedini.

L'amico spirto, che al partir suo ratto.

He praises also, Sei tu pur. Poichè al tronco fatal,

And Con che sottil lavoro.

† *Rossi.*

Io nol vedrò, piochè il cangiato aspetto.

Castiani.

Dic un alto strido, gittò i fiori, e volta.

SECOND CLASS

† *Rainieri.*

Quel che appena fanciul torse con mano.

Thiene.

Questi palagi e queste logge or colte.

† *Molza.*

Io pur doveva il mio bel sole io stesso.

† *Tansillo.*

Qual nom che trasse il grave remo e spiuse

* *Rota.*

Questa scolpita in oro amica fede.

† *Caro.*

Ecco, signor, che al tuo chiamar mi volgo.

† *Guidiccioni.*

Viva fiamma di Marte, onor de tuoi.

Marmita.

Coprasì pur d' armati legni il mare.

† *Tasso.*

Stiglian quel canto, onde ad Orfeo simile.

† *Celio Magno.*

Ecco subito lampo, ecco diserra.

Dall' Uva.

In cui Cipro confide, in cui più spera.

† *Marini.*

Ove ch' io vada, ove ch' io stia talora.

* *Guidi.*

Eran le Dee del mar liete e gioconde.

Bassani.

O Italia, o Roma, se il valore antico.

† *Baruffaldi.*

Ben veggio il marmo, il simulacra e l' urna.

A. Fabri.

Se il tromba cui parmi udir sovente.

G. P. Zanotti.

E crollar le gran torri e le colonne.

Fr. Zanotti.

Non perche schiere avverse urti e confonda.

† *Frugoni.*

Quando il gran Scipion dall' ingrata terra.

Barbieri.

Certo allor quando la Nettunia Dea.

D. Fabri.

Ben può l' astro maggior e la sorella.

Salandri.

Vieni aspettata in ciel, vieni gran Dea.

Durante.

Ben può Appennin l' Alpestre dorsa opporme.

It is almost incredible that so many good authors, and so many capital sonnets, should have entirely escaped the observation of Mr Mathias; and that only *five* of them should have found a place in his *numerous* selection. We will quote at length, as specimens of the two classes, the sonnets of Coppetta and Benedetto dall' Uva, two poets of the sixteenth century, who have been overlooked by Mr Mathias.

Coppetta.

‘ Perchè sacrar non posso altari e tempi,

Alato veglio, all' opre tue sì grande ?

Tu già le forze in quel bel viso spandi,

Che fè di noi sì dolorosi scempi.

Tu della mia vendetta i voti adempi,

L' alterezza e l' orgoglio a terra mandì

Tu solo sforzi amore e gli comandi.

Che disciolga i miei lacci indegni ed empì.

Tu quello or puoi, che la ragion non valse,
Non amico ricordo, arte, e consiglio.
Non giusto sdegno d' infinite offese.

Tu l' alma acquieti che tant' arse ed alse.
La quale or tolta dal mortal periglio
'Teco alza il volo a più leggiadre imprese.'

Francesco Beccuti, detto il Coppetta, died in 1553. His poetry is printed in 4to., with copious notes by Cavalluci. Ven. 1751.

Dall' Uva.

' In cui Cipro confida, in cui più spera,
Dopo tante lussurie ed error tanti ?
Ne suoi (dice il Signor) lascivi amanti,
Ne le sue ninfe, o nella Dea primiera ?

Ecco viene il mio giorno, e de la fiera
Strage sin qui dal mar s' udranno i pianti,
E catenati al duro Scita avanti
Andranno nomini e donne in lunga schiera.

Chi comprò non s' allegri, e chi vendeo
Non se ne dolga assai ; ch' una egual sorte,
Come è pari il fallir, tutti comprende.

Schermi di mura e fossa in darno feo
Famagosta sul mar, che Dio le porte
E le sue torri, più che 'l Trace, offende.'

This sonnet, which has great beauty and strength of expression, was written in 1571, during the siege of Famagusta ; and is interesting, when we recollect how truly it was prophetic. The depravity of Cyprus is strongly expressed by Petrarch also.

' Quest è la terra, che cotanto piacque
A Venere ; e 'n quel tempo a lei fu sacra,
Che 'l ver nascoso e sconosciuto giacque ;
Ed anco è di valor sì nuda e macra,
'Tanto ritien del suo primo esser vile,
Che par dolce a' cattivi, ed a' buoni acra.'

Trionf. d' Am.

When Cyprus had fallen, and not till then, the Christian arms prevailed. Famagusta capitulated at last, to avoid the fate of Nikosia, where Mustafa had massacred 14,000 inhabitants in the preceding year ; but a few days after the capitulation, her brave governor was flayed alive by the perfidious Turks. His fate was speedily avenged by the ever-memorable victory of Lepanto ; but Cyprus remained the victim of Turkish cruelty.

' Vincemmo, è ver ; ma l' Idumee catene
Cipro non ruppe unquanco.' *Filicaja, C. 2.*

Were we called upon to give a decided preference to any one sonnet in the Italian language, we should certainly be inclined
to

to say, that the sonnet of Gaetana Passarini, commencing, 'Genova mia, se con asciutto ciglio,' (*Mathias, Vol. III. p. 331.*) is superior to any in Petrarch. We imagine it was written after the bombardment of Genoa, by Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1684. Mr Mathias is mistaken in saying that Passarini died in 1714. She was living in 1726, when Bergalli published her 'Rimatrici d'ogni secolo.' Her works, we believe, have never been collected, but are scattered in different *Scelte* and in the *Rime degli Arcadi*. We have seen little more than 20 of her sonnets and anacreontic odes; but the specimen of her poetry given by Mr Mathias ought not to have stood singly. The sonnet addressed to Prince Eugene 'Signor, che nella destra,' and several of her others, have considerable merit.

We should say also, that the 'Tempestose, sonanti, e torbid' onde' of Galeazzo di Tarsia, (*Mathias, III. 269*) is very excellent; and we should offer the following sonnet, by Salandri, as an exquisite model, and prefer it much to that which Bettinelli has cited from him. It is addressed to a young bride, and appears to us beautiful and faultless.

' Più che leggiadra sei, più vezzosa !
 Serba intatta la fede al tuo diletto !
 Vivi di tua beltà, vivi gelosa
 Del bel candore, che non ha difetto !
 Ogni alito di molle insidiosa
 Aura, che spiri da caduco obietto,
 Può la dolce scemar vampa amorosa,
 Che per gli occhi bevesti, e nutri in petto.
 Sgorga dal cavo sen di balza Alpina
 Limpido il fonte, nel cui vivo umore
 Il sole per vaghezza i raggi affina ;
 Ma se del picciol solco or erba or fiore
 Folleggiando a lambir per via declina,
 A poco a poco impoverisce e muore.'

Poesie di P. Salandri, p. 247.

Many of the sonnets printed by Mr Mathias are unintelligible to the reader, from the deficiency of proper titles and annotations. By a note to the line, 'Marmi, che'l bel Tosco in voi chiudete,' the reader is informed that this Tuscan was Petrarch; but, in the next page, 'Il nobil cigno che in Adria misse le sue eterne penne,' which alludes to Bembo, is left without explanation; yet we can hardly think that the editor reckoned the tomb of Petrarch more obscure than the abode of Bembo. The sonnet by Metastasio, which commences, 'Leggiadra Rosa, le cui pure foglie,' loses all its beauty from being printed without its title. It was addressed to a lady called Rosa, who was about

to

to take the veil. The custom of printing sonnets and *canzoni* without notes or titles, has prevailed unfortunately too much in Italy, and renders it difficult for one, whose memory cannot command the history of Europe, and the biography of Germany and Italy, to seize readily their meaning, and taste all their beauties ; but it is the duty of an editor to make his selection easily intelligible to the reader, and never to publish what he may not understand, without noticing it. Ignazio Gajone, in his annotations to Padre Ceva's ' *Scelta di canzoni*,' was not ashamed (though an Italian) to state, that there were passages which he could not perfectly comprehend in those which he most admired.

Few Italian poets have acquired greater celebrity in England than Guarini, the author of ' *Il Pastor Fido*,' which has gone through several editions in this country ; but his name does not appear in these volumes. We imagine the editor was unacquainted with his sonnets, which are not to be found in the *Parnaso Italiano*. Their style is very good, and they would have been more interesting than the productions of many unknown authors. It will be sufficient for us to quote one of them.

‘ Segua d’ incerto ben fallace speme,
E per pace interrotta eterna guerra,
Chi (fatto idol celesto uom pur di terra)
Vende la libertate e l’ alma insieme !
Tenti le vie più vaste e più supreme
Di falso onor, che i suoi seguaci atterra.
Novo Fetonte ; e, mentre suda ed erra,
Serbi se stesso a le miserie estreme !
Ch’ io per me, pur che spiri entro ’l mio core
La su ’l gran fiume, ove stillo l’ elettro,
Febo il suo canto, e le sue gioie amore,
Co ’l più famoso e fortunato scettro,
Che dal orto a l’ocaso il mondo adore,
Non cangeri questo mio rozzo plettro.’

The name of Staccoli, a sonneteer of the fifteenth century, appears in the chronological index of *the authors contained in these volumes* ; but none of his poetry is to be found in them. He was an imitator of Petrarch, and much esteemed ; a specimen of his sonnets should have been inserted. Several of those from Lorenzo di Medici are very indifferent. If the editor had been acquainted with the Bergamo edition of his works, he might easily have made a more favourable selection.

We are not satisfied with the choice from Costanzo, Casa, or indeed any writer of sonnets in this volume : We think that many have been omitted superior to those which are chosen from
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the same author ; and we think that, in the numerous flock of Italian sonneteers, many writers of merit have been wholly overlooked ; but the taste of mankind varies so much upon this subject, that we will not enter into further particulars. We were certainly tempted to smile, when we saw that Mr Mathias had selected a single sonnet, of little merit, from Frugoni. He was probably unacquainted with his works, and picked this out of some *scelta*. Frugoni is a very estimable writer, and the Lucca edition of his poetry consists of fifteen octavo volumes, of which a small portion is occupied by upwards of 1000 sonnets. Many of them were officiously published after his death, and their merit is various. We have already stated which of them Bettinelli preferred ; and we will quote another as a specimen less injurious to him, than the sonnet printed in this work.

‘ O d’immatura ancor bellezza adorno.

Figlio, che schiudi fra purpuree fasce

L’ inesperte pupille, e il primo giorno

Piangi del cieco efiglio, in cui si nasce ;

La bella madre non cercar d’ intorno ;

La madre, oime ! che tra le dure ambaſce

T’ abbandonò per non più far ritorno

Di là, dove di luce aurea si pasce.

Ah ! tu nol sai ; forse ver te pietosa

Nud’ alma e santa, e d’ ogni duol digiuna,

E’ qui presente, e al fianco tuo si posa.

Forse custode de la dolce runa

Si la defende, che guatar non l’osa

Il bieco ciglio de la rea fortuna.’

Mr. Matthias has also chosen an indifferent sonnet, by Redi, commencing, ‘ Donne gentili devote d’ amore,’ which is a faulty verse, the accent being on the seventh syllable, while the sixth is unaccented. Such lines are indeed occasionally found, as ‘ Donne che avete intelletto d’amore’ in Dante, and ‘ Ella a coprir la malizia a moroza’ in Chiabrera’s *Guerre de’ Goti*, where the ellision, however, renders them less offensive ; and Cesarotti has injudiciously admitted them in his excellent translation of *Ossian* : but they are great blemishes ; and if Pindar was right that ἀρχαίμυς ἔργα προσωπον χεῖρ θέμις τηλαυγής, a short sonnet, with such a commencement and no conspicuous beauty, should have been certainly excluded. We will not detain the reader with any further observations on these volumes, but will close our remarks with a beautiful sonnet from Tasso, which we think the editor should have printed.

‘ Io veggio in cielo scintillar le stelle

Oltre l’ usato, e lampeggiar tremanti ;

Come negli occhi de cortesi amanti

Noi rimiriam talor vive facelle.

Aman forse la suso, o pur son elle
 Pietose a' nostri affanni, a' nostri pianti :
 Mentre scorgon l' insidie e i passi erranti
 Là dove altri d' amor goda e favelle.
 Cortese lumi, se Leandro in mare,
 O traviato peregrin foss' io,
 Non mi farete di soccorso avare,
 Così vi faccia il sol più belle e chiaro,
 Siete nel dubbio corso al desir mio
 Fide mie duci, e scorte amate e care. .

Upon the whole, we give Mr. Mathias much credit for having acquired a greater facility in the Italian language, than is usual for Englishmen who have never visited Italy, and we very much admire his own *canzone*; but we regret, that he completed this work too hastily, without having previously acquired sufficient knowledge of Italian literature. It is a wide field, and difficult for any but Italians, to traverse. In the choice of *canzone*, he has been most successful. We learn, that he has advertised a selection of lighter lyric poetry, which we hope will be more perfect, and we shall hail it with pleasure. We trust that he will not be offended, if we take the liberty of recommending to him to be less pastoral in his vignettes and preface; and rather address the public, than the shepherds of the Roman Arcadia. We always thought this fiction puerile and undignified, even for Italians. His exertions in this branch of literature, which has been too much neglected in Great Britain, may become very valuable to the Public. A perfect selection would be extremely desirable; but one incompletely made is hurtful. The uninformed reader relies on the selector, and thinking that he sees the flower of Italian poetry, is contented to look no further. We are far from intending to discourage the editor, whose undertaking we think very meritorious; but wish to stimulate him to render his work less imperfect. We hope it may reach a second edition, and then perhaps our observations (however slight or superficial) may be of some assistance to him; and if we shall have pointed out any poetry, concerning which his judgement may coincide with ours, we trust he will insert it. We should prefer seeing the lighter lyric poetry published as an additional volume, and not a separate work; for no distinctive line can be accurately drawn. The *canzone*, the *ode Toscana*, and the *canzonetta*, have been blended together by infinite variations: the metre of the latter has been adapted to the highest subjects; and the *versi sdruccioli*, which more properly belong to it, occur in the *canzoni* of those who followed the Greek school

ART. IV. *System of Mineralogy, comprehending Oryctognosie, Geognosie, Mineralogical Chemistry, Mineralogical Geography, and Economical Mineralogy.* By Robert Jameson, Regius Professor of Natural History and Keeper of the Museum in the University of Edinburgh, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of Edinburgh, of the Linnæan Society of London, Honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Mineralogical and Physical Societies of Jena, &c. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 614. Edinburgh, Constable & Co.; London, Longman & Co. 1804.

IT was not without considerable hesitation that we determined to take any separate notice of the volume before us. Our reasons for wishing to defer its examination till we could consider the whole work collectively, were simply these. Ample as this volume seems, it contains only the half of the first division of Mr Jameson's undertaking; for it comprehends only the Earthy Fossils. Besides it must be in a great measure unintelligible to the public till the second volume appears; as, for some extraordinary reason, the explanation of the many new words and strange phrases now promulgated by the author, has been reserved to illustrate that part of his work. Lastly, we are not without hope, that the succeeding volumes may afford some matter deserving of gentle commendation, which may mollify the impression of those strictures which we may be compelled to make on the present volume.

These reasons were counterbalanced by others, which appear to us more weighty; for, if our information be correct, it will be at least a year before the second volume can appear; and no one has ventured to calculate within what period the gestation of the others will be terminated. Mr Jameson, we are afraid, has not attended very carefully to the probabilities of lives and survivorships among modern books, or he never would have deferred the exhibition of his explanatory *viaticum* to so dangerous a distance, unless he expects it to have a resuscitating influence on the expiring volume. It might possibly escape an author's modesty, indeed, that his work was likely to become obsolete before he rendered it comprehensible; but to the malicious perspicacity of a Reviewer, such a possibility occurred with instinctive readiness. The advance of mineralogy is likely to be more rapid than the pen of Mr Jameson; and in a science so eminently progressive, every work that pretends to a systematic form can only have an ephemeral existence; and a Reviewer, more than any other description of persons, must attend to the injunction of 'shooting folly as it flies.' It would be reprehensible, too, it appears to us, to pass in silence over the innovations or
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language which deform this volume. The general adoption of these barbarisms would speedily reduce Swift and Addison to a dead letter; for, no one who used the jargon of Mr Jameson could possibly comprehend their language. The high price may induce those, who meditate the purchase of this publication, to pause, till they are in some degree informed how far the professions of the title-page are fulfilled; and thus the joint interest of the author and of the reader may be served by an immediate investigation. Lastly, we have the vanity to imagine, that Mr Jameson's candour may allow the subsequent portions of his work to profit in some degree by our animadversions.

The chief recommendation of this performance is the name of its author. His '*Mineralogy of Arran*' was a highly creditable work, displaying a competent share of mineralogical knowledge, obtained under circumstances that rendered its acquisition meritorious, and exhibiting a respectable independence of intellect that renounced the theories amidst which he was educated, and became self-convinced of the important truth, that complete mineralogical knowledge is indispensable to every speculator in geology. Though the '*Mineralogy of the Western Isles*' was swelled by an unnecessary republication of his observations on Arran, it presented us with considerable additions to our very limited knowledge of the productions of the Hebrides, and manifested the enterprize and acuteness of observation which the author possesses. His journey to Germany, for the professed purpose of augmenting his mineralogical knowledge, proved his judicious ardour in the cause of philosophy, and excited an apparently well-founded hope, that the science to which he had addicted himself would be advanced by the acquisitions of his matured experience.

During his residence on the Continent, Mr Jameson seems to have contracted an enthusiastic attachment to that system called the Wernerian; and his admiration of the Professor of Freyberg seems to us to trespass far beyond the modest limits of philosophic approbation. The slightest observation that falls from him is fulsomely announced as a discovery; every discovery claims the merit of priority; and every assertion is demonstration. No devotee ever more zealously maintained the infallibility of the Pope, than Mr Jameson has done that of his master; and the articles of the Nicene creed were not more true or invariable, than the aphorisms of Werner. The most intense zealotry generally allows some illumination from candour, and some limitation from reason. The Turks allow our Saviour to have been a prophet; but the disciples of Werner admit of no inspiration but his; all that he affirms is true; and all that his assent has not sanctioned, is absolutely false or apocryphal.

In this work, the zealous disciple offers to conduct us as far as Werner has gone; but from that point we must not advance or recede, neither stray to the right nor to the left, nor support ourselves on any prop on which the 'great master' has not leant. Apprehensive, perhaps, of being rated with the *servum pecus*, an imputation to which this pacing in the beaten path would so well entitle him, Mr Jameson however declares in his Preface, that he shall occasionally venture on a deviation even from the dictates of Werner. To us, the only instance of discrepance we have remarked appears rather unfortunate; for he seems to have committed an error in pretending to correct one that did not exist. His dissentient, however, is expressed in terms of laudable humility. 'The saline class,' he says, 'contains but *one* genus; Werner, however, has divided it into *four*; 1. Carbonats; 2. Muriats; 3. Nitrats; 4. Sulphats.' Then follows, in a note, 'This method is *probably* objectionable, and *therefore* is not followed in this work.'*

Mr Jameson's title-page begins, in plain English, by calling his work a '*System of Mineralogy*.' But this system comprehends '*Oryctognosie*' and '*Geognosie*;' words of so tramontane an aspect as to induce a pause. To many of his readers they will probably be unintelligible; and these must console themselves with the expectation that the second volume will unveil the mystery. We shall venture, however, to anticipate the period of this revelation, and to inform them, that mineralogy might be advantageously substituted for '*Oryctognosie*,' and that '*Geognosie*' is synonymous with geology. We leave Mr Jameson to explain why these harsh and unwieldy words have been needlessly intruded upon us; and why, if their introduction appeared requisite, he had not so much respect for the analogy of the English language, as to substitute for the terminating *ie*. Fortunately, the terms our language has so long recognised are too firmly rooted to be shaken. Systematic mineralogy expresses

* Those who wish for a specimen of Mr Jameson's encomiastic talents, may take the following:

'This great geognost, after many years of the most arduous investigations, conducted with an accuracy and acuteness of which we have few examples, discovered the manner in which the crust of the earth is constructed. Having made this great discovery, he, after deep reflection, and in conformity with the strictest rules of induction, drew most interesting conclusions as to the manner in which the solid mass of the earth may have been formed. It is that splendid specimen of investigation, the most perfect in its kind ever presented to the world, which I shall give an account of in the volume of this work which treats of *Geognosie*.' Introd. p. xxii.

expresses fully even the restricted sense in which 'Oryctognosie' is used; and it is certainly wholly unimportant to the rest of Europe that Werner has chosen to annex ridicule to the word geology. If the absurdities of its professors had militated against the name of their art, chemistry would never have been the denomination of any accurate or profound science; and though the conceits of the early geologists may appear absurd in the present state of improved knowledge, the next generation may perhaps overwhelm 'Geognosie' and the 'Geognosts' with the same contempt of which the professors of alchemy have been the victims; and the same necessity of distinguishing the more rational form of the science, by a new denomination, may be renewed.

In our progress through this work, we found the Introduction and Preface written in tolerable English, allowance being made for the indiscriminate use of *will* and *shall*, and a few more of these grammatical and verbal peculiarities that form the Shibboleth of the north. We advanced, indeed, with some degree of comfort and confidence, till we reached the 'Tabular View of the Mineral System,' which caused several pauses of astonishment. Still, however, we contrived to flounder on, till at length we stuck fast in the thick mud of the descriptions.

In explaining the manner in which Mr Jameson has composed these descriptions, the word *style* must be carefully avoided. That term can only be applied where accuracy and elegance exist, and must be rejected where the efforts of the author seem to have been uniformly directed against the purity and perspicuity of language. We could hardly have supposed that so liberal a transfer of pure unadulterated German idiom could have been made, or that it was possible to retain, so perfectly, the inert clumsiness and vapid prolixity of the original composition. To these we must add the novel ornaments of unnaturalized foreign words, of words which we believe the vocabulary of every known language would reject, and of a mode of spelling peculiar to this work.

In enumerating the qualifications of scientific works, perspicuity ought to rank next to correctness. For if the treatise be not comprehensible without extraneous aid, its literary merits are no higher than those of a syllabus to a course of empirical lectures, which can only be explained by the rhetoric of the mountebank, and the raree-show of his apparatus. The advance of science is most intimately connected with the abridgement and facilitation of the means of acquisition; and the work which offers explanation should not itself be enigmatical. It is equally important that the rudiments of acquired knowledge should

not be destroyed in the pursuit of farther attainments, and that those elementary books which are placed in the hands of the young and ignorant, should not present them with examples of a mode of composition vitiated to the greatest degree. They should not have every possible defect in grammar, in the selection and application of words, and in spelling, presented to them in print, in a work affirmed in its own preface to be the standard of authority on the subject of which it treats. Elegance is not universally requisite, nor is it always attainable; but grammatical and orthographical correctness are indispensable; nor is perspicuity of less importance.

As Mr Jameson does not pretend to have contrived a new system of mineralogy, or to deliver in this work an original nomenclature and arrangement, but only to exhibit to his English readers a complete view of what has been accomplished by Werner, we are more particularly called upon to attend to the perspicuity and propriety of his language. A work of this sort, in fact, is to be considered very much in the light of a *translation*; and as its chief merit must consist in the accurate and luminous expression of the German original, so it can be liable to no greater objection than that of being obscure, barbarous, or unintelligible.

How far these conditions have been fulfilled in this '*System of Oryctognosie*,' and how far Mr Jameson is deserving of this severity of censure, our readers will be capable of judging, when we have laid before them a few, and but a few, of the peculiarities which this work presents.

The mineral genera are mostly distinguished by new names. We find the '*flint* genus,' the '*clay* genus,' the '*talc* genus,' and the '*calc* genus.' These names are not merely clumsy, they are inaccurate. The names of the genera in Werner's system are derived from the earth of predominating influence. It is perfectly correct, in Germany, to use '*kiesel*,' flint; and '*kiesel-erde*,' literally flint-earth. But flint-earth is not English. To express the same idea, we must use silica, sillex, or silicious earth. Flint-earth, if it meant any thing, would imply pounded flints. Even Mr Jameson talks of silica as an ingredient in the composition of minerals. '*Thon*,' clay; '*talc*,' which word we also use for a peculiar mineral, are exactly parallel cases: neither clay earth nor talc-earth are English. As to '*kalk*,' lime, Mr Jameson's translation, calc, appears in English a barbarous abbreviation of calcareous. A little attention to propriety would have prevented these innovations, and the former denominations of the genera would have remained undisturbed.

Another deviation from ancient custom, that prevades many
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of the names in Mr Jameson's nomenclature, is the addition of an *e* final where none formerly existed, or its substitution for another letter. We may instance *Vesuviane*, *Arragone*, *Lithomarge*, *Molybdane*, &c. The elision of one or more syllables often occurs. Thus we find *asbest*, *calc-spar*, *rbomb-spar*, *cube-spar*, *gyps*, *titan*, *menac*, *sylvan*, &c. Other names are singularly altered in the spelling, as *vacce*, *appatite*, *kyanite*, *cinnoabar*, *gneuss*, &c. A large division of names are altogether new, as *azure-stone*, for *lazuli*, *flint-slate*, *whet-slate*, *polier-slate*, *clay-slate*, *clink-stone*, *schaum-earth* or *calc-schaum*, *slate-spar* or *shiver-spar*, *chal-stone*, *calc-tuf*, *hair-salt*, *rock-butter*, *silver-glance*, *copper-glance*, *lead-glance*, &c. &c. &c. Nor has the fabrication of new substantives exhausted Mr Jameson. Among his adjectives we find *schorlous*, *asbestos*, *goldish*, *silverish*, *jaspersy*, and *featherose*.

This seems a sufficient sample of his nomenclatural merits; let us next examine the descriptions, and select a few of the simpler passages they contain. We find that he makes a liberal use of such familiar language as 'obtuser,' 'parallelly,' 'more seldomer,' 'chesil' for chisel, 'pétrefaction' for petrification, 'unseparated,' 'by reason,' 'far handsomer,' 'cleavage,' 'conformably-wise,' and 'unconformably-wise;' and he talks of grains of garnet being '*powdered*,' instead of pounded. The meanness of these expressions is agreeably contrasted by the frequent introduction of such magnificent sounds as 'frangibility,' 'acumination,' (instead of termination), porcellaneous, scopiform gelatinization, and manipular. His phrases are occasionally adorned by 'architectonic marbles,' 'Hellespontic Archipelagoes,' and 'meteoric water.' We likewise hear of 'promiscuous radiation,' of 'crystals scalar-wise aggregated,' of 'duplicating transparency,' of 'obsolete edges,' of 'concealed foliated fractures,' of 'mighty beds,' of 'suppositious crystals,' of 'scopiform-diverging fibrous aggregation,' of 'floetz rocks,' of 'colour delineations, striped, zoned, and flamed,' of 'jasper swimming in a chalcédonic basis,' of substances that are 'bad shaped, aggregated,' or 'cuneiformly thick,' and of a vast many more that are not 'particularly difficultly frangible.'

These words and phrases are of perpetual recurrence; there is no page of the descriptions which they do not tend to render brilliant; and there are some favourite combinations of which almost every description can boast. Thus, twenty-nine minerals out of thirty have 'fragments indeterminately angular,' and nine out of ten are 'not particularly difficultly frangible.' This character of 'frangibility' is often contrasted with brittleness, in a manner not extremely obvious to vulgar apprehension. One substance is described as 'brittle,' and 'easily frangible;' another as 'brittle,' but 'difficultly frangible;' a third as 'brittle, and 'very difficultly frangible.'

In page 153. cellular quartz is described as occurring 'hexagonal, polygonal, and parallelly double, and spongiform circularly cellular.' In page 175. we learn that chalcedony generally occurs in 'reniform and fortification-wise curved, lamellar, usually distinct concretions.' In page 58. the crystals of leucite (which is uniformly spelt *leuxite* by Mr Jameson) are said to have their 'summits deeply and flatly acuminated by four planes, which are conformably-wise set on the alternate edges.' In p. 574. we find a paragraph beginning abruptly thus: 'Principal fracture is intermediate between floriformly foliated and narrow, and scopiformly diverging radiated.' But the most elegant specimen of Mr Jameson's descriptive talent, that has come within the range of our observation, is a passage in page 138. which purports to develope the structure of amethyst. It stands thus:

'The massive is commonly composed of more or less perfectly straight and thick prismatic distinct concretions, which are obliquely transversely streaked, and when free at the extremities shoot into crystals. These distinct concretions are generally intersected by other fortification-wise bent lamellar distinct concretions, and the colour delineation arranges itself in the direction of these lamellar concretations.'

With this we close the exhibition, and we shall not insult the understanding of our readers by commenting on what we have laid before them. We have carefully avoided noticing the very numerous errors that may be attributable to the press, in behalf of which we hope a copious table of *errata* will be included in the second volume. The blunders we have instanced have all obtained the stamp of the author's authority by a persevering repetition of error.

The reader may now judge with what singular impropriety the author's explanatory commentary on these remarkable words and phrases has been referred to an unpublished second volume; and unless he feels himself capable of comprehending all we have cited, he need not waste his time in exploring these pages. We have given nothing more than a fair specimen of their general contents, and we believe their composition to be conducted with such meritorious equality, that scarcely any one page can be found less reprehensible than another. But, independent of omitting the explanation of terms, there is another omission which, considering where Mr Jameson professes to have received his mineralogical education, and the system he affects to expound, seems even more extraordinary. We have no account offered of the 'external characters,' except a few concise observations in the introduction. When we consider to what a degree of elaboration the toil of perfecting these famous characters has extended, what

what ample tables have been formed to comprehend all their varieties, to limit their extent, and define every possible application; when we refer to the preliminary passages of Mr Jameson's own book, and find him profusely encomiastic in expressing his approbation of these most perfect instruments, we must consider the omission as wholly unaccountable. No attempt is made by the author to extricate us from our embarrassment, and no mention of the external characters appears after the introduction, till we reach the descriptions, and find our comprehension of them entirely dependent on our perfect acquaintance with the arbitrary language in which they are expressed.

From these omissions, and from the combination of verbal and idiomatic singularities, the 'system of oryctognosie' is rendered almost entirely inaccessible to the majority of readers. Nor are we ashamed to declare ourselves of the number of those who would feel considerable doubt and trepidation in attempting to attach a meaning to sundry oracular passages. We may therefore fairly consider it as a work composed in a foreign language, and limit our future investigations to inquiring how far it deserves a translation. Should the verdict be favourable, we have little doubt Mr Jameson may easily find some one among the many ingenious inhabitants of the elevated regions of this city, who, for reasonable considerations, will *do* it into English; and we humbly beg leave to suggest the propriety of *bestowing* a translation on every one who can produce an original copy. Nor ought this proceeding to be considered as degrading. Frederic the Great employed Voltaire to wash his *dirty linen*; and we really think Mr Jameson's *osnaburgs* and *turtans* will be much improved by being boiled and scoured.

When this wholesome operation is performed, the author may perhaps correct a few of the contradictions which at present add to the perplexity of his readers.

We are told in page 72. that Karsten names the precious garnet, almandine; and that he places the pyrope and common garnet together. But, in the very next page, we read that the pyrope is the precious garnet of Karsten. In page 289. a sentence occurs which seems to require considerable elucidation. 'Werner suspects that moonstone may be considered as adulasia; because it differs from it, by its *milk white* colour, which is *flesh-red* when held between the eye and the light.' These may serve as instances.

The general arrangement of Mr Jameson's book is derived from Werner. The tenets inculcated are those held, with various limitations, by his illustrious scholars; and the descriptions profess to be accurate vehicles of the collected stock of Wer-

nerian acumen and information. With this system we have nothing now to do, nor with the descriptive characters it employs. Almost every writer who has used them, has subjected them to some modification, and many of these changes have been found beneficial. The prolix enumeration of every shade of colour that can tinge a mineral, has been generally abridged; accurate statements of specific gravity and hardness, have supplied the place of vague approximations; the separation of species has been facilitated by the use of distinctive characters which contrast the points of dissimilitude; new and most important characters have been generally introduced, and many barbarous names have been replaced by scientific denominations expressing the components of the substance. These changes and additions have all been sanctioned by mineralogists, who admit the authority and adopt the arrangement of Werner. But let not the reader be led into a fruitless expectation that he will benefit by these changes, when he studies this most recent system of Wernerian *oryctognosie*. To all improvement and innovation, Mr Jameson appears a decided enemy. In a few frivolous instances of relative hardness, he affects to give the authority of Haüy; but we look in vain for a detail of electric phenomena, or of the discovery of double refraction in instances where it was unsuspected. No proper notice is taken of the agency of chemical tests, the blowpipe excepted. The internal structure of minerals, developed by mechanical division, is despised. Nor is the measure given of the angles of a single crystal, or any attempt made to explain that beautiful and important science of crystallography, which is likely to form the basis of all accurate mineralogy. It is in vain to urge, that all this forms no part of the Wernerian system. We expect a systematic work to make us acquainted with the actual, and not with the obsolete state of the science it treats of; or, if this valuable mass of information is not sufficiently orthodox to be inserted in the text, it was surely worthy a place among the notes and observations. We might remind Mr Jameson of the work of Brochant, which he has mentioned with some approbation. Brochant likewise professedly gives a view of the Wernerian system. But no information of importance has been omitted, because the limits of that system did not contain it. It would be invidious to extend the parallel between the two authors.

In some few cases, Mr Jameson has deviated from the general 'bold antiquity' of his performance; and these solitary instances of exuberance make the surrounding sterility more striking. No where is this sterility more remarkable or reprehensible, than in his account of the 'geographic situation' of minerals. Many

as Mr Jameson spells it, *marle*, we are gravely told, is found in Thuringia; but no other instance of its occurrence is cited. Perhaps the scarcity of publications on Scottish mineralogy may justify his referring more frequently to the 'Mineralogy of the Western Isles' than to any other work; and though his citations are almost exclusively from it, we are thankful for the information we receive; but scarcely any instance of the occurrence of minerals in England are quoted. One or two indeed are given on the authority of Karsten; and he states, on his own authority, that sulphate of strontian is found in the *south of England near Bristol*. Even the few localities that are cited are sometimes incorrect. The *satın* spar, as he terms it, is found in Cumberland, and not in Derbyshire. Topaz, we have good reason to believe, never was found in Cornwall; and his avowed ignorance of the nature of the alum slate^{at} Whitby, and of the geological situation of fuller's earth, is surprising. In this country, we should hardly have expected to see revived the idle tale of the difficulty of procuring specimens from the quarries in the aluminous rock at Tolia, which are open to every comer.

To enter into a detail of the deficiencies and errors that might be pointed out in almost every page, would be a task more irksome to the reader than difficult to us. But it may perhaps be an object of some interest, to examine how many well defined species of minerals are omitted, without even a mention of their names. We look in vain, in the tabular view of the system, or in the body of the work, for the arseniate of lime, the pharmacolithe of Karsten, for the fluat of potass and alumina, the cryolithe of Abildgaard, for the euclase, nepheline, meionite, pinite, &c. We find no mention of the vast mass of emerald or beryl found in France, or of the phosphate or chromate of iron. The new earth, yttria, is never mentioned, nor the gadolinite which contains it. Our search is equally fruitless for the apolome, the diopase, the wernerite itself, and the new metals, tantalus and columbium. Nothing is said of the discoveries of the celebrated d'Andrada, a scholar of Werner, and of the numerous list of minerals, not a few of which are new substances, which he discovered in Norway and Sweden. Many other minerals, generally considered as distinct species, are equally neglected: Hatty's appendix alone would furnish a numerous catalogue. If all these were deemed too apocryphal to enter the immaculate canon of the *system*, some other mode of exhibiting them should have been devised. Perhaps they are reserved to grace the pages of the second volume; but that cannot excuse their omission in the 'tabular view,' to which one new earth, two new metals, and between twenty and thirty new substances, would have formed a magnificent addition.

At page 160, Mr Jameson assures his readers, that the description of the quartz species is 'one of the most highly finished pictures of the Wernerian oryctognosie.' We deem it incumbent upon us to communicate this information to those who wish to estimate the fairest part of this performance. The intensity of praise in the sentence above quoted, is however considerably qualified when we read, a little lower down, that Wiedenman and other mineralogists were actually unable to understand this boasted description! A degree of ineptitude that is far from appearing so surprising to us, as it seems to have been to Mr Jameson.

Our duty towards this work seems now to be nearly discharged. We have pointed out some of the parts that appeared objectionable, and we have cited many sins of omission. We have stated what the author considers the most favourable specimen of its contents, which we would willingly quote, did not the species, quartz, and its subspecies, extend over many pages. We should have no hesitation in leaving the final decision to the judgment of our readers; but we cannot close the article without a few observations of a more general nature.

The alchemical professors, whose sole aim was to impose upon the ignorance, and profit by the credulity, of their votaries, involved the names of the agents they employed in symbolical mystery. They peopled the nomenclature of chemistry with as many monsters as mythology has introduced into the heavens, and talked familiarly of the ascent of black eagles, and the escape of red lions from the embraces of Diana, when their object was merely to disguise the expression of a chemical operation. Their efforts were finally counteracted by more enlightened inquirers; and the necessity of a systematic, invariable, and expressive nomenclature was strongly felt. Though, like the result of every human effort, the new chemical nomenclature has its defects, it is one of the most useful and beautiful intellectual instruments that has ever been devised; nor can we conceive any enlightened and unprepossessed mind to hesitate in its adoption.

Of the extensive science of chemistry, mineralogy forms a small department, and, though indebted to chemistry for its existence as a science, has too frequently attempted to effect a disunion. Some of the complex combinations of earths, that constitute mineral substances, could not be expressed, perhaps, according to the rules of that nomenclature. To such substances, therefore, a specific denomination has been correctly assigned; but all the earthy, and alkaline, and metallic salts, the metallic alloys, the phosphurets, and the sulphurets, come within the

the strictest line of limitation, and should be known by no other name than that which indicates their composition. Mr Jameson, however, thinks otherwise. He tells us roundly, in page 50. of the Introduction, that 'chemical nomenclature should not be admitted' in mineralogy; and therefore he regales the intellectual palate of his readers with 'hair salt' and 'rock butter.' Nor is his hostility to chemistry confined to so minute a consideration as the names of substances; he would willingly banish its agency entirely; upon all occasions he yields reluctantly to its dictates; and whenever the ideal distinctions of the system he embraces seem to be in contradiction, he boldly renounces its authority. In a note in page 26. of the Introduction, the following extraordinary sentence may be read: 'In short, we may believe that every analysis (not confirmed by synthesis) which does not agree with the *natural alliances* of minerals, is *false*.' It is not the extension of this principle that has procured diamond a place among *earthy* fossils, and that has induced Mr Jameson ingeniously to suppose that quartz is inflammable, and probably of the same nature with diamond! What are these '*natural alliances*?' The union of ignorance with theoretic assumption: and to this blessed combination the most irrefragable demonstration is to be wantonly sacrificed.

It might have been expected that the frequent errors of his 'great master,' in conjecturing the origin of minerals, should have induced Mr Jameson to adopt his opinions upon such subjects with some hesitation, and to announce them with some modesty. This, we are sorry to say, is far from being the case. Werner has theoretically assigned 'the newest *floetz* trap formation' as the 'repository' of many of the gems, and, among others, of spinelle, sapphire, ruby, and hyacinth. These are almost the only gems whose 'repository' has actually been detected; and it is somewhat unfortunate that *every instance is contradictory* of his assertion. Sapphires and rubies are found in primitive compound rocks; spinelle has been found imbedded in adulasia and in granular marble, and hyacinth (not zircon, as Mr Jameson affirms) in syenite.* With these instances of fallibility before him which

* Basalt, as might be expected, is considered of Neptunian origin; and Mr Jameson roundly affirms, 'it is *now universally* admitted to be an aquatic production.' Does he consider his countrymen, who follow the theory of Dr Hutton, as nonentities? Or how does he dispose of almost every mineralogist in France and Italy, and, among others, of M. Daubuisson, 'a scholar of Werner,' and once a staunch stickler for the aqueous origin of basalt; but who, since he visited Auvergne, has candidly owned that some basalt at least is volcanic?

which he partly admits, we hoped that he would have advanced with some temper to consider volcanic products. We did not expect the lava of Albano, with its leucites and melanites, to be called a 'new ~~floetz~~ trap;' nor to see it affirmed, that augite occurs principally in basalt; to find Vesuvius and *Ætna*, and even Italy, omitted among its localities, and to observe it mentioned in a note, as a matter of doubt, that it 'was said to have twin crystals.' Did Mr Jameson ever see an augite, or a specimen of Vesuvian or *Ætnean* lava? If he had, we think he would not have troubled his readers with the nice distinction of augites being 'wrapped up, but not imbedded in lava.' The climax, however, is not attained, till we are told that it is probable that pumice is formed by water, and that the volcanic glass of Lipari is undoubtedly of an aqueous origin! All this reminds us of the veteran mineralogist, who having denied the volcanic structure of the environs of Naples, was conducted to view the smoking ruins of Torre del Greco. After a pause of mortification, he exclaimed, 'I cannot deny this to be a lava; but I affirm it, contrary to every principle of geognosie.'

In some instances, however, it is not easy to explain the tenor of Mr Jameson's writings, by the mere effects of prepossession and system. The name of Dolomieu is rarely mentioned but as a prelude to a misstatement of his opinions; and towards Haüy he attempts to exercise the dexterity for which some subtle disputants have been celebrated, and a system is affirmed to be his, which he certainly never would acknowledge. Mr Jameson gravely asserts, that Haüy considers the *form* of the molecules as the *type* of the species. Nothing can be more false: The *molecule itself*, that is, a body of a given form, and possessing given qualities, besides its *form*, is the type of the species. The qualities of matter cannot exist separate from form, nor can a material form exist without qualities. It is the aggregate union of these that constitutes the representative of the species. It is this that Haüy assumes; and therefore Mr Jameson's attack is directed against a phantom of his own creation. Even over this he has not obtained any signal triumph; for he has been particularly unfortunate, in the instances adduced, to prove the viciousness of the supposed system. He affirms zeolyte to be improperly divided into mezo-type and stillbite, because, excepting the difference in the *form* of their integral molecule, they are identically the same. Has he forgot that mezo-type, when heated, is one of the most powerfully electric bodies in nature, and that stillbite has no such virtue? That mezo-type gelatinates with acids, while stillbite forms a liquid solution? We sincerely hope, that, before he advances to his promised attack on the extremely

extremely ill done' parts of Haüy's book, he will patiently render himself master of the system he affects to despise; and that, in his future publications, he will correct his spelling of *molecule*, by retrenching the superfluous letter by which he uniformly converts it into *mollecule*. If additional proof was wanting of the inattentive and slovenly manner in which this work is executed, it is afforded by Mr Jameson not having acquired the orthography of a word of such frequent occurrence.

With these observations we close our strictures, and sincerely regret the severity with which we have been obliged to speak of an author who has formerly deserved the acknowledgements of the public. If Mr Jameson persevere in his task, we venture to indulge a hope that his future volumes may be deserving of more lenient treatment. The defects of language are easily corrected; and though it is a laborious task to add to our stock of information the accumulated increase of late years, and to maintain it on a level with the general advance of science, the effort is within the compass of ordinary perseverance. But it may not be found a matter of equal facility, to obtain general enlargement of views, and freedom from theoretic shackles. It is also an arduous task, to toil after geological acquisitions, to explore the excavations of mines, and to obtain minute information of the most important metallurgical processes, and of every art which has mineral substances for its subject. This, however, Werner has done for Germany; and this Mr Jameson has undertaken to do for Britain. A mere translation from foreign authorities will in no respect suffice. Information, thus obtained, is always defective, and generally erroneous; and indeed, every foreign work in which we have seen an attempt to detail the metallurgic operations practised in these kingdoms, is excessively faulty. All this comes under the department of 'economical mineralogy;' and much original matter must be accumulated, before it can be rendered worthy of public notice.

We would exhibit the difficulties of the attempt not to dismay, but to excite; and should wish every obstacle to so important an undertaking to be thoroughly contemplated, that it may be successfully surmounted. Mr Jameson, no doubt, has already pondered on the subject: but we apprehend, from the specimen we have already considered, that his thoughts tend too much to mere translation; and we repeat that, in the economical part of his system, such a performance can never prove an acceptable present to the public. If, in dispute of those strenuous exertions, which, we trust, a regard for his reputation will stimulate Mr Jameson to make, he should disappoint the hopes
of

of his friends by the ultimate failure of his undertaking, he may console himself with the reflection, that its execution was not within the reach of minds of ordinary powers. He may remember, that to fail in a gallant attempt is often more honourable than trivial success; and return to his investigation of geographical geology with the safe assurance that his industry and intelligence will insure him in that department a creditable share of reputation and success. We observe that he has announced his intention of publishing an account of the geology of part of the South of Scotland; and we confidently anticipate much pleasure and information in the perusal of that work, whatever prognostic may be formed of the ulterior fate of the remaining portions of the 'System of Mineralogy.'

ART. V. *Travels from Berlin through Switzerland to Paris in the year 1804.* By Augustus Von Kotzebue, Author of the *Stranger*, *Lover's Vows*, *Pizzaro*, &c. &c. Translated from the German. 3 vol. 8vo. pp. 730. London. Phillips. 1804.

THIS publication affords a remarkable instance of the rapid communication of ideas which results from the art of printing, and of the disposition which a certain class of sentimental persons, especially in Germany, have to avail themselves of such facilities. About the beginning of the present year, M. Kotzebue sets out upon his travels. He performs a long tour through four different countries—he examines the French *repub-lic*, its government, its capital—concocts a narrative with a few quires of tender effusion and rambling reflection.—He returns.—In three months, and before the Leipzig fair, his article is ready for the market—it is sold—translated into English in a few weeks—read in this country, and, before much more than half a year is expired from the commencement of the tour, we are now engaged in reviewing it.

In a commodity so quickly raised, we certainly cannot expect to find much excellence of a solid description. It is one of those wares which are calculated only for immediate consumption; and if this experiment upon the powers of the author's name is successful, the speculation has answered its purpose, the trader gains his profit, and, we have no doubt, is long ere now far advanced in half a dozen plays, and novels, and ethical treatises, for the same insatiable market. It would indeed be as impossible for M. Kotzebue to travel, whether in Russia, Siberia, or France, or to perform the functions analogous to what, in other men, we call thinking—or to read, if this is ever a part of his system, with-
out

out instantly producing a certain weight of writing, as it would be for him to write without printing, or to publish without exposing himself, in many instances, to ridicule and pity. These, however, are emotions to which the million of German readers are not much alive; and of late years, unfortunately, their baneful passion for noxious and tasteless paradox has taken a deep root in this country. The many admirers of the German stage and romance, who have received the infection, in spite of all the powerful antidotes which the wits of England administered, are exceedingly well predisposed for such sentimental journeys as the present. It will assuredly find favour where Brydone, and Volney, and D'Ulloa, have failed to move. In fact, its attractions belong to the subject, rather than the manner; and we purpose to exhibit a few specimens, that our readers may be led to form a proper opinion upon its whole merits, as well as upon the nature of the absurdities which the German palate can relish in this kind of writing. To such a selection, the present article must be confined. It would require as digressive an imagination as our author's, to attempt following him through all his desultory rambling, whether of narrative or of reflection; and it is still less worth while to exhibit any general view of his manifold imperfections, or the ridiculous and depraved characters of the school to which he belongs. All this is best described by specimen.

Nothing strikes one more constantly in these volumes, than the utter disregard of all mankind and their opinions, by which the writer seems at every moment to be influenced. Whatever comes into the head of Augustus Von Kotzebue may be put down—*Quicquid in buccam venit*; it, no matter whether it has a meaning or not, or what meaning it has, or how far it may be contradictory of the very last effusion—it is Kotzebue's, and he may publish it.—*Meus hic sermo*.—This is his ruling maxim. The preface, for example, after saying nothing more than that the whole of 'his remarks are his own,' and that if there are absurdities among them now, there were many more in the manuscript, concludes with this notable impertinence.—'I have nothing further to say, till the tide of time shall alter forms, and the danger of being saluted with a shower of stones from a meteor shall be over.' p. iv. The 'cursory remarks, by way of introduction,' are made of the like stuff. They contain a rhapsody, to shew that travelling and living are not perfectly the same thing—interspersed with much grumbling that men should come into the world without their consent being previously asked and obtained. We are treated, about the beginning of the Journey, with a romantic proposal in favour of planting fruit trees,

trees, for which this native of the Prussian sands seems to have a very natural partiality. 'A good road,' he exclaims, 'lined with fruit trees, is a nobler monument to the memory of a prince, than'—What? Our readers will not immediately guess the exact measure of this monument. It is then, precisely, nobler than 'a summer-house in the Chinese or in any other style.' p. 10. To the praise of fruit trees, succeeds that of 'fools.' He concludes this *elogue* with a wish, where some readers may perchance be inclined to think superfluous, 'I should like to have such a fool about me—I must find fault with all the crowned heads, for having allowed such a useful custom to become obsolete.' p. 24.

Upon entering Switzerland, our author goes off at once into an impassioned invective against *descriptions*, and vows, with vows, with indeed a very solemn oath, that he will never think of describing. We were too well acquainted with this tribe of writers, not to lay our account immediately with reading three entire volumes of nothing but description. Accordingly, he begins the very line after this vow with a description, in the strictest sense of the word; and, after having extended it through many pages of foam, abyss, yawning cliff, crevice, foliage, tint, and all the other ingredients which go to the composition of such an article,—after representing the 'rushing Rhone,' in the various predicaments of 'trickling,' 'oozing,' 'decking,' 'vanishing,' 'being married,' 'buried,' 'swallowed,' 'vomited up,' and 'rejoining its bride,' he says, he believes he has 'almost been betrayed into a description.' p. 73. The descriptions are mixed up also with remarks of a miscellaneous nature. One spot is the place where the Deity stood when he pronounced his handy work good. (p. 46.) We are, on another occasion, sagely told that 'in travelling, it often happens that we find things very different from what we expected.' p. 65.

Admitting, after all, that M. Kotzebue had adhered in practice to his general rule, we might ask, why all this enmity to descriptions? He tells us, 'they are inadequate; they give an imperfect idea of the original; they afford no joy like that which the real beholder receives from the view.' This is all very true; but it proves nothing: It applies to his favourite art of painting, with at least equal force; nay, it applies to every imitative art, and to none more than to that which M. Kotzebue has most cultivated, the drama. Surely, he would, form singularly inaccurate notions of what passes in a world who should take his ideas of human life from the plays of our author. Those rare productions, and in general the whole of the German stage, contain things which cannot be much praised for 'resembling' any 'original.' All M. Kotzebue's clamour
amounts

amounts to a proposition not very new, that seeing and reading are not the same, and that there is less pleasure in hearing a description of a beautiful prospect, than in beholding it. A position which those only can doubt, who unhappily stand in need of our author's introductory remarks to convince them that travelling and living are not in all respects the same things.

On his arrival at Paris M. Kotzebue details all the curiosities of that well known capital with tiresome minuteness, under the stale and peculiarly descriptive form of conducting his readers round the town. His catalogue of sights indeed is only different from a dry list, in this, that he affectedly uses the language of a *cicerone* or shewman. Instead of saying 'the walk,' he talks of 'that walk;' and, rather than plainly inform us of a man meeting a woman, and beginning to converse, he exclaims, 'Do you see yonder man meeting yonder woman, and beginning to converse?' We have just the same sensation in every respect during this operation, that we remember to have experienced when a sexton has gone through his description of the wonders of his cathedral; there is no stopping him to get any useful information; on he goes with the old bead-roll of names and dates, interspersed with notices of kings and conquerors, whom every one knows every thing about; or curates and churchwardens, respecting whom you were formerly in a state of happy ignorance; obliging you to hear, instead of the revenues and constitution of the establishment, or the history of its foundation and decline, the story of St Dunstan and the Devil in one of the windows, or the life of the last sexton and his three wives.

Just so the very narrative and perpetually descriptive M. Kotzebue. He tells you little of the changes produced by the revolution, or of the present state of manners, rights (if there are any) and opinions (whose existence is equally dubious) in France. But he carries you round the *Thuilleries*, *Palais-Royal*, almost all the coffee houses in the neighbourhood, and, without exception, all the theatres.

Of the leading characters at present figuring in Paris (we should perhaps speak in the singular number) you can get no information. Of the eternal Augustus Von Kotzebue, and his feelings and tastes, or of the ignorance and privation of taste on which he curiously piques himself, you hear, at every step of your walk. Of the First Magistrate of France (an Emperor, we believe, at the departure of the last advices), you are perhaps told that he is little in stature, but an extraordinary man; and of his brother Lucien, that he is a 'most amiable man, especially in all the relations of domestic life;' and that Talma is a good player, especially when he acts in the *Stranger and the*

Two brothers.* To make amends, you have long histories of old beggar-women, ragged children sitting on bridges, tender hearted French hussars, and many pages entirely devoted to a full account of the various shew-boxes exhibited in Paris, with the heads (sometimes the whole) of the eloquent harangues delivered by their proprietors.

If former travellers, in the countries of marble and canvass, have tired us with their connoisseurship, M. Kotzebue produces the same effect, in a still more eminent degree, by his perpetual avowal of ignorance in the fine arts, and his declamations against what is generally called a cultivated taste in painting and statuary. After abjuring all pretensions to such qualities, we should naturally expect him to dwell very lightly on the national galleries at Paris. Quite the contrary, he devotes above a hundred pages to the subject; carries us through one hall after another, and particularizes almost every eminent piece. He is, however, always stopping to abjure all critical talent, all knowledge in the two sister arts; frequently to 'thank God that he wants those qualifications;' and to remind us, as if such a thing were at all necessary, that 'he cannot *reason*, he can only *feel*.' This kind of paradox is indeed by no means peculiar to M. Kotzebue. It is somewhat extenuated by the palpable absurdities of many ignorant lovers of the fine arts, and it is connected with a very general question, being, in fact, almost an offset from the grand paradox of modern times—the argument against refinement and civilization. In this point of view, we were induced to follow our author rather minutely through the galleries; and the result of our attendance upon him is exactly what we had expected to find, that his catalogue of paintings and statues differs from the descriptions which a real connoisseur would give, only in the ignorance of the subject, the petulant contempt of superior learning, and the miserably bad taste which it displays. It is in other respects just as faulty; possessing, in a liberal measure, the defects of prolixity, fanciful feeling, and prejudice. His contempt of the *Venus de Medicis*, on account both of the design and the execution; and his disgust at the *Laocoon*, on account of the subject, are not the greatest absurdities which this man of feeling, who cannot reason, is always committing. In fact, he does try to argue, but argues very ill. He endeavours to prove that the subject of pictures deserves more consideration than the execution or the talents of the artist; and indeed we find that this is his general criterion of judging. Surely a man, under the influence of such a fancy, need not go to Paris for gratification. What Apollos,

* Favourite productions of our author, of which whosoever has not heard sufficiently before, may read enough in these volumes.

Apollos, Madonnas, or Holy Families, can vie with the stores of the sign-post and caricature-shop in the eyes of such a spectator? We cannot leave this branch of the work without noticing two other circumstances, one of which we have found infinitely ludicrous, and the other intolerably offensive. He is constantly ascribing to his favourite pieces qualities which no picture, indeed no inanimate object, can possibly possess. Not that he gives a glowing description of the '*spirantia æra*,' the '*vivos de marmore vultus*,' or the '*marble softened into life growing warm*;' and '*the animated canvass*' sparkling with '*an eye that speaks the melting soul*.' All this we can admire (in the two first of descriptive poets) as exquisite metaphor; and, indeed, no strained description of the wonders which the chisel and the pencil can work in the hands of Praxiteles and Raphael. M. Kotzebue's fictions are of a much duller cast; they are plain matter of falsehood, and are meant to be literally believed; while the writer's fancy is too rapid and strong to let him perceive the impossibility he is describing. Thus, he actually tells us, as a fact, that the monument of Le Brun's mother consists of an angel sounding a trumpet—a matron in her coffin hearing it—*then* lifting the lid—*then* gladly awaking from a long slumber—and *then* rising out of her grave.

But the other circumstance to which we allude, is the unceasing spirit of blasphemy which breaks forth wheresoever the subject of any piece is taken from Scripture history. We would gladly avoid polluting our pages by any examples; but so grave an accusation demands some proof; and we trust that the evidence of this German wit's being one of the most impious scoffers of the day, will at least induce his admirers to re-examine the foundation of their predilection. We may add, that there was not perhaps any very urgent necessity to render all this part of the work literally for the benefit of readers, whose tastes, it is much to be hoped, are still very different from those of Paris and Berlin. Our Saviour is generally denominated, with great familiarity, '*the little Jesus*,' or '*the little Christ*.' Vol. II. p. 41—47, &c. The following account is given of Dominichino's curse of the first parents: '*A great crowd of little angels are carrying the Lord in the clouds, who would certainly tumble down if the little creatures did not every where prop him up with their hands, especially his posteriors*.' Vol. II. p. 50. Speaking of the portrait of Madame Lisé, a noble Florentine's wife, he says—'*But should Heaven again want a Holy Virgin, let it choose this married beauty*.' Vol. II. p. 52. He compares (in p. 54.) the crucifixion to a common execution; and adds, respecting martyrdoms, '*A roasted or flayed saint, if he were painted by the Lord himself, is to me, &c., &c.*' We suppose our charge is now sufficiently made out. In a less

jocose kind of infidelity, M. Kotzebue is not deficient. Thus, in vol. II. p. 165, he mentions it as self-evident, *en passant*, that the Egyptian Iris, with Florus on her knee, served for the prototype of the Holy Virgin. If any thing can increase the culpability of such passages, it is the information conveyed in a note to vol. I. p. 5. 'that these travels are addressed to a lady.' That this unfortunate female, however, may not have her delicacy offended in one respect alone, our author has taken notable care to season the book with the more ordinary kinds of indecency. A whole section is devoted to the interesting subject of the Parisian *filles de joie*. A minute account is given of the concern which French young ladies take in the care of their brothers '*qui se sont brûlés*.' An anecdote, too long and bad to be copied, is given at p. 174. of vol. III. See also the whole anecdotes of the same section, without exception. And, finally, for variety sake, he presents his fair reader with a bit of a scene in the *Médaille malgré lui*, under the form of a lecture upon indelicacy. '*Va-t-elle à la chaise percée ?*--- '*Oui.*'--- '*Copieusement ?*'--- '*Asses.*'--- '*Et la matière est-elle ?*' &c.

Having now given our readers perhaps more specimens than they may think quite necessary of the faults in which these volumes abound, we hasten to make some amends, both to them and to the author, by noticing a few of the good parts; or, rather, we shall select all the things which we have been able to collect, in any way deserving such an epithet. This is no very tedious task; and it may probably save some of our readers the trouble of perusing the work.

The excellencies in question consist entirely of a few curious anecdotes, quite unknown in this country,—some of them only known in France. They deserve our attention, and are extremely entertaining, as well as interesting, in a higher point of view.

1. In the course of the fifty long pages which our author, in the true spirit of his trade, devotes to the Parisian theatres, we meet with some curious illustrations of the systematic attention bestowed in France to the support and improvement of the stage. A theatrical author is encouraged in a degree, and with a punctilious attention to his case and interest, perfectly unknown in any other country. He has a right to one twenty-first part of the gross receipts of his piece every night it is performed, in every theatre of France, all his life, and his heirs for ten years after his death. The utmost care is taken both to protect his copy-right in the piece, and, what may seem more difficult, to secure him his due share of the profits each night, in all the theatres of France, which far exceed a hundred in number. A particular office is established at Paris, in which the author needs only enter his

his name, and he has no farther trouble to take.* The office has its correspondents and cashiers all over the country, and accounts to the author for his full profits, for a commission of two *per cent*. At the expiration of the two first years, the author of any popular piece may rely on having cleared 40,000 livres, or near 1700*l*. Sterling. After that, the profits decrease ; but if the author has produced two or three such pieces, he not only provides decently for himself, but leaves his children a comfortable provision for ten years after his decease. This is all to be understood of even ordinary workmen for the stage. The example taken by M. Kotzebue is striking. The translator of his '*Stranger*,' or, as he calls it, '*Misanthrophy and Repentance*,' whom he charges with having performed the task rather in an awkward manner, has already cleared 60,000 livres, or above 2500*l*. Sterling, by it ; and the piece is still a stock play, being frequently performed three times in one evening in Paris. The author only got 200 rix-dollars for it, or about 40*l*. ! D'Aleynac, the popular composer, receives, as profits for his former pieces, 1200*l*. Sterling a year, without including Paris. How contemptible when compared with this, are the highest wages of literary labour in all the other departments of the republic of letters !

2. Many traits are recorded in this work, illustrative of the superlatively fickle, and in many respects, ludicrous character of the French people. Among these we particularly noticed the *charlatanisme* of their amateurs, and the indelicacy which prevails among the women. A girl scarcely fifteen years old will stand before *David's* painting, and, attentively gazing through her opera glass at the start-naked Sabine, will observe that such a muscle is full of energy, but such a one like nothing. 'She will talk of the tibia, of the abdomen, and God knows of what more.' Mothers and daughters will entrust their intrigues to each other, and generally live upon the most scolding terms of familiarity. Every newspaper contains advertisements from persons of both sexes, wishing to form temporary connexions.

3. Of the class of narratives usually denominated '*anecdotes*' *par excellence*, M. Kotzebue has given several that deserve notice. It became absolutely a fashion, during the reign of terror, to make *bon-mots* on the way to be guillotined. Danton, when a companion in distress on the platform advanced to embrace him, observed very coolly, '*Laissez, nos tetes doivent se rencontre toute à l'heure dans le sac ;*' alluding to the sack into which the decollated heads fell from the '*petite fenetre nationale*,' as it was endearingly termed by those merry mortals. Talma told our author, that he was one day in company with a large party, when the whim struck them to play *à la guillotine*. This they did with a fire-

screen, which they pulled up and let down on the necks of such as chose to suffer. It happened, that in less than two days after, the whole party, except Talma, were called upon to repeat the *divertissement* in a more public and ceremonious manner, with a better apparatus provided at the national expence. Madame Talma was in confinement with the celebrated Madame Roland. At her execution, it is well known she behaved with great firmness; but, on the evening before, she was uncommonly moved. She spent the night in playing on the harpsichord; but Madame Talma says that the airs she struck, and her manner of playing, were *so strange, so shocking, and so frightful*, that the sounds will never escape her memory. This is a striking sketch.

On the subject of Bonaparte, we meet with few anecdotes worth preserving. They relate chiefly to his mode of going to the play and the levee. He is received by thunders of applause by the pit, to which he pays not the smallest attention, and speaks to no one during the performance. He especially likes tragedy, and told our author that comedy does not please him. His box is ornamented with a fine star; and it is the current belief that he has faith in the guidance of one. At the levee, he seems to behave very plainly. To some, as to the Turkish ambassador who brought a splendid present, he exhibited tokens of insufferable coldness and contempt. The American minister was observing how much peace was to be desired; Bonaparte shrugged his shoulders, as if to say, '*Ce n'est pas ma faute*,' and seemed to repress some words to this purpose that were about to escape him. Of Paul I. he observed to M. van Kotzebue, that 'he had a most sincere regard for him; that he was a hot-headed prince, but had an excellent heart.' He seems to have indulged in some very judicious severities against the modern German plays, which we trust his admirer M. Kotzebue will profit by. *

4. However ridiculous, in many respects, the genteel society of Paris may be, since it has been new-modelled by the revolution, and especially to foreigners, whose minds are of a more sedate and sober cast, we must allow that one species of entertainment, known in the best circles, and described in a very lively manner by M. Kotzebue, is of a relish, in point of mental luxury, superior to any thing which we meet with in other countries. It consists in assembling a very select company to a most elegant entertainment, where some of the most eminent poets, actors, or musical performers, are invited. Only the very first-rate professors are sought after; and they who have not sufficient influence to command such charms, must be content with the ordinary entertainment of a crowd, a concert, or cards. The persons who chiefly illuminate these feasts of taste, are Delille and Talma. The former is very kind in reciting large passages from his work, and
always

always favours the company with his most recent unpublished productions. He is almost stone blind, but has a wonderful memory. Talma gives the finest pieces of Voltaire, Racine, and Corneille, with all that pathos and energy of which he is sovereign master, and which astonish still more in private than in the theatre. To so exquisitely classical an entertainment, the mere mental voluptuary can indeed find no one immediate objection. Yet will the more stern observer see cause to apprehend, from the prevalence of such a custom, no little degradation both to the character of the poet and the excellence of his productions, perhaps even to the taste of the best societies. The poet is evidently brought down to the level of an exhibitor, and made to pour gratuitously his own effusions upon those who would otherwise have to pay the just price of reading them. All criticism, in such circumstances, is out of the question. No man, according to the Castilian adage, can look a gift horse in the mouth, especially in presence of the breeder. Nothing but admiration must be returned for the bard's complaisance; and, after receiving such rapturous and indiscriminate applause from circles which comprehend every thing that is eminent for beauty, fashion, wealth, and even talents, is it supposing the poetical character too frail, to expect that the juster judgments of a more stern tribunal, the impartial and infallible voice of the public, will be afterwards disregarded, unless it chimes with the very echo of the *petit-souper*? Is not the taste of those important circles, too, in danger of being rendered less fastidious than the imperfections of all mortal poets require, by this constant habit of applause? Upon the actors, this sort of private rehearsal can certainly produce only good effects. On the one hand, they rather stand in need of that near inspection, and deliberate attention which is incompatible with the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance' of the crowded theatre; while, on the other, the applause bestowed in private circles can never corrupt a performer, who must appear three times a week before a most pitiless tribunal, at the risk of his fame and his bread. Nevertheless we confess, that among the audience at the *Theatre Francais*, we should not expect to find those salutary checks and corrections which the publick is in the habit of dispensing to the first-rate performers, administered with the most relentless justice, by those polite personages who are accustomed to lavish their applauses upon the same actors as their guests and companions, after the theatre is dismissed. And thus we are rather disposed to find fault even with the least hurtful of the two modes of recreation, for its natural effects on the taste of the most important part of the community. In other countries, be it always remembered, such an effect, whether as to poetry or re-

citation, would be more trivial, in proportion as men of real talents and solid accomplishments more rarely form a part of the most fashionable society. In Paris, on the contrary, the first philosophers and wits are uniformly admitted to those select parties, which, perhaps, may also account for the existence of that very elegant species of amusement whose merits we have now been discussing.

5. The last thing which we shall select for the amusement of our readers, is the singular history of the late fictitious Dauphin, the detail of which has never reached this country, and deserves well to be considered in many points of view. Such impostors have tarted up in many places, and in all ages of the world; and, assuming certain most notorious characters, formerly believed to be dead, have succeeded in obtaining a universal assent, almost resembling the effects of some epidemic contagion; for they have generally represented persons extremely well known, whose death had been matter of complete evidence and very recent occurrence, and to whom they bore the very faintest resemblance. To the list of Warbeck, Simnel, Pugatcheff, the Joans, the Dimitris, and King Sebastian, must now be added a person whose exploits, though confined to private circles, have, upon the whole, been more astonishing, from the refined age and nation in which they were performed, and the high rank of the persons who were their dupes.

Jean Marie Hervagault is the son of a taylor at St Loo, of a prepossessing figure, and very like Lewis XVI. in the features of his face. He has no education, but great address. He is supposed to be a natural son of the Duke de Valentinois. In September 1796, he left his father's house, wandered about the country as a person of family reduced by the revolution, and procured every where a favourable reception. He then went to Cherbourg, where he was taken up as a vagrant, and visited in jail, and extricated by his father, who found him possessed of money and jewels to a considerable amount. He once more eloped and strolled about, sometimes as son of the Prince of Monaco, sometimes as heir of the Duc d'Ursel. At last he passed for a relation of Lewis XVI. and the Emperor Joseph, assumed woman's clothes, and said he had been over to assist his emigrant parents in England. He gained universal credit with persons of distinction; but was again imprisoned at Bayeux. His father once more relieved him, and he a third time broke loose. He now obtained money from different persons of rank, as a rich but unfortunate branch of the Montmorency family; and carried on his impostures at Meanx, only eight leagues from Paris. At Chalons he was once more imprisoned; and here he assumed

an air of grandeur and mystery, gave significant hints, and soon it was whispered about that he was the Dauphin, son of Lewis XVI., who had not died at the time supposed. The jailor was the first dupe, and gave him money. The whole inhabitants of any rank or consequence at Chalons were deceived, became confidants of the secret, and advanced large sums of money. He kept a sumptuous table in prison, and was allowed to see all company. The police examined him rigidly; when he declared himself the son of a taylor at Loo, as if to deceive them, and was let out after a trifling confinement. He was again imprisoned for two years at Vire; but splendidly supported by his adherents at Chalons; and, on his liberation, received by them in triumph,—had public entertainments in honour of his return, and walked into the town over flowers strewed at his feet. He then was dismissed from the town by the police; but wherever he went, he found friends and adherents among the higher orders, ready to sacrifice their whole fortunes in his cause and to follow him as his servants about the country. In this way he went from one chateau to another; and at all was received with the highest pomp and veneration.

‘He was once at Rheims,’ says our author, ‘twice at Vitry le François, and often at different country seats, where balls, concerts, and feasts of every kind, were given in honour of him. At Vitry he was splendidly and conveniently lodged at the house of Madame de Rambecour, whose husband closely followed all his footsteps, waited upon him with the most attentive zeal, and served him like a valet. On St Louis’s day, a superb *fête* was prepared for him, it being the feast of the saint whose name he bore. The ladies sung songs composed in honour of him. In the confidential circles which he frequented, they always called him *Mon prince*! His portrait was handed about as that of the *Dauphin*; and it was reported, that the Pope himself had imprinted a mark on his leg to know him again by. Finally, a letter was handed about from a *bishop*, in which this deluded prelate writes in expressions of the profoundest respect for this young vagabond, and, by his example, convinced many who were still wavering in their belief. Already was a court formed round Lewis XVII.: he had immediately his favourites, and was going to nominate those who were to hold the great offices of his household. Many names of consequence were to be found among them. They all glowed with enthusiasm, and prepared to make the greatest sacrifices. Men of birth and rank deemed themselves fortunate in being able to perform the meanest drudgery of menial service for him. Misers turned spendthrifts, that they might have the honour of entertaining him. It was very natural that such proceedings should not escape the eye of a vigilant police. Fouché was informed at Paris of all that was going on at Vitry; and a warrant put an end to the farce.’

But

* But even when taken into custody, Hervagault conducted himself with a loftiness and dignity that struck all present with a kind of dubious awe. His most downcast confidants surrounded him with the most heartfelt reverence. One of them, highly moved, begged leave to embrace him; and the taylor's son negligently tendered his hand to kiss. The very first night of his incarceration, a most splendid feast was given at the prison, and he was most sumptuously served at all times. The notary called him in prison *Monseigneur*, and was most graciously rewarded with the appellation of *Mon petit page—Mon petit valet de chambre d'Amitié*. Thus he acted his part dispassionately, and with an air of the utmost importance;—going to mass, a servant carried his prayer-book and cushion. He appointed a secretary, and made him sign in his name that of *Louis Charles*. At last the mayor was forced to debar the multitude from access, and to intercept the enormous supplies of wine and good cheer sent for his use.' Vol. III. p. 50.

At last his offence was tried, and he was sentenced, in 1802, to be imprisoned four years at Ostend. He appealed to the court at Rheims; and, before the cause could be judged, a new actor appeared on the stage. The aged Bishop of V****, a man unusually venerated for his integrity, learning, and austerity of life, declared himself convinced that Hervagault was the real Dauphin; said he had found, on examining the surgeons who dissected the pretended Dauphin at the Temple, that, in fact, it was a suppositious corpse; came to Rheims, and, by many interviews with him, was quite confirmed; sent large sums for his service; and gave up every pursuit, even his holy functions, for his sake. He used all his interest at Paris to obtain a mitigation of the sentence—corresponded in cyphers with the leading men, to whom he meant to entrust the secret—and a plan was formed to marry Hervagault to a distant relation of the Royal Family, and to make levies of men for his service. The trial was then concluded, by confirming the original sentence in spite of the violent and unanimous outcries of the populace. In prison he was again treated as before. No one deserted him. The bishop, in particular, formed a plan for his rescue on the road to Soissons, and being discovered, was arrested, but pardoned. He immediately, however, formed a new junto of partizans, and the government were obliged to send him off.

' In order (adds M. Kotzebue, p. 57.) to render it conceivable how so many persons of rank and knowledge should have suffered themselves to be made the dupes of this raw youngster, people ought themselves to have heard him tell his story. With great emotion, he would remember how Louis XVI. his father used to give him lessons in history and geography in the Temple. In the tone of the most ingenious simplicity, he would talk of a little bitch called *Fidèle*, of which Marie Antoinette his mother was very fond. The most minute details he describ-

ed with infantile vivacity ; nor did he forget that Simon his jailor used to wake him in the dead of night, to convince him that he had not been carried off.'

Our author next adds his account of his adventures, which cannot fail to strike every one with admiration of this singular young man's genius for the finer species of imposture. It is too long for insertion ; but the purpose of our abstract is answered, if we have shown the extent to which the best educated persons in France, not immediately connected with either the new or the old court, were worked upon ; they continue still to believe in his being the real Dauphin.

' His narrative,' they say, ' bears the stamp of truth ; and if the Dauphin has not been entirely sent out of the world, he will some time or other appear again, bring back the golden times into our fields, and promote to high honours his faithful adherents ' p. 74.

We desire any adviser of the fatal emigration of the French princes and nobility, who may cast his eye on these pages, to pause, and receive the edifying lesson, which this strange anecdote is so well calculated to impress. Let them reflect, how many disadvantages, how many mighty obstacles, thrown in the way of this youth's wild project, by nature, by education, by political circumstances, were at once vanquished by one only ally—the loyalty and zeal of the adherents who clung, who still cling, to those who have so poorly deserted and betrayed them. By the aid of this one sentiment, by merely calling himself a French prince, did the son of a country village taylor crowd his standard with devotees to the Royal cause, even when it was erected in a dungeon ; levy at will contributions of money and service ; retain his supporters : nay, augment their numbers, through all the vicissitudes of his strolling life ; and at last fail, only by a few days, of appearing in arms at the head of a rebellion, for the rights of the French crown. We leave the moral lesson which may be drawn from this raw youth's attempt, to all the projectors of that infinitely wilder scheme—the plan of regaining the throne of France by means of emigration.

ART. VI. I. *Account of some Experiments on the Descent of the Sap in trees.* In a letter from Thomas Andrew Knight Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., K. B. P. R. S. (From *Phil. Trans.* 1803. Part II.)

II. *Experiments and Observations on the Motion of the Sap in Trees.* In a letter from Thomas Andrew Knight Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., K. B. P. R. S. (From *Phil. Trans.* 1804. Part I.)

WE have condensed into one article these two curious and interesting memoirs. They contain a continuation of a course of experiments on the motion of the sap in trees, of which the first part was related in a former volume of the Philosophical Transactions (1801, Part II.) We shall begin with a brief abstract of that paper.

It appeared from Mr Knight's experiments, which were contrived with great neatness and simplicity, that the sap is absorbed from the soil by the bark of the roots, and carried upwards by the alburnum of the root, trunk and branches; that it passes through the central vessels (as our author calls them) into the succulent matter of the annual shoot, the leaf stalk, and leaf; and that it is returned to the bark through certain vessels of the leaf-stalk. In the present paper, Mr Knight continues his inquiries, and proceeds to show how the sap, having reached the point where he formerly had left it, descends through the bark, and contributes to the very important process of forming the wood.

He began, by some experiments, to investigate the precise functions of *leaves*. Placing a plate of glass under a vine leaf in full growth, he found it soon covered with moisture. If the upper side of the leaf was brought round, and the glass placed under it, no mark whatever was left of exhalation. It was in these, and the like experiments very often repeated, that Mr Knight found a full confirmation of the position, deduced by other naturalists from trials with leaves not in a state of growth, that the different sides of the leaf have different properties, and are subservient to different functions in the vegetable economy.

The formation of wood depends most materially on the free circulation of the sap from the leaves downwards, both in consequence of gravitation, and of the motion impressed on the tree by external causes. By tying down young vine shoots in an inverted position, and placing their tops in the earth, and then cutting off the bark of a certain space all round, so as to cut off the communication formerly proved to be maintained through the

the medium of the bark, Mr Knight found much wood was generated at the *upper* lip of the wound. It was evident, therefore, that the gravitation of the sap here facilitates the process. By making the stem of a young apple tree quite fast, at a certain height, and allowing the top to move freely in the wind, it was found that the growth of the upper part was much more rapid than that of the stem, and that another similar tree, not so fixed, had grown much thicker in the same time. Hence we perceive the singular importance of situation to the growth of trees, and the reason why those which are tied or trained against a wall are often unhealthy, and stunted in their vegetation. Hence, too we can explain, in a most satisfactory and pleasing manner, a variety of the arrangements of nature in the vegetable world. The speculations introduced by our author, on this view of the subject, are so beautiful and curious, that we cannot refrain from extracting a part of them.

These results appear to open an extensive and interesting field to our observation, where we shall find much to admire, in the means which nature employs to adapt the forms of its vegetable productions to every situation in which art or accident may deposit them. If a tree be placed in a high and exposed situation, where it is much kept in motion by winds, the new matter which it generates will be deposited chiefly in the roots and lower parts of the trunk, and the diameter of the latter will diminish rapidly in its ascent. The progress of the ascending sap will of course be impeded; and it will thence cause lateral branches to be produced, or will pass into those already existing. The forms of such branches will be similar to that of the trunk; and the growth of the insulated tree on the mountain will be, as we always find it, low and sturdy, and well calculated to resist the heavy gales to which its situation constantly exposes it.

Let another tree of the same kind be surrounded, whilst young, by others, and it will assume a very different form. It will now be deprived of a part of its motion, and another cause will operate: the leaves on the lateral branches will be partly deprived of light, and, as I have remarked in the last paper I had the honour to address to you, little alburnum will then be generated in those branches. Their vigour, of course, becomes impaired, and less sap is required to support their diminished growth; more, in consequence, remains for the leading shoots: these, therefore, exert themselves with increased energy; and the trees seem to vie with each other for superiority, as if endued with all the passions and propensities of animal life.

An insulated tree in a sheltered valley, will assume, from the foregoing causes, a form distinct from either of the preceding;* and its growth

* Not only the external form of the tree, but the internal character of the wood, will be affected by the situation in which the tree grows: and

growth will be more or less aspiring, in proportion to the degree of protection it receives from winds, and its contiguity to elevated objects, by which its lower branches, during any part of the day, are shaded.'

Our author, suspecting that the ascending fluids are the same, wherever found, in the vessels, proceeded to verify his conjectures by an experiment, which shewed, that the leaf stalk, vine tendril, fruit stalk, and succulent point of the annual shoots, may be substituted for each other. He also made an experiment, which proved, that when shoots are grafted on leaf stalks, the wood is deposited on the external sides of the central vessels, and springs from the vessels which return the sap from the leaves. He examined the process of budding, and found that the wood is formed from the bark of the inserted bud, and resembles entirely the wood of the stock from which it was taken, not of that into which it is inserted—that the medulla is wholly inactive, and protrudes no shoots whatever into the wood; and that the substances which, on a false theory, had been denominated '*medullary processes*,' are shot out from the bark, and terminate at its union with the stock. A full confirmation of the same important conclusion was received, from examining the manner in which wounds of trees become covered over. The edges protrude a new bark, and from this alone new wood is generated.

It appears that the leaves chiefly prepare the sap for generating wood. But it should also seem, that the young bark, by its exposure to air and light, possesses somewhat of the same preparing power. For, after all communication had, by an incision, been cut off between the leaves, and a portion of the bark of an annual shoot, and a second incision had been made at some distance below, a little wood was found generated at the upper lip of the wound.

Mr Knight next proceeded to apply his theory to the case of tuberous-rooted plants, which bud below ground. It followed, from his doctrine, that their buds owed their formation to sap received from the leaves, through the bark; and experiments amply confirmed this anticipation. He cut the runners of potatoes,
half

and hence oak timber, which grew in crowded forests, appears to have been mistaken, in old buildings, for Spanish chesnut. But I have found the internal organization of the oak and Spanish chesnut to be very essentially different. (See a magnified view of each in Plate IV.) The silver grain and general character of the oak and Spanish chesnut, are also so extremely dissimilar, that the two kinds of wood can only be mistaken for each other by very careless observers. Many pieces of wood, found in the old buildings of London, and supposed to be Spanish chesnut, have been put into my hands; but they were all most certainly forest oak.' p. 281. 282.

half budded, and inserted their ends in a decoction of logwood, The tintured liquor quickly began to pass through the runners, but did not at all get into the parent plant. On examination, however, he found that it had passed through a complicated series of vessels, between the cortical and alburnous substances of the tubes, and that many minute ramifications of these vessels approached the external skin or epidermis, at the base of the buds, to which, as well as to every other part of the growing tubes, he justly conceives they convey nourishment.

Our author adduces several additional and decisive experiments. in his second communication, to prove that the vessels of the bark are better adapted to the conveyance of sap from the leaves towards the roots, than in the opposite direction. And, from uniformly finding that the system of vessels in plants is not calculated to circulate the fluids which fill them indifferently in all directions, he is led to conclude, that, like the venous system in the animal economy, the vessels of the bark of vegetables are provided with very minute valves, which impede the motion of the sap in one way, and not in another. The inferences of former naturalists against this opinion, he ascribes to the authority of Hales's sentiments, or rather of his plates, which Mr Knight suspects of being founded, partly at least, upon an hypothesis, and not strictly drawn from an accurate and fair examination of the appearances. We willingly extract the following passage, in which our author applies some of his speculative deductions, to account for certain phenomena of daily occurrence in the physical world, and to explain the probable mode of operation which nature adopts in reaching several of her most remarkable ends.

‘ If it be admitted that the sap descends from the leaves through the vessels of the bark, and that such vessels are, in their organization, better calculated to carry their contents towards the original roots than in the opposite direction, it will be extremely easy to explain the cause of the accumulation of wood, and the emission of roots above, instead of below, the base of the annual shoots. The vessels of the bark (the *vaisseaux propres* of Du Hamel) commencing in the leaves, were formerly traced by M. Mariotte, and subsequently by myself, (being ignorant of his discovery), to the extremities of the roots; and, when a cutting, or tree, is planted in its natural position, the sap passes downwards through these, to afford matter for new roots, and to increase the bulk of those already formed, having given proper nutriment to the branches and trunk in its descent. But, in the inverted cutting, or tree, these vessels become inverted; and, if their organization be such as I have supposed it, a considerable part of that fluid, which naturally descends, will be carried upwards, and occasion the production of new wood above, instead of below, the junction of the annual shoot with the older wood,

wood, as in the experiments I have described. The force of gravitation will, however, still be felt; and, by its agency, sufficient matter to form new roots may be conveyed to those parts of the inverted cutting, or tree, which are beneath the soil. Besides, if we suppose a variation to exist in the powers or organization of the vessels which carry the sap towards the root, we may also attribute, in a great measure, to this cause, the different forms which different species or varieties of trees assume; for, if the fluid in these vessels be impelled with much force towards the roots, little matter will probably be deposited in the branches, which, in consequence, will be slender and feeble, as in the vine; and there is not any tree, that has been the subject of my experiments, in which new wood accumulated so rapidly at the upper end of inverted plants. To an excess of this power in the vessels of the bark, we may also ascribe the peculiar growth of what are called weeping trees; for, by this power, the effects of gravitation will be, in a great degree, suspended; and the pendent branch will continue healthy and vigorous, by retaining its due circulation. The perpendicular branch will, however, still possess some advantages; for, in this, gravitation will act on the fluid descending from the leaves; and these will, of course, absorb from the atmosphere with increased activity. A greater quantity of matter will therefore enter, within any given portion of time, into vessels of the same capacity; and this increased quantity may frequently exceed that which the vessels of the bark are immediately prepared to carry away. Much new wood will, in consequence, be generated, and increased vigour given; and, the same causes operating through successive seasons, will give the ascendancy we generally observe in the perpendicular branch.' p. 185, 187.

Upon the whole, we are disposed to consider Mr Knight's researches as extremely important. By a train of experiments, conceived in great elegance and simplicity, conducted apparently with all manner of accuracy and patience, applied with admirable coolness and precision, he has extended our knowledge of some very general laws in the physical world. He has discovered truths partly unsuspected by former inquirers, and partly at variance with their theories. He has thrown very great light upon the whole process of vegetation, and has applied, with complete success, the results of his investigation to the explication of several interesting operations of Nature; exhibiting to our view, as each successive discovery never fails to do, new and striking proofs of that beautiful simplicity of arrangement which directs the whole of her works, and that Infinite Wisdom which has created and permitted nothing in vain. We exhort Mr Knight to proceed in his laudable inquiries, and to increase the obligations under which he has already laid the scientific world.

ART. VII. *The Bakerian Lecture. Experiments and Calculations relative to Physical Optics.* By Thomas Young, M.D. F. R. S. from Phil. Trans. 1804. Part I.

ON a former occasion, we addressed some remarks to the author of this paper ; and took the liberty, also, of offering a few humble suggestions to the illustrious Body in whose Memoirs it is published. The long silence which he has since preserved on philosophical matters, at least through this channel of communication with the scientific world, led us to flatter ourselves, either that he had discontinued his fruitless chase after hypotheses, or that the Society had remitted his effusions to the more appropriate audience of both sexes which throngs round the chairs of the Royal Institution. The volume now before us, however, at once destroys all such expectations. The paper which stands first, is another Bakerian Lecture, containing more fancies, more blunders, more unfounded hypotheses, more gratuitous fictions, all upon the same field on which Newton trode, and all from the fertile yet fruitless brain, of the same eternal Dr Young.

In our Second Number, we exposed the absurdity of this writer's '*law of interference*,' as it pleases him to call one of the most incomprehensible suppositions that we remember to have met with in the history of human hypotheses. He now comes forth with what he plainly terms 'a simple and demonstrative proof,' 'from decisive facts,' of the same '*general law*.' As this proof is, on many accounts, worth the trouble of noticing it, we shall endeavour to let our readers conceive as much as possible of a theory which, to ourselves, and all those we have conversed with, Dr Young has only darkly and most imperfectly revealed. We must premise, that our attention is attracted, not at all by the intrinsic value of this tract, but by its having some how or other procured 'a local habitation and a name,' formerly reserved for whatever was most important and original in scientific discovery, by its appearing under the title of the Bakerian Lecture, and in the Transactions of the first philosophical Body in the world.

If a small flat object, as a piece of card, one thirtieth of an inch in breadth, is held in a small sun-beam admitted into a dark room, and its shadow be examined, it will be found to exhibit, besides the known fringes at its borders, other fringes in the middle, parallel and similar to the former, but of smaller dimensions. That these depend on *interference*, Dr Young says, must be admitted, from this fact, that if the portion of light which comes into the shadow, from one side of the object, is

intercepted by a screen, placed behind the object so as to receive either edge of its shadow, the whole fringes formerly observed in the shadow immediately disappear : and this is ' the plain, and demonstrative proof, from decisive facts,' that the general law of interference is soundly imagined, legitimately deduced, and well established.

We question whether a more vague and unphilosophical attempt at induction was ever made, since experiments came into use. In the first place, if the fringes are formed by the interference of two portions of light, by which the author can mean nothing more than the union or mixture of those portions, either altogether or at one point, it is obvious that, in the one case, the process of inflection has produced a very unexpected and novel effect, inasmuch as it is unaccountable how any such process should suddenly draw two minute portions of the passing diverging rays out of their course, almost at right angles to that course, and unite them, and then make them resume their former direction, and move on together, while all the light which goes to form the outside fringes is allowed to pass on in the line of its original divergence. We know of no body moving in such a trajectory. When any attraction of a neighbouring mass draws a moving body from its course, and makes it describe an arch of a curve round it as a centre, as soon as its attracting influence ceases, the body moves on in the tangent of that orbit. If, then, the two portions of light are inflected and drawn inwards, so as to meet from opposite sides, as soon as they have met, they must cross one another, and fly off in the tangent to the new trajectory which the inflection had caused them to assume. All this must be obvious to every one who thinks on the most popular idea of the centripetal and centrifugal forces. Yet, absurd as this mode of explaining the law of interference may appear to be, it is infinitely less inconsistent with the fact than the only other alternative, viz. that the rays from opposite quarters unite in one point only, and there form fringes. For, according to this supposition, the internal fringes should only be found in a sort of focus by inflection, and in no other point whatever. Secondly, how can either of these modes of explanation account for a double set of fringes, in the shadow, and a white division in its centre ? For, if interference (whatever that term may mean) is the cause of coloured fringes it should colour the whole interfering or uniting beam, and not leave part of it white ; and if interference is necessary to the production of the fringes, there should only be one set in the centre of the shadow. Nay, since the interfering beams can only form one beam, there should only be one fringe, instead of many. But, lastly, upon

upon what known principle of optics can it be conceived, that the very cause of whiteness, a mixture of rays, should create colour, and that two beams uniting, in what way or by what new laws soever, into one beam, should, by that union, become separated into several coloured fringes, with dark intervals and a white centre? If Dr Young means any thing by his general law, he must intend to lay it down as a principle, that colour is produced by the mixture of two rays of light which come from opposite quarters. Now, if a body is held cross the former, we shall have fringes also formed; and here the interference is not between rays from the opposite sides of the first body, but between the higher and the lower portions of the same rays. But it is trifling to argue farther on this view of the subject. Are not all the parts of white light the same in constitution, all of the like qualities, and every portion of the same beam productive of the same effects? Does Dr Young mean to assert, that, by having a piece of card placed in it, the different parts of a pencil acquire new and distinguishing properties, according to their bearings with respect to the card? Or, that he can make parts of the beam different, which are to all intents and purposes the same, by holding a card in it, and naming its ideal divisions 'right hand' and 'left hand rays,' or 'east' and 'west rays?' If this theory is worth a thought from its author (we make a low supposition of its value), it must follow, that we can always form coloured fringes by causing two beams of white light to interfere. In other words, that, by doubling the quantity of light on any place, we can cover it with coloured fringes; or, which is the same thing, that coloured fringes are nothing absolute, but a mere relative idea, like size and intensity, denoting the increase of any giving density of illumination, 'This is evidently an absurdity, necessarily interwoven with the 'general law of interference;' and it is very needless to examine, at greater length, a doctrine thus immediately leading to a contradictory conclusion.

Having sufficiently exposed the nature of the deduction drawn by the author, it is unnecessary, perhaps, to consider the real import of his experiments. The fact, we believe, is, that the experiment was inaccurately made; and we have not the least doubt, that, if carefully repeated, it will be found, either that the rays, when inflected, cross each other, and thus form fringes, each portion on the side opposite to the point of its flexion; or that, in stopping one portion, Dr Young, in fact, stopped both portions; a thing extremely likely, where the hand had only one thirtieth of an inch to move in; and quite sufficient to account for all the fringes disappearing at once from the shadow.

The crested fringes of Grimaldi are next impressed into the service of the interfering law, by the stubborn and industrious imagination of Dr Young ! When a body having an angle is held in a beam of light, and the internal fringes are received on a screen, if the light from one edge is stopped, all the internal fringes disappear ; but if the law of interference were just, the inflection of the two contiguous edges should not produce continued fringes, but only square or rectangular spots of fringe where the opposite inflecting beams crossed. How the mixture of the opposite fringes at the angle, or the angular form as connected with the law of interference, can have any other effect, is entirely beyond our powers to discover.

We have judged it necessary, for the sake of preserving consistency, to enter thus fully our dissent against the theory of Dr Young, in every stage, in order to show why we retain our original opinion of its merits, and remain unconquered by the new force at present displayed in its behalf. But, in truth, Dr Young is of a quick conception in hatching hypotheses. Whether it be that those noxious things are naturally of rapid growth, like rank weeds, or that he is of a mind peculiarly 'nimble and forgetive,' we know not ; but we certainly have no sooner discussed one fancy, than up springs another. Thus, they who object to the theory of interference, have only to turn a page, and they find the theory of intervals ; and, should neither be to their liking, they need but go on a section farther, and the vibrations and undulations, new dressed up with additional mistakings and touchings, are very much at their service.

The notion of intervals is of this description. Dr Young imagines rays of light to be very different in their qualities, at different parts of their course, or, as he calls it, in the language of postmasters, of their rout : that these qualities are opposite, and capable of neutralizing and destroying each other, when they meet : and that these opposite qualities succeed each other at equal intervals. The author farther imagines, that 'these qualities succeed each other alternately, in successive concentric superficies, at distances which are constant, for the same light, passing through the same medium.' Dr Young then proceeds to demolish, at one blow, the whole Newtonian theory of light, and to show, from Sir Isaac's own admeasurements, that his idea of the particles moving in consequence of a projectile force, is altogether absurd. This process of rapid demolition is somewhat curious ; and we extract it, as a specimen of his way.

'From the similarity of the phenomenon we may conclude, that these intervals (the intervals of opposite qualities just now expounded)

are the same as are concerned [with those which are concerned] in the production of the colours of their plates; but these are shown, by the experiments of Newton, to be, the smaller the denser the medium; and since it may be presumed that their number must necessarily remain unaltered in a given quantity of light, it follows, of course, that light moves more slowly in a denser than in a rarer medium: and this being granted, it must be allowed that refraction is not the effect of an attractive force directed to a denser medium. The advocates for the projectile hypothesis of light must consider which link in this chain of reasoning they may judge to be the most feeble.' p. 12.

Thus an hypothesis is advanced, amounting to a metaphysical absurdity, of qualities moving in concentric surfaces; then an analogy is made the ground of an inference, that the Newtonian phenomena of coloured rings are the same with those of fringes; next, a gratuitous assumption is made, of a certain fact being a *necessary truth*. From all which a conclusion is drawn, *longissimo intervallo*, against the 'projectile hypothesis,' as Dr Young is pleased to call it; and then, the author of all those presumptions and fancies, the person who has at once brought forward the groundless, imaginary, and clumsy doctrines of interferences and intervals, and supported with new applications the fanciful and contradictory notion of undulations, tells us with triumph—

'Hitherto, I have advanced, in this paper, no general hypothesis whatever.'

Which to prove, he adds the following notable paragraph:

'Since we know that sound diverges in concentric superficies, and that musical sounds consist of opposite qualities, capable of neutralizing each other, and succeeding at certain unequal intervals, which are different according to the difference of the note, we are *fully authorized* to conclude, that there must be some strong resemblance between the nature of sound and that of light.' *Ibid.*

There is an attempt made in this paper to show the utility of the Doctor's theories, in their applications to practical purposes. It consists in grounding an explanation, not upon the theory, but upon certain facts common to this, as well as every other theory. In conformity to this practice, Dr Young bedecks his bare and clumsy hypothesis with some applications to natural phenomena. Thus, he says that his theory of interference 'should make us cautious in our conclusions respecting the appearances of minute bodies viewed in a microscope.' Why? Because, 'the shadow of a fibre, however opaque, placed in a pencil of light admitted through a small aperture, is always somewhat less dark in the middle of its breadth than in the parts on each side.' For this remark on shadows we certainly are not indebted to the theory of interference and undulations: It is as

old as Grimaldi; and is expressly described by every subsequent optician, especially by Newton, and the French experimentalists, who, in the earliest part of the last century, applied themselves to the examination of the phenomena of shadows, and, in general, to the laws of inflection—Mairan, Marriot, De la Tour, &c. But how does this observation apply to the appearances of objects in microscopes?

‘A similar effect,’ says our author, ‘may also take place, in some degree, with respect to the image on the retina, and impress the sense with an idea of a transparency which has no real existence. And if a small portion of light be really transmitted through the substance, this may again be destroyed by its interference with the diffracted light, and produce an appearance of partial opacity, instead of uniform semi-transparency. Thus, a central dark spot, and a light spot surrounded by a dark circle, may respectively be produced in the images of a semi-transparent and an opaque corpuscle, and impress us with an idea of a complication of structure which does not exist. In order to detect the fallacy, we may make two or three fibres cross each other, and view a number of globules contiguous to each other; or we may obtain a still more effectual remedy, by changing the magnifying power, and then, if the appearance remain constant in kind and in degree, we may be assured that it truly represents the nature of the substance to be examined.’

Now, it cannot have escaped any of our readers, that the phenomena of microscopes; and the phenomena of fringes, and, in general, the phenomena of inflection, are entirely different: an object is seen in a microscope most commonly by reflection; we look at the object itself, and not at the shadow; we examine its surface and colour, not merely its outline. In the case of the solar microscope, and some others constructed on a similar principle, we confine our view to the outline, for the sake of a great magnifying power; and the effects of inflection upon the operations of such instruments, is certainly no discovery of Dr Young and his ‘interfering’ theory. In the ordinary case, it is as absurd to talk of shadows and inflections, as of gravitation or Glauber’s salt.

There are, in the tract now before us, several instances of the beauties which we formerly pointed out as peculiarly characteristic of Dr Young’s method of philosophizing. We meet with examples of his undulatory and vibratory mode of writing, by touching and retouching his theories, giving up a fancy with the same ease with which he adopted it, and quickly thrusting another into its place. He had formerly created a medium surrounding dense bodies, for the purpose of inflecting the light which passes by them. He now annihilates it, without any great ceremony; and says, (p. 12.) ‘upon considering the phenomena of

of the aberration of the stars, I am disposed to believe that the luminiferous ether prevades the substance of all material bodies.' His *simile* for illustrating its manner of pervading bodies is very amusing, from its want of all likeness. It passes, he says, 'with little or no resistance, as freely, perhaps, as the wind passes through a grove of trees.' In illustrating the probability of the globules in a rainbow-shower being all nearly of the same dimensions, he seems to run a kind of odd parallel between the operations of nature and those of an apothecary—

'We measure (says he) even medicines by dropping them from a phial, and it may easily be conceived that the drops formed by natural operations may sometimes be as uniform as any that can be produced by art.' p. 9.

Nor has Dr Young yet succeeded in training his mind to that becoming respect for the venerable name of Sir Isaac Newton, which we once took the liberty to suggest as a matter of ceremony, at least, if not of propriety and decorum. In page 11. we find that wonderful man's views erected into a sort of measure of narrowness and meanness, a kind of *zero* in the scale of enlarged conception; for Doctor Thomas Young, of the Royal Institution, there actually makes mention of some persons '*whose views are still less enlarged*' than Sir Isaac Newton's.

We now dismiss, for the present, the feeble lucubrations of this author, in which we have searched without success, for some traces of learning, acuteness, and ingenuity, that might compensate his evident deficiency in the powers of solid thinking, calm and patient investigation, and successful developement of the laws of nature, by steady and modest observation of her operations. We came to the examination with no other prejudice than the very allowable prepossession against vague hypotheses, by which all true lovers of science have for above a century and a half been swayed. We pursued it, both on the present and on a former occasion, without any feelings except those of regret at the abuse of that time and opportunity which no greater share of talents than Dr Young's are sufficient to render fruitful, by mere diligence and moderation. From us, however, he cannot claim any portion of respect, until he shall alter his mode of proceeding, or change the subject of his lucubrations; and we feel ourselves more particularly called upon to express our disapprobation, because, as distinction has been unwarily bestowed on his labours by the most illustrious of scientific bodies, it is the more necessary that a free protest should be recorded before the more humble tribunals of literature.

ART. VIII. *The Present State of Great Britain.* By Arthur O'Connor. Paris. Year XII. 1804. pp. 143.

THE origin and the object of this pamphlet may appear to some of our readers to render an apology necessary for the notice we propose to bestow upon it; while the same circumstances will probably render the present article more interesting to others. The name, indeed, of the too notorious author; the situation in which his errors and his crimes have placed him; the use which he now makes of that situation; the publicity which this essay has received from the fostering care of the French Government; and the effect which it has undoubtedly produced on the Continent, are considerations, we think, sufficiently strong to justify us in laying an account of it before our readers, even if it contained much less ingenuity and information than we regret to find employed for such reprehensible ends. The work is by no means destitute of talent; although it contains no traits of exalted genius, and no marks of profound or accurate thinking. Some of the views are even original; though every general position which is deduced from them evidently proceeds from the worst of motives, and exhibits the painful spectacle of industry and ingenuity perverted to the most unnatural purposes. The author seems to have made himself master of some of the plainer doctrines in political economy; but wherever the subject is abstruse, or the motive to disguise the true inference obvious, we see undeniable traces of ignorance or malignity. The style of writing is frequently eloquent; and always popular; and, we fear, too well calculated to interest those whose minds may be predisposed towards the author's principles. The very circumstance of his being an Englishman by birth, is sure to influence those foreigners whom chiefly he addresses, because they are likely to forget how utterly he is devoid of every thing but the name that belongs to this still venerated character.

The attack upon our country, begun by Citizen Haunterive, an alien—an enemy—in the pay of our deadliest adversary—during the rage of a furious war—is now resumed, we think, with greater ability, and pushed in a more plausible manner, by a renegade Briton, exiled only by that mercy which spared his life, alienated by his crimes, and enlisted by his foul passions in the service of the tyrant who is aiming, by such means as this, at the extirpation of the British name. In his native country, this author sees only a power, created for the destruction of liberty, both at home and abroad; the enemy of happiness in foreign nations,

nations, and of all the comforts and rights of its own people; the unwearied fomenter of wars, and the oppressor of every thing like peaceful industry. According to him, its constitution has become rotten with multifarious abuse; incapable of supporting any virtuous or liberal system; unfit for the hands of any but corrupt tools; unable to preserve its own puny existence, without endless wars; and protracting even this remnant of its days, only by an accumulation of burthens and of grievances, which must speedily destroy it, in spite of every effort. In the natural circumstances of this devoted country, and in the distribution of its industry and wealth, he finds perpetual food for his spleen and his prophecies. The commerce, which has made Britain the admiration, the envy, and the hatred, of the world, is, in the eyes of this Parisian Irishman, only a war monopoly, precariously prepped by a number of other monopolies, which press as much upon her inhabitants, as upon her neighbours and her enemies. The inexhaustible mines of industry, and of art, which circulate their stores 'from Indus to the Pole,' through the deserts of Africa, and the inhospitable regions of the Southern Pacific Ocean, and carry, by a force more resistless than all the legions of Rome, the British name, over empires too powerful, and solitudes too vast, for the united strength of all the Casars of Europe to penetrate;—all those prodigies of labour and skill, by which the powers and privileges of the species have been augmented, in exact proportion to the growing riches of this nation, are degraded, by the apostate enemy of his country, into a perversion of toil, a stupid misapplication of talent, a fatal ignorance of true policy in the distribution of employment, a confusion, rather than a combination of forces, in a machine so execrably constructed, that every stroke may be considered as likely to terminate its unnatural existence. All the blessings which a bounteous Providence has poured out on this soil—concentrating within its favoured bounds a far greater number of more choice goods, than are scattered over whole continents, in other climates—all vanish before the touch of Mr O'Connor's diseased or prostituted fancy, and shrink into nothing, in the eyes of him, who is fated or bribed to compare them with the resources of the Imperial Republic. His is not the language of other exiles, who, preserving a noble love for the sweet spot of their birth and infancy, cling to it under all their misfortunes, and think only of its blessings and delights, whilst they are suffering by its crimes. It is not one of those emigrants, who can abstract from the rulers, in remembering the land; and cherish an interest in its fates, the more lively, because they are prevented from any participation: who, while they

they curse the government that has driven them away from those scenes, endeared, by a thousand ties, to every good mind, can exclaim, '*Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes angulus ridet.*' It is for his adopted home, it is for the native country of his criminal desires, that all this man's sympathies are reserved. In her alone he can find greatness with stability—power without foreign oppression—natural blessings, joined to political advantages—and an energetic government, capable of wielding those combined resources, without engendering an atom of domestic tyranny. If these are really Mr O'Connor's sentiments, we can pity the infatuation, malignant as it is, which has thus reversed every conception of the brain, and coupled together the very ideas which, in other minds, are confronted in eternal opposition. But compassion must give way to another feeling, if we find reason to suspect that he wilfully 'believes a lie;' or, without believing, knowingly inculcates the foul falsehood on mankind, and impiously lifts up against the land of his fathers that voice, which her mercy has preserved, to curse her?

The corner-stone of Mr O'Connor's reasonings and predictions, is the state of the British finances. Like Sir Francis D'Ivernois, Mr Thomas Paine, Mr Morgan, and a multitude of superficial thinkers, or interested declaimers, whom a war never fails to engender, both in France and England, he refers every evil that has befallen this country, or is likely to befall her, to the enormous amount of her public debts, and of the annual burthens which these debts render necessary. Like them, too, Mr O'Connor has entirely omitted the consideration of all the circumstances which render abstract calculations applicable to the actual state of affairs. Absolute, and not relative positions, are familiar to him. Actual, existing sums, are detailed and paraded, with tiresome repetition; while no view is taken of the thousand modifications that result from circumstances and situation. An eager look is directed towards the weight, but the eye is kept obstinately shut to the mechanical powers of the engine; and, without once taking into calculation the necessities that have given rise to the imposition of such burthens, the fact of their existence is deemed sufficient proof of their iniquity. Hence peremptory inferences are drawn, against the conduct of our rulers, and the durability of our system, without any view to the circumstances in which the former were placed by events beyond their controul, or any computation of the stamina which gives to the latter its life and vigour. As if a person, on seeing the lading of a huge waggon, were at once to condemn the cruelty of the driver, and to predict the death of the horses; without inquiring, whether it was not destined to save the owner's property

property from fire and sword, and without looking at the strength of the team by which it was to be drawn. It was in this way that Sir Francis D' Ivernois persisted, year after year, to prophesy the instantaneous subversion of France, from the ruin of her finances. The republic, in the mean time, laid waste the fairest portion of Europe, and rose more and more formidable to Britain. The undaunted calculator prolonged the term of her duration until his next pamphlet could be printed, and then fixed a new and near date. The public at last began to distrust this master in the art of figures—to wonder how a crisis could last for twelve years—and to suspect that there was an omission of some kind in the computation. In like manner, did Thomas Paine, by help of a numeral series, calculate, ten years ago, the end of Great Britain. Since that period her commerce has increased, her flag has penetrated into new seas, and triumphed over all her ancient rivals; her domestic resources have been consolidated, and vast regions have been added to her distant territories. We will venture to foretel a like issue to Mr O'Connor's predictions, although we admit them to be somewhat more ingenious than either Sir Francis D'Ivernois' or Thomas Paine's.

In presenting our readers with a view of his tract, we shall begin, by stating his arguments on the effects of the bank restriction. We shall then review his positions respecting the funding system, and take occasion to premise a general view of the principles on which that grand improvement in modern policy rests. We shall, in the third place, attend to what he calls 'the conquering and monopolising system' of British government, or her exclusive principles of commercial legislation; and conclude with noticing our author's declamations on the general policy of this country, both in her domestic and foreign relations.

I. We begin with the argument on the British system of paper credit, as modified by the Bank restriction, because it is the only point on which the author has any solid ground to support him, and because his deductions, though generally fallacious, from their extravagance, are both more ingenious, and more nearly allied to truth here, than in the other branches of the discussion.

'According to Mr O'Connor, the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England, which he denominates '*the failure*' of that Company, had the necessary effect of inundating Great Britain with paper of all descriptions. The only check, he informs us, is now removed, which can at any time set bounds to the natural desire of increasing the circulating medium. Every trader has an interest in issuing paper; and, merely by keeping by him

a stock of English Bank notes, considerably smaller than was necessary when only large notes were issued, he may confidently circulate any given quantity of paper. The necessity of paying in gold caused every issuer of paper to maintain a certain proportion between his issuers and his capital, because every one could see the difference between specie and notes : but no one, Mr O'Connor assures us, considers the difference between one kind of note and another : on the contrary, private notes are frequently preferred to Bank paper. He proceeds, accordingly, to state, that the notes of the Bank have been increased by seven millions and a half ; and if five millions deposited can maintain a circulation of fifty millions of private paper, he infers, that the real increase in the whole paper must have been *fifty-two and a half millions*. For this increase in the circulating medium, he observes, there has been no actual demand : On the contrary, he thinks it obvious, that the capital of the nation, having been diminished by two hundred and twenty-three millions (the expences of the war since February 1797), and the national income being yearly diminished by thirty-three millions (the profits which the nation would otherwise have derived from the capital expended), there must be fewer commodities to circulate, and the issues of paper should have been contracted instead of being extended. But farther, he asserts, that the quantity of paper in circulation is to be estimated not merely from the actual amount of notes issued by public or private Banks, but that the immense sums vested in bills of exchange are to be considered as in the same predicament, and tending, by their multiplication, to produce the same ruinous consequences. Thus, gold and silver are now entirely banished from our commerce ; the circulating machine has become a useless, flimsy fabric of paper, instead of a solid and valuable engine of gold. This money cannot be exported ; it must consequently raise the prices of all articles at home. Britain, like Spain ; may be undersold in all foreign markets ; and her industry must stagnate, from the discovery of this exhaustless paper mine, as that of Spain was destroyed, by the opening of a much more limited supply of the precious metals. Even if she were willing to retrace her steps, she must pay fifty millions for specie, to begin with ; and, after sinking this sum, an endless confusion will arise, from the adjustment of the contracts entered into under the paper regimen ; so that we have only the melancholy assurance, that we can neither advance nor retreat, without inevitable ruin.

We shall admit the accuracy of these facts, preposterously as they are thus stated, in order to simplify the discussion ; and we must still deny every part of the conclusions, except only the inference

inference, that an increased issue of paper, or any other circulating medium, being attended with a diminution of its value, will necessarily augment the nominal or money price of commodities; and the fact, that the Bank of England, and still more the Bank of Ireland, have encreased their issues of paper beyond their due amount, since the year 1797. The main part of the assertion maintained by our author, viz. the extent of private paper circulation, and the obligation which was incumbent on the Bank to diminish the amount of its circulating paper, in consequence of the increase in the public expenditure, we utterly deny.

It is manifest, that so long as country bankers, and other private issuers of notes, are obliged to pay in Bank of England paper, an effectual check is provided against their excessive issue. They can no more procure an indefinite credit in Threadneedle Street, than they formerly could obtain an unlimited supply of silver at Cadiz, and of gold at Lisbon:—Nay, more, the Bank will now be much more cautious than formerly, and will be less disposed to lend its credit to private traders, in proportion as its own necessities are become more urgent, from the greater delicacy of the machine. But ‘individuals,’ it seems, ‘do not consider the difference between a private and a national bank note.’ If there be any country bank whose credit is so good, that its paper is thought equal or superior to the Bank of England’s notes, then there must be equal or superior confidence in the substantial wealth of its members, and in their integrity and prudent management. Such a bank is well entitled to issue paper; for it must necessarily have the power to perform the obligations incurred by the issue; that is, either to pay in bank notes, in the case of its having equal credit with the Bank; or to pay in gold or goods, in the case of its credit being superior. What possible harm can result from a circulation supported by such confidence as this? And how does the Bank restriction at all affect its amount or its nature? It frequently does happen, we are well aware, that, in distant parts of the country, ignorant individuals prefer paper on which they see the names of their substantial neighbours, to notes which bear names unknown to them. This is, however, only the effect of ignorance; for it is clear, that so long as those private bankers can perform their obligations, by paying in bank paper, the security of their creditors can never be better, though it may be worse than the security of the bank’s creditors. So long, therefore, as the private trader is obliged to pay in bank paper, it is evident that no danger can be apprehended from an over issue of his notes.

As to the circulation of bills of exchange, there is still a great-
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er absurdity in supposing that their multiplication can ever have the effect of depreciating the circulating currency. Can any thing be more obvious, than the impossibility of a trader issuing more of these than he is able to pay? Must not his career be instantly stopped, if he overdraws his credit? Do men give value for bills, as they may do for bank notes, without considering well the security of the drawer and acceptor? Nay, is not a bill's security increased by every step of its progress; since each indorsation adds a new surety, and diminishes the risk of the indorsee? All this is so obvious, that we have only to marvel how a person of Mr O'Connor's acuteness could shut his eyes to it; and not perceive that the mass of bills circulated can never exceed that amount which the credit of the drawers justifies, and the extent of their transactions demands. If he will read the admirable statements of Mr Thornton, he will see the true foundation of credit explained, and will find the principles laid down, upon which even drawing and redrawing may become a profitable as well as a safe method of obtaining immediate credits.

It is equally obvious, that the increased expenditure of the nation, since the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England, imposes no obligation on that body to diminish the mass of its circulating paper. If the nation, by expending those sums, had actually annihilated so much stock, then there might have been some ground for arguing, that a diminished stock required a diminished medium to circulate it. But the nation has only caused a portion of capital to change its place—to be withdrawn from a more profitable to a less profitable line of employment—from a channel in which it was rapidly increased, to one in which it was slowly increased, or not increased at all. Even the extreme case of profuse expenditure, the wasteful consumption of provisions by the forces, only creates a blank in the yearly revenue of the land and labour—a waste of the quantity added to the the national stock—a retardation of the increase which it would otherwise have received. If any great blank has been created in the numbers of the people—if the warehouses are empty, and rendered useless—if the harbours are filled up, and the fields laid waste--then less capital will exist in the country than before, and a diminution of the circulating medium will be requisite. But if the augmentation of the capital has only been prevented, then it will be quite enough if *no increase* of the medium takes place. And although we were to admit that the waste of war actually diminished the total amount of the national stock on one hand, there is a constant augmentation of that stock going on in every other quarter, which must more than fill up the blank. Indeed no one can cast his eye over the history of British commerce for the last fifteen

teen years, without being convinced that the expences of the war have been, in part at least, provided for in the augmentation of the yearly revenue of the people ; and that the whole capital of the country has been increased to a degree which authorises an augmented issue of paper to circulate it, though not perhaps so great an increase as has actually taken place.

As to our author's declamation about the solidity and intrinsic value of a circulation maintained by specie, and the flimsiness of a paper system, we apprehend this is exactly the old argument of the mercantile theory : for, to ascribe any qualities to the precious metals, beyond that of their limiting the amount of the circulating medium, is precisely the corner-stone of that exploded system of political economy. If we revert to a specie circulation, Mr O'Connor observes, we must pay for gold and silver ; that is to say, we must repurchase what we formerly sold. But this is surely no great step to ruin, if we retain the equivalent which we then received. If we do not, then it is incumbent on Mr O'Connor to prove that we have consumed it needlessly and fruitlessly ; and unless he can also shew, that the bank restriction was the cause of this unnecessary and unprofitable consumption, his argument against that measure wants the very keystone, inasmuch as it does not apply to the suspension of cash payments, but to some other part of our national policy.

There yet remains to be considered, under this head, our author's arguments against the conduct of the British finances, as connected with the Bank restriction. He lays it down as clear, that this measure alone has enabled the government to carry on the war. The circulating specie in 1797, he says, was all taken by government, who thus gained fifty millions immediately, and allowed the Bank to substitute an equal amount of paper money. Then, each successive year, the inundation of paper created an extreme facility of borrowing ; and millions were raised by loan for the public service, more easily than thousands had been obtained before. The readiness with which money was now obtained, instead of proving ~~our~~ prosperity, was a new demonstration of our approaching ruin. And the rise in the price of the public funds, which immediately followed the operation, must be regarded, not as a proof of increasing credit in the government, but of a diminution in the value of the circulating medium, in consequence of the excessive issue of paper.

It is, however, not a little remarkable, that the increase in the quantity of notes in circulation did not take place immediately upon the Bank being restrained from making payments in specie. On the contrary, the immediate cause of that measure was, the Bank's having drawn in its paper money, and the consequent fail-

ure of many country banks, private traders, and others, who reckoned on the assistance of the Bank of England. We may be assured, therefore, that for some time after the restriction, the amount of notes in circulation was much diminished; at least, of country bank notes. This must have arisen from the tottering credit of all these bodies, and the natural hesitation of the community in taking notes now no longer convertible into cash, as well as from the alarming state of public affairs, and the unprecedented amount of the public expenditure during that memorable year.

The rise which took place in the public funds, almost immediately after that enormous expenditure, certainly can never be accounted for by any supposed depreciation in the circulating currency; because the funds, which are supposed to have then risen in value, consist in nothing more than a claim for a certain revenue, to be paid in the very same depreciated currency with which the purchase was made. The real causes of this phenomenon, which Mr O'Connor was probably neither very able, nor very willing to discover, may be traced perhaps in the following consideration. The funds had reached a point of unexampled depression, in consequence of various concurring misfortunes which then pressed upon Great Britain. The expences of the year were inordinate, and they were provided for by two enormous loans. The country was constantly threatened with an invasion, which the losses of our allies rendered every day more probable, and which a gale, or a fog, or a calm, might render inevitable. The market price of gold exceeded the mint price so much, that a continual exportation of bullion was going on, and specie became every day more scarce. An alarm among the country banks and private traders induced the Bank to contract its credits and supplies. A mutiny, unexampled for magnitude, organization, and obstinacy, raged in the fleet, now deemed our only stay against the enemy's attacks; and a serious rebellion was breaking out in Ireland. Things having now reached the lowest point of depression, a happy change began to dawn. The mutiny and the rebellion were both unexpectedly quelled. The fear of invasion, always most anxious at first, subsided in a few months. The crops were favourable all over Europe and America, in an uncommon degree. The plan of redeeming a large part of the debt, by the sale of the land-tax, was adopted, and immediately put in execution. The great experiment of substituting paper for gold was tried with unhoped for success; but it would have inspired sufficient confidence, if, in two years, it was found not to be altogether subversive of mercantile credit. Above all, the commerce of the country seems, in 1798, to have

have received a sudden and important extension, partly in consequence of the state of the Continent, and partly from the success of our arms in the West Indies : And the surplus of capital thus produced, naturally went to the public funds in a very considerable proportion. This, indeed, is always the effect of war upon trading capital ; and the same effect facilitated the raising of money by loans. It is to these obvious circumstances of national prosperity, then, that we must ascribe the happy change in our affairs, which increased, in an unexampled degree, the credit of the public funds—augmenting the value both of the loans formerly funded, and those about to be contracted—at once raising the price of the stock already in the market, and facilitating the creation of new stock upon terms advantageous to the public. These considerations lead us, by an easy transition, to the second head of inquiry—the principles of the funding system, and Mr O'Connor's errors and prejudices on this very important subject.

II. In every prosperous community, the yearly produce of the land, labour, and capital, of the inhabitants, makes a certain clear addition annually to the whole stock or wealth of the country. At first, the amount of the capital is small, the profits high, and the yearly augmentation considerable. By degrees, the rate of this increase becomes smaller ; that is to say, the profits of each separate capital are diminished by competition ; but the whole clear gain is always increasing ; so that although individuals make a smaller average gain each ten years than they did the ten years before, the whole gains of the community are greater during the second than they were during the first of these periods. This will appear perfectly evident, if we consider how capital produces its returns. Suppose the stock of a community, like Holland, engaged almost entirely in commerce, and a little in agriculture, to consist of eighty millions in trade, ten millions in manufactures, and ten millions in agriculture, and that the average rate of profit in all these branches of employment is ten *per cent.* ;—a sum of ten millions is netted the first year, of which we shall say that five go to support the inhabitants, and the other five are stored up, so as to increase the national capital to a hundred and five millions. There must be found employment for this additional stock. A part of it will go to the land, a part to the manufactures, and the rest to the commerce of the country. The increased competition in each branch will diminish the average rate of profit, and only nine and three quarters *per cent.* will be netted upon the capital next year. The activity and ingenuity of the people being now constantly at work to maintain a struggle with the diminution of profits, and to keep up the total income in spite of



the lowered rate of gain, new lines of trade are struck out, new improvements made in the fisheries, new machinery invented, and waste lands cleared. Thus the stock of the community goes on increasing, and the part added gives an additional revenue, in spite of the diminished rate of gain, until all the land is made the most of, all the manufactures improved as far as possible, and all the branches of commerce filled with capital.

New capital, however, is still accumulated ; and it is the tendency of new capital to push its way into new employments. '*Aut inveniam viam aut faciam,*' is the genuine language of a capitalist. But in a country like the one we are supposing, and it is exactly the case of Holland, there is a limit to this expansive power of stock in the nature of things ; and every increase of capital renders the difficulty of vesting it greater. At first the surplus goes to the distant trader, the roundabout trader, and the various branches of the carrying trade : then it makes its way into the colonies or foreign settlements of the state, by loan to the colonists, or by investment in the colonial commerce : next, it emigrates thither in purchases, and perhaps carries along with it the proprietor himself. When impolitic regulations, or foreign conquests, or colonial dissensions and insecurity, obstruct its progress in this line, it goes into the service of foreign states, by loans to the governments who give the best security : next, it is vested even in loans to individuals : it then goes over in purchases, and probably carries the proprietor along with it : last of all, it finds its way into foreign colonies. When all those channels are full (if they can be filled), the capital must cease to be accumulated ; the habits of the people must be changed ; they must spend, instead of heaping up ; and the nation will become stationary, or more probably will fall into decay.

Such is the natural progress of national opulence ; and, that the case is not entirely a supposititious one, may be proved by the example of Holland, which has gone through all the stages of the process here pointed out, and has perhaps reached the last for some time past.

There is a very striking analogy, it may be remarked, between the progress of wealth and the progress of population, in every part of their history. At first, when land is plentiful, the numbers of a people double in fifteen or twenty years ; by degrees, the rate of increase becomes slower, but still the numbers augment in a geometrical progression. Emigration to the colonies begins to take place ; the overflowing numbers then find vent in other countries ; and, last of all, they remove to foreign and distant colonies. Still there is a boundary fixed by nature : and, that change of place will not prevent the full developement of this principle

principle of limitation, is evident from this consideration, that if we take the whole population of the earth for the subject of calculation, the effect of emigration ceases to modify the result, while the principle applies with the same force as before. What the increase of wealth has produced in Holland, the increase of population has produced in China. These two countries, the one from physical, the other from political and moral causes, offer to our contemplation the instructive spectacles of extreme cases in these important inquiries.

But the evils of increasing capital, like the evils of increasing population, are felt long before the case has become extreme ; and a nation, it may be observed, is much more likely (at least in the present state of commercial policy) to suffer from increasing wealth, than from increasing numbers of people. Are there no checks provided by the constitution of human nature, and the construction of civil society, for the one, as well as for the other of these evils ? Mr Malthus has pointed out the manner in which the principle of population is counteracted ; and we apprehend that causes nearly analogous will be found to check the progressive increase of capital. Luxurious living, and other kinds of unnecessary expenditure—above all, political expences, and chiefly the expences of war—appear to us to furnish those necessary checks to the indefinite augmentation of wealth, which, there was reason *a priori* to suppose, would be somewhere provided by the wise regulations of nature.

Such of our readers as have condescended to follow us through the several steps of the preceding deduction, will now be prepared for the conclusion which we wish to suggest. It is, that in a wealthy state of society, there is much less mischief to be apprehended from the conversion of a certain portion of capital into revenue, while the accumulation is going on, than men have generally been disposed to believe. Let us suppose that the nature of man were not warlike ; that no such expences had been necessary as Great Britain has been forced to incur during the course of the last century ; and that, consequently, she had contracted no public debts. It is not easy to calculate the amount of the capital she would have accumulated during that period. The sum of five hundred millions is evidently not enough : every pound of that enormous sum would have been laid out at compound interest, and have accumulated, so as perhaps to double in the period to which we have alluded, even allowing for a vast augmentation of yearly expence, occasioned by a more rapid increase of population. With perhaps half as many more inhabitants—a thing noways desirable on any account, she would now have possessed twice as much fixed and realized stock—a thing to be depre-

cated on many accounts. We know how difficult it is, in the present state of her wealth, to find vent for capital. How could double the amount be invested with profit? The cruelties, and other immoralities and miseries of war, are here out of the question; we speak of money, not of men; and as numbers of people are now generally admitted to be no great blessing, abstractedly considered, we hope it will not be thought a strained inference, from the foregoing statements, to doubt if quantities of capital are of themselves a great national good; and to suggest the possibility of a nation, in the predicament here described, falling back, since no community can be stationary for any length of time; or becoming a prey to poorer neighbours, and to the worst of foes—its own internal seeds of rottenness and decay.

Let us now attend to the specific mode in which the indomitable accumulation of capital is obstructed or retarded by the different kinds of financial policy which have been adopted in different stages of society. In the earlier periods of civilization, when a small portion of stock has been accumulated, wars, the great article in the extraordinary expence of every nation, are carried on at little cost; for those happen to be the very ages in which the numbers of mankind are limited, and labour little subdivided. Each man of full strength, therefore, contributes his share to the public defence by actual service; and the season of warfare is confined to a particular part of the year. A country is indeed now and then ravaged, and useful hands are always cut off. The consequence is, that many lives are lost, much misery occasioned, and a great deal of partial poverty produced. The whole body of the nation, however, suffers only in this topical manner; and those numbers which escape disease or amputation are perfectly sound. One of the first effects of accumulated stock is a division of labour; and personal service gradually wears out. Taxation is introduced, and money, that is, revenue, is required to defray the ordinary, and still more the extraordinary, expences of the State. These steps are gone through by different belligerent, that is, different neighbouring nations, in the same periods of time, or very nearly so; for it requires no proof to show, that the nations which form, as it were, federal commonwealths, linked together by the relations of peace and war, are always running, with equal pace, the same career of improvement.

By degrees, wars become less frequent, perhaps, but much more expensive, in the same manner that all other articles of expenditure, public and private, increase in costliness—subsistence, luxuries, education, government, judicatures, embassies, &c. &c.; and the ordinary revenue of the state becomes less and less adequate to defray the extraordinary expences occasioned, and suddenly occasioned by the
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breaking out of hostilities. Thus, a nation which expends ten millions a year in its government and public works during peace, will be forced at once to spend thirty millions, perhaps, in one year of war. How shall this sudden augmentation of expences be provided for? Only in one, or in all three ways,—by saving so much out of the ordinary articles of expenditure—by levying three times the ordinary taxes—or by borrowing money to the amount of the additional sums required. If any great saving out of the ordinary expences were practicable, it would be highly impolitic; it would diminish the revenue of the nation and of the public instantly; and injure the wealth, as well as the happiness of the community, for generations to come. The only question, then, is between the comparative merits of the other two systems of finance—a taxation which shall raise the supplies within the year, or a contract which shall procure the extraordinary sums by loan. Which of these is the safest, the easiest, and the most consonant to the natural order of things?

The expences of every individual are proportioned to the *ordinary* state of the society in which he lives. He squares his enjoyments by his common rate of gain, and by the common amount of the contributions which he must pay to the public service. The bulk of the community, the middle orders, on whom the chief weight of all taxes must ultimately fall, are peculiarly unable to increase their contributions on any sudden emergency. The man, who could hardly pay fifty pounds last year, would have nothing to live upon, were you take from him one hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds this year. He must either leave the country, hide his property, encroach on his capital, or run in debt with a Jew. If he encroaches on his capital, he is less able to pay taxes next year, even to the ordinary amount; and no prudent government would listen to a scheme, which should make the whole individuals of the community run in debt, on their separate, individual accounts, admitting that they could all give such security as would induce money-holders to trust them. Besides, what becomes of the large class of annuitants in every country; labourers of every sort who have little or no stock on which to encroach, and can give little or no security to the lenders, and traders on commission, whose gains are so little proportioned to their capitals, but whose contributions should bear some proportion to their gains? We refer our readers to our review of Bishop Watson's intended speech, for a statement of the numerous difficulties which incumber such a system as this. (See Vol. III. p. 480, &c.) The proper fund of all taxation is not the general capital of the community, and consequently not that part of the revenue which is necessary for the

support of the proprietor and his capital, and which, if touched, must throw the burthen ultimately on the capital. The only fund from which taxes can be safely drawn, is the revenue reserved for consumption; and the question is, How shall this be effected, so as to increase at will the public revenue, without injury to the wealth of the nation, or injustice to individuals?

The immediate effect of every war, civil or external, and in a less degree, of all those other emergencies which happen to a nation, is to obstruct the ordinary employment of capital; to throw a quantity of stock, formerly profitably invested, out of its place, and to prevent the new accumulations of stock from finding new channels of investment. A great mass of capital is thus collected in the hands both of the mercantile and manufacturing parts of the community, shifting and floating about, ready for any speculation, or any profitable use whatever. This is, in our opinion, the part of the national stock which naturally seeks the service of the public; it can be employed in no other way, and should be used by the State. The owners are always willing to give the use of it to Government, for a certain premium; and when the crisis that occasions the extraordinary expenditure is past, they have the opportunity of reinvesting their capital in trade, partly as it may be gradually paid back to them by the State, partly as they may transfer their securities to a class of proprietors, always increasing in every wealthy country—the monied interest, who are constantly drawing together floating capital, by lucky speculations, and have no means of employing it, but in loans. The best creditor for all these descriptions of persons is the Government; at least, in ordinary cases, its security is the most tempting, and the most transferable; so that, upon any sudden call for their stock, they can transfer their security, and use their capital. In every country, arrived at a great degree of wealth, (and in such circumstances alone can the funding system be advisable), there are changes perpetually taking place in the channels of employment, and the situations of the capitalists. A tract of waste land at home is parcelled out for improvement; a new colony is added, by conquest or bargain; a new line of trade, or a new art is opened: all those kind of changes produce a demand for stock, and cause it to be drawn from the floating mass of capital above described, or from the public funds which have arisen from that mass. But, at the same time, there are other changes going on, of an opposite description. The accumulation of capital at home and abroad is always filling up certain channels of commerce, of agriculture, and of manufactures; changes of mode and of taste are checking or destroying the demand for certain articles; not

to mention the direct tendency of national calamities, wars, plagues, fires, famines, shipwrecks, and the like, to produce similar effects. It must be observed, too, that after a nation has reached a certain pitch of wealth, the changes of the latter description are by much the most numerous and extensive of the two kinds. Hence the public funds afford a sort of entrepot for capital, a deposit, where it is naturally collected in an useful employment (inasmuch as wars are necessary evils), ready, at the same time, for other services, and capable of being transferred in a moment, to fill those blanks which accident may occasion. It is evident that the natural order of things prescribes such an arrangement as this ; that it is the mode of raising large sums least noxious to the state ; and that it directly throws the expences of the emergency upon the surplus revenue of the community, first, by the yearly interest paid for the use of the money borrowed, and then by the provisions for gradual payment, which a wise nation will always make a part of its funding system. We have formerly had an opportunity of discussing this inseparable branch of the modern system of loans, and refer our readers to the review of Bishop Watson and Lord Landerdale's tracts, for a statement of the nature and advantages of sinking funds. (See vol. III. p. 480, &c. and vol. IV. p. 375.) There is a striking similarity in the mode in which wars affect the capital of a country, and the effects produced by them upon its population. The same analogy holds here, which we formerly traced between the numbers and the wealth of a nation. The emergencies of public affairs produce the very men required by their demands, and the very sums of money by which those men may be hired by the State. The same capitals now continue to employ the same men as during peace. Formerly they were employed in manufactures and trade ; now those channels are obstructed, and the stock is thrown into the public service, together with the men no longer useful in the peaceable arts. We have deduced, from this consideration, a proof of the absurdities of the balloting and militia systems, in a former article. The same view of the subject which justifies, or rather prescribes, the recruiting system, as the only safe means of filling the army, prescribes the funding system as the only safe mode of supplying the money which is to pay it. It does not follow, that, if no wars existed, both the men and the money might not be more productively employed : but we have already shown, that both population and capital, in the more refined stages of society, have a tendency to overflow ; and that greater evils may arise from the superabundance, than from the deficiency, of both commodities.

The result of these speculations may help, perhaps, in some
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measure, to explain the failure of the narrow calculations of Price and D'Ivernois, and lead us to distrust the still darker predictions of the author now before us.

According to Mr O'Connor, we are now arrived at a point beyond which our burthens can be increased no more. We have accumulated five hundred millions of debt purely by means of the paper credit system,—and every step we advance farther must be in the gulf of bankruptcy ; any continuance of the scheme must increase the depreciation of money, and the price of all commodities ; we shall be undersold in every foreign market ; nations, fresh in the vigour of youth, will profit by our decrepitude ; states that have no debts to weigh them down, will outstrip us in every competition ; our taxes will daily become less and less productive ; our funds sink in value ; the interest cease to be paid ; new taxes become impracticable ; universal confusion and disorganization ensue, and Britain fall prostrate, without a struggle, before France and America. We shall only observe, in passing, that if France is now in the vigour of youth, it is a youth gained out of decrepitude, far more abject than any that threatens us ; and that, if we chose to adopt the French modes of paying debts, viz. to issue assignats at par, and then buy them in at the price of waste paper, all Mr O'Connor's arguments against our paper credit and funds would be completely done away. He exults in all his gaudy descriptions of French greatness. The republic (or whatever other name that fantastic government may assume) has lost a little circulating capital ; but it preserves all its solid, fixed wealth, its lands, canals, houses, rivers, forests—above all, its *rights* (*risum teneatis* !) and its inexhaustible stock of talents—the genius, industry, and mental acquirements of thirty-five millions of people !

‘ The post-office,’ (says he) ‘ and the means of facilitating intercourse, but, above all, the living machinery, the genius which explores the powers and recesses of nature, to abridge and embellish the productions of art—making science tributary to the wants, the comforts, and the enjoyments of man ; the mind which profits by these discoveries, and the dexterity and skill which apply them :—these are the parts of the great national fixtures which demand whole centuries to acquire—and these the revolution has preserved and embellished.’ p. 79.

We can scarcely figure a more animated and exact description of all that is of most value, which the revolution has swallowed up in its remorseless abyss. Bailly, Lavoisier, Brissot, Condorcet. Pichegru, Roland, are but a few of the great shades which instantly rise up against this hireling panegyrist.

III. Our author inveighs against the restrictions which Britain imposes on her trade, especially on her foreign and colonial commerce, with peculiar acrimony. She can never be really and substantially

stantially wealthy, until she abolishes her East India Company, repeals her navigation-act, and emancipates at once her slaves and her colonies. To our outhers ear, it seems, a colony sounds only like another word for every thing that can ruin and distract national prosperity: His system of liberty extends all over the system of commerce and navigation; and we really believe his advice, when stript of the *verbiage* that envelopes it, amounts to this—that Britain should transfer her colonies and her fleets to the possession of France. Above all, we must renounce every idea of conquest; we must live on our own territory, which he despises for its littleness, and ridicules for its insularity; and we must not think of ‘forcing our manufactures into the European, particularly the French markets.’ In this branch of the argument, which is scattered over almost every chapter of the book, we find, mixed with much repetition and a good portion of nonsense, some reasonings of considerable acuteness on the general subject of monopolizing policy. But the absurdity of our author’s practical applications cover the whole discussion with a most ludicrous guise, and in no point of view more notably so, than where he preaches up France as an object of envy, and her conduct as a pattern for imitation.

It surely is not unknown to this writer, that the French navigation laws are more strict than our own, and that, if they have happily wanted the power, they have never been without the inclination to exercise a maritime controul over allies and neutrals, as well as over inimical states. Nor is it altogether fair to cry up for abstinence from foreign intrigues and influence, the nation which has been indefatigable in fomenting all manner of dissensions, and systematically stirred up every people that betrayed any wish to revolt against their rulers. As for conquests, we own it is new to us to find any pretensions urged for France on this score: and we naturally look to Holland, Italy, Spain, above all to Switzerland and Egypt, for a justification of our surprise. The advice to abolish slavery in the West Indies, is not surely recommended by the *example* of the French Emperor, and still less by the *experience* of his predecessors. To defend the colonial system, would be tedious, on general grounds. Suffice it to observe, that France shows nothing like a wish to abandon it; and that, to Britain, it is infinitely more natural and valuable than to France. But the accusation of forcing our wares into France, is the most laughable, in one of Mr O'Connor’s pretensions to liberal views of political economy. He actually calls by this name the act of sending a vessel laden with British goods into a French port, and denominates the seizure of such a vessel ‘a most justifiable act of the Government, to prevent England from

from forcing her manufactures into the territories of the Republic!" This requires no commentary.

IV. We have now only a few strictures to offer on the topics of more general policy which our author introduces into various parts of his performance. Upon Irish affairs, it is proper that our readers should hear Mr O'Connor speak for himself. His argument is curious. The government of Ireland, before the Union, was bad. This he proves, by citing certain strong passages from the speeches of all who have been his Majesty's ministers during the last twelve years, in the debate on the Union. But, says he, what did the Irish Union propose for its object, but reform of the Constitution, or, if you will, a change? Now, no change could be to the worse. Therefore, he concludes, from the confessions of ministers themselves, the rebels, as they are called, were justified. Such is the wretched sophism of the reasoning. As a piece of eloquence, his declamation is not without its merit; and it possesses certainly the charm of interesting, and even affecting us, as all passages do in which the writer can say, '*Pars magna fui.*'

'Is it in language to furnish words more expressive than those of these ministers, of the radically vicious and oppressive state of this Irish Constitution which the people of Ireland had made so many peaceable attempts to reform since 1784?-- I ask those ministers, Why have you supported this worst of governments, against the wishes of the great body of the people, at the expence of 30,000 lives, by banishment, by fire, by torture, and by all the rigour of martial law? Convicted on your own confessions made in 1799, after all these horrors had been committed, I call on you, in the name of those thousands executed and massacred, for your defence. You are arraigned in the opinion of every nation. Why, from 1784 to 1798, have you reared, strengthened, and supported, this worst of Constitutions, "*producing misery in one extreme, and oppression in the other?*" All this blood, all these cruelties, all these agonizing sufferings, have you brought home to yourselves by your *confessions*; confessions, so full, that the mind of man cannot conceive a defence which shall wash away the blood with which you are covered.

'If every other trace of these dark and gloomy scenes were lost, and that these ministerial CONFESSIONS alone remained, could the proscribed and calumniated Irish desire a more full exculpation from the accusations of those very ministers, than those *confessions*, of the nature, the vices, and the evils of the Constitution and Government they wished to reform? Is it in language to furnish a more unanswerable refutation of all those virulent invectives these ministers and their adherents have poured out against the people of Ireland, than these *ministerial confessions*?

'If the thousands who now traverse the different regions of the earth, exiled for having attempted to give their country a better Government

ment than one "*which produced the extreme of misery and oppression,*" were questioned by the different Governments where they sought an asylum ; if they were required to prove that they were, not those turbulent, ungovernable men these ministers have represented them all over Europe---what document more satisfactory could they produce than these confessions of these ministers ?---Nay, if the names of the thirty thousand heroic souls who have fallen in the field or on the scaffold, without one single example of fear or weakness, had bequeathed to me the guardianship of their honour, and the office of rescuing their fair fame from the detraction and calumnies of these ministers, what inscription could I place on the column that, in the effusion of my heart, I would raise on their tombs, which could discharge the holy duty consigned to my care, more glorious for them, or more ingloriously for their oppressors, than those *confessions* of his Britannic Majesty's late and present ministers ?

' Thus far I have been obliged to take a view of the internal state of Great Britain and Ireland, in order to be able to judge of the stability of the system that has been pursued. I have studiously avoided entering into the merits of the Constitution ; not that there is a man in either country who reveres the great and leading principles of that Constitution more than I do.---I have been persecuted with all the weight and power of the Crown, for having attempted to subvert it---I have been imprisoned, for five years, in eight different prisons, for having attempted to subvert it---I am now in exile, for having attempted to subvert it :---And, in the face of Europe, I appeal to the *confessions* of his Britannic Majesty's late and present ministers, *whether it was the CONSTITUTION I did attempt to subvert.* My own conscience has never failed to acquit me in the tribunal of my own heart ; and those confessions of his Majesty's ministers have acquitted me before the rest of the world. I never opposed these ministers for supporting the Constitution ; but I opposed them for supporting what was not the Constitution : I opposed them for taking away some of the best and purest principles of that Constitution, and for adding some of the worst and foulest principles that go to its destruction.' p. 67-72.

We extract the following passage from the concluding advice which our author gives to the Government of Great Britain.

' I know my countrymen better than your ministers can know them. I have committed my life to the honour of millions : thousands have died ; but not one has been found to betray me. Their unexampled good faith to each other, in contempt of torture and death, should instruct you, that there is not a people on earth whom the point of honour will carry such determined lengths ; none on whom fear and compulsion can make less impression. Their hearts are as open to friendship, as they are steeled against intimidation or menace. Had your Government profited by what has passed in America ; had it let the people of Ireland choose their own constitution and government ; had it treated them as free men, as equals, as friends---Great Britain would

would have stood in a different position from the position she stands in at present. But, alas! enlightened self-interest is as rare amongst nations as amongst individuals.' p. 140.

Our author is peculiarly bitter in his invectives against what he terms the *Secret Cabinet*, 'the prime and sole mover of our Government for the last forty years.' To this *junto* he ascribes the present war; and has an odd kind of theory to account for it. He says, the reasons alleged were mere pretexts. He runs through them, and we think successfully disproves the chief of them. He is then so obliging as to explain to us the true cause of the war. It was—that the Secret Cabinet saw we were about to become bankrupt; and, to avoid the shame of such a catastrophe presenting itself in its own naked form, enveloped it with war as an excuse!

We cannot quit this writer without noticing his perverted mode of viewing whatever involves a contrast between England and France. All the world has every thing to dread from our influence, our wickedness, and our power: and yet that influence is already at an end; that wickedness has rotted itself away, and must instantly moulder to fragments; that power is now a mere recollection! Such are the motives which should and must, according to Mr O'Connor, arm all nations against this country. France, on the other hand, presents no object of alarm even to her weakest neighbours; for it is her clear and true interest to live at peace with all mankind; to protect the weak, and not interfere with the strong; to cultivate commerce, and leave it free as the air of heaven; to promote the development of the moral energies, and we know not how many other Utopian fancies: Yet is this, virtuous, forbearing, meek, sensitive plant of a nation, the most powerful that the world ever saw. Bounded by the ocean, which she is fated to command; the mountains, whence she can thunder over the world; and the rivers, which make her mistress of chances and opportunities; strong, and rejoicing in her strength; ready to overwhelm every opposing force, and crush all her rivals to atoms—*Ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.* Such are the elements of which Mr O'Connor's political reasonings are compounded. We have only to refer our readers to the introductory remarks, as an apology for detaining them so long on this work—if, indeed, the importance of the general speculations that have grown out of our examination of it has not already pleaded our excuse.

ART. IV. *Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne.* Par J. F. Bourgoing, Envoyé Extraordinaire de la République Française en Suede, ci-devant Ministre Plenipotentiaire à la Cour de Madrid, etc. 3me Edition, corrigée et considerablement augmentée. 3 Tom. 8vo. à Paris. An. XI. 1803.

THE author of this work has enjoyed advantages which fall to the lot of few persons who write books of travels. He made his first journey into Spain, in 1777, as Secretary to the French embassy; and remained in that capacity at the Spanish court for eight years. This long and uninterrupted residence in the country which he has attempted to delineate, must have given him time to acquire a thorough knowledge of its language, literature, and institutions, and to become familiarized to the manners and character of its inhabitants; which are not only very dissimilar from those of his native country, but more difficult to be appreciated justly by strangers, on account of the natural reserve of the Spaniards, and the political and religious restraints under which they live. His official situation, too, must have afforded him evident opportunities to collect an abundance of statistical, commercial, and historical details with regard to Spain; the more valuable, because they are less accessible in that than in other European countries, on account of the maxims of mystery and state secrecy to which its government still adheres, though they serve only to keep it in ignorance of its own situation and resources, and to expose it to be grossly imposed on by its dependants. He appears, according to the usual practice of the diplomatic body in the reign of Charles III., to have lived very constantly at court, and had therefore the means of knowing intimately all who were distinguished for talents or knowledge in Spain, during the most promising interval which has occurred in that monarchy for the last two hundred years. The duties of his office, and the constant attendance about the King's person, to which the ambassador of France was at that time subjected, must be his excuse for having visited so few of the Spanish provinces; yet he contrived to escape long enough from the summer residence of the Court at San Ildefonso, to make an excursion through part of Castile and Leon, to the ancient and celebrated University of Salamanca; in spring 1783, he made a longer tour to the city of Valencia; and, before his return to France, he visited the commercial cities of Cadiz and Malaga, traversing in his route the arid plains of La Mancha, and the once rich and cultivated provinces of Andalucia.

His second journey into Spain was in spring 1792, as Minister Plenipotentiary of Lewis XVI., in which capacity he was reluctantly
received

received by the Spanish Court. After the events of the 10th of August, he ceased to be publicly recognised as a foreign minister ; but continued to transact business in private with the Spanish Government till February 1793, when he received a passport to return to France. He embraced this opportunity of revisiting Valencia, and of passing through Cataluna in his way home. During this second residence in Spain, he made an excursion from Madrid to Zaragoza, in order to examine the famous Canal of Aragon.

His third journey into Spain hardly deserves the name ; since he penetrated no farther into the country than the French armies did, which invaded Cataluna in 1795.

Information collected under these advantages, matured by so many years reflection, and corrected in the three successive editions through which this performance has already passed, excited in us very high expectations in favour of the work before us ; and it would be doing injustice to M. Bourgoing not to confess, that he has given us more information on the government, internal policy, and commercial system of Spain, and more entertaining details with regard to the capital and the royal *sillas*, than any book of travels that has fallen into our hands ; and that his work is, on the whole, not ill calculated to do away, or at least to lessen, those prejudices which his countrymen are known to entertain with regard to their southern neighbours ; and the more so, perhaps, that M. Bourgoing is not himself entirely exempt from these prepossessions, especially on the subject of Spanish literature ; and has therefore exhibited to his countrymen a portrait of their ancient rivals, less distorted indeed than that at which they have been accustomed to smile, but still not so just as to offend their national vanity, by dispelling entirely its illusions upon this subject.

Some of the greatest defects in M. Bourgoing's book appear to us to be the natural consequences of the very advantages which he enjoyed. As the servant of the French government, he might think it his duty, and as a candidate for employment under it, he would find it his interest, to say nothing with regard to Spain that could offend the Spanish government, or create a prejudice in its ministers against the agents of France. This explains to us the tenderness with which he touches on the faults of the Spanish government, the silence which he observes on its arbitrary and cruel treatment of individuals, and the unqualified praise which he bestows on every person that has influence in directing its proceedings. It may be reasonably questioned, however, whether he has not allowed these prudential considerations to restrain him farther than was necessary. There are
many

many defects in the internal administration of Spain, which are less the consequence of any spirit of injustice or oppression in the government, than the effects of its over-anxiety to promote the welfare of its subjects. Inflamed by this laudable and patriotic desire, instead of being contented with protecting the property, and giving free scope to the industry of the people, it is continually interfering with and regulating their private concerns; and, without regard to their present convenience, or much attention to their means of success, it never ceases to endeavour, by fiscal regulations, privileged companies, and royal establishments, to divert their capital and industry into those channels, which it conceives to be most advantageous to the public. On these topics M. Burgoing is commonly silent; though the erroneous system to which we allude has been pointed out by many Spanish writers, whom he might surely have been permitted to copy without offence. But, in return for his silence on those abuses which are still protected by authority, and his reserve on the spirit of jealousy and persecution, of which so many men of talents are the victims, he has never missed an opportunity of bestowing his praise on the Government, where it has shown a disposition to reform, nor failed to discover merits in those whom it honours with its confidence: he has even condescended to assume the tone of an apologist, when treating of the Inquisition; nor does he ever rise into indignation against the numberless vexations which this government tolerates or inflicts, or express himself with warmth on the narrowness and bigotry of its views, unless when complaining of its customhouse regulations, or expatiating on its infringements of the privileges conceded by ancient treaties to the subjects of France.

Besides our general objection to M. Burgoing's book, as deficient in extent and comprehension of views, as containing opinions dictated more by a regard to national interest than to truth or consistency, and as descending, not unfrequently, in the prosecution of this object, to the shallow artifices and cajoling style of a diplomatic memorial, we have often to regret his want of taste and judgment in the selection of his materials; and, above all, to lament the defective arrangement in which he has placed them. His book, it is plain, treats of two distinct subjects. The first and least instructive, though most amusing part of it, contains the description of what he saw in Spain, his remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the anecdotes he relates of what has passed at the Spanish court during the last and present reigns. The second comprehends the information which he has been able to collect with regard to the produce,

duce, manufactures, and commerce of the kingdom; his account of its laws and internal government; its taxes, public debts, and colonial policy; its military and naval establishments. Who would believe, that subjects of so different a nature, addressed to readers of such opposite descriptions, are so intermixed, that we pass from the Alcazar of Toledo, to a disquisition on the marriage laws of Spain; that, under the article of Cadiz, we are to look for his general remarks on its custom-house system; and that the same chapter treats of 'literature, education, manufactures, high-roads, canals, and patriotic societies?' Such monstrous assemblages are excusable in a mere book of travels, where the journalist notes down the information which he picks up casually upon the road, along with the state of the weather, the impositions of his host, and the noise that disturbed his last night's repose, with other gossiping of the same sort; but, in a work calling itself a 'View of Modern Spain,' coming from the pen of a man of letters and a statesman, arranged for the press, and maturely corrected in his closet, they can proceed only from the most culpable negligence, or from a head not over well qualified for the task. One inconvenience of this desultory arrangement is, that, in order to render the aspect of his political arithmetic less forbidding, he has stripped it of so many of the figures, that Cocker himself would be puzzled to reconcile the items with the total. His readers are certainly indebted to him for the trouble he has taken to enliven the subjects of finance, public debt, and bankruptcy: but we beg him seriously to reflect, that it is impossible to render calculations amusing; and that the only merits to be looked for in such matters are accuracy and perspicuity.

Some farther defects that have struck us in M. Bourgoing's work are to be explained, perhaps, if not excused, by the singular vicissitudes of opinion through which his countrymen have been hurried during the last fifteen years; *all* of which he seems to have thought himself bound to follow, and, to the best of his ability, to defend. Thus, we find him in one passage declaiming in favour of the liberty of trade, and against monopoly; and, in the next, approving of public granaries; applauding the system of encouraging domestic industry, by the imposition of heavy duties on the export of the rude productions of agriculture;* and calling upon the citizens of every country to sympathize with the zeal of the patriotic societies of Spain, who have procured the revival of many obsolete laws against the introduction of foreign manufactures; † laws which the prejudices of an ignorant

* Vol. I. p. 323.

† *Ibid.* p. 328.

norant age had dictated, and which the wants and interest of the people had suffered to fall into disuse. Hence, too, we are to reconcile his general declamations against superstition, with his occasional tenderness for its ‘*douces illusions* ;’* the violence of his outcry against the Inquisition, with the extenuation of its horrors, and the feebleness of his arguments against its defenders. his hints about a confiscation of ecclesiastical property, with his finding an apology for the riches of the clergy, in the alms which consume so large a portion of their income ; and his consolation for their fanaticism, in the austerity of their morals, and their enmity to the arts of luxury.† M. Burgoing has an unquestionable liberty to change his opinions, according to the ever-varying orthodoxy of his country ; but, when old doctrines become heretical, they ought, for consistence sake at least, to be expunged.

But to proceed to the particular examination before us.—The half of the first volume is employed* in giving an account of the author’s journey from Bayonne to Madrid, and in describing the capital and the royal *silios* of San Ildefonso and San Lorenzo. The third volume begins with the description of Toledo, Aranjuez, and some other towns in the neighbourhood of Madrid ; and then proceeds to an account of the author’s journies in Aragon, Andalucia, Valencia, and Cataluna ; and concludes with some anecdotes relating to the rupture of 1793, and the war that followed between the French Republic and Spain. The latter part of the first volume, and the whole of the second, are dedicated to an account of the government, courts of judicature, naval, military, and other public establishments of Spain ; to the state of her arts, manufactures, and commerce ; to the character and manners of the people ; their literature and public amusements.

As favourable specimens of the author’s talents for description, we shall select his account of the uncultivated wastes of Andalucia, and his contrast of Biscay with Old Castille.

They reckon fourteen leagues from Chiclane to Algesiras. I performed this journey in a summer day, and on the same horse ; and I found the country less peopled than perhaps any other in the world, not altogether uncultivated. I rode indeed across the plains, avoiding the circuitous paths, which would have carried me through several villages. But will it be believed, that, in this long journey, except *Vegir*, which I saw on my right hand, and *Medina Sidonia* on my left, I met with no other habitations than four or five groups of those miserable hovels, which they call *cortisos*, and in which the labourers take up their lodging during a part of the year ?

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I

‘ Ten

‘ Ten of the fourteen leagues lye across the States of the dutchy of Medina Sidonia, and consist only of open fields and pasture grounds. Nowhere a vestige, to indicate the residence of man. Not a fruit-tree, nor a pot-herb, nor even a ditch or roof, is to be seen. The great proprietor seems to reign here like the lion in the forest, forbidding all approach by his tremendous roar. In place of colonies of men, I met seven or eight large flocks of horned cattle and a few horses. In seeing them without yoke or bridle, wandering at random in plains, to which the eye can discover no limit nor barrier, you feel as if, in the first age of the world, you beheld the animals independent of man, dividing with him the empire of the earth, and finding every where their undisputed property.’ Vol. III. p. 167.

To this melancholy, and, we can add, faithful picture of many parts of Andalusia, the following is a striking and agreeable contrast :

‘ It is impossible not to be filled with admiration, in traversing the country which the Biscayans have vivified, even without their sovereign’s encouragement ; who with them exchanges the title of king for that of chieftain. The three provinces are the asylum of industry and of freedom. In travelling over Biscay, the spirit of the people seems to give animation to all around. Nothing can be more beautiful than their smiling hills ;---nothing more brilliant than their cultivated vallies. In the course of thirty leagues, from Biddoffoa to Vittoria, you are not a quarter of an hour without the sight of some village, or hamlet. The towus of Villa-Franca, Villa-Real, and Mandragon, have an air of freedom and gaiety. What a difference between the aspect of this and of the neighbouring country ! I would not ridicule the Castilians, whose virtues I esteem ; but they are taciturn, austere, and dark in hue ; the very image of poverty and *ennui*. In Biscay, the complexion, the physiognomy, the character, are quite different. Easy, gay, hospitable, they appear to feel their good fortune, and to wish all those to participate who witness their happiness.’ Vol. I. p. 21.

If we were called upon to point out any general fault in the descriptive part of M. Burgoing’s book, we should take the frequent recurrence of those affected and misplaced effusions of sentiment, which have abounded so much of late in the works of the second-rate class of French authors, misled probably by the eloquence of Buffon and Rousseau, and encouraged by the temporary reputation of the German literature ; but we are persuaded that this taste cannot long keep its ground among a people, distinguished for the quickest and strongest sense of ridicule of any in Europe.

The following passage cannot be suffered to escape, without a more particular animadversion :

‘ Will travellers resort to Spain, to enjoy beautiful roads, traversing arid fields, as in the two Castilles ; or frightful ways in countries smil-
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ing with culture and industry, as along the coasts of the kingdoms of Valencia and Catalonia; to find cities deserted and in ruins; a court little fertile in pleasure; few monuments; the arts in their infancy; a burning sky; and the Inquisition?

'Spaniards, our allies, our estimable neighbours, worthy of our highest regard, and more intimate acquaintance, continue to make roads, and improve your inns. Your country may then, at least, be resorted to with less inconvenience. But that travellers may sojourn in your country, and take pleasure in it, there are still wanting some advantages which nature has denied; and others which time and perseverance, it is to be feared, can alone accomplish.' Vol. I. p. 9.

The Inquisition, the court, and the plains of La Mancha, we shall abandon willingly to M. Burgoing: nor shall we interrupt, with our reflections, the pride and gratitude which the most high-spirited people in Europe cannot but feel, in receiving this measured and condescending praise, with which it seems the descendants of Francis I. vouchsafe to encourage and animate the conquerors of Pavia. On the contrary, we congratulate them on the pleasing expectation, that their future labours will be recompensed by the punctual fulfillment of M. Burgoing's promise, that, when they have made roads and inns good enough for Frenchmen to travel over and sleep in, their *allies and estimable neighbours* will now and then honour them with a visit, not to *sojourn* or to *take pleasure* in their country, but, by so distinguished a mark of favour, to stimulate them to farther exertion. Yet, after all, we may be permitted to ask M. Burgoing, what climate out of Italy can be compared to that of the whole Spanish coast along the Mediterranean? What country is the rival of Valencia in its particular mode of cultivation? Where shall we find such works for irrigation as at Alicante? Where such forests of palm-trees as at Elche? Where such singular monuments of architecture as at Seville and Granada? But the arts, it seems, are in their cradle in the country of Marillo and Velasquez; and all the monuments of antiquity, the aqueduct of Segovia, the bridge of Merida, the theatre of Marviedro, the Alhambra and Generalife, must be reckoned as nothing!

We must, however, in fairness to M. Burgoing, quote another passage, where he shows himself better qualified to do justice to the merits of the Spanish character than one should suppose, from his frequent pathetic remonstrances with them on the subject of their connexion with France, or from the sort of arguments which he employs when he wishes to gain over their understandings.*

But

* See particularly vol. I. p. 107, where he tries to persuade the Spaniards,

‘ But that Spanish gravity, which has become proverbial, is very different from what is generally conceived. You find little indeed among Spaniards of that affability, that politeness which anticipates your wishes. They accompany rather than precede you. But this severe outside very often conceals a good and kind heart, which often discovers itself very unexpectedly. Strangers to the vain grimaces of French politeness, the Spaniards are economists of their professions. Their smile of benevolence is rarely the mask of duplicity; and the heart expands with the beaming of the countenance. How often have I been for a long time repulsed by the exterior of a Spaniard, to have my repugnance at last overcome, and discover a complaisance, not assumed but effective---a courtesy not of profession, but of performance! The Spaniards want perhaps that urbanity, which a refined education inspires; but which is often the veil of falsehood and contempt. Its place is well supplied by this unmannered frankness, this sincerity which proclaims and inspires confidence.’ Vol. II. p. 290.

Before we take leave of the first part of M. Burgoing’s book, we request his permission to correct one or two slight mistakes into which he has fallen. The surface of the *Pantano* of Alicante is about half a square league; and therefore somewhat too large to be surrounded by a wall sixty feet in height, and broad enough for three carriages to drive round it abreast. The wall, which fills up the narrow interval between the mountains that really confine this stupendous collection of water, is about 135 Paris feet in height; and was not built by the Moors, but by the Christians in the time of Philip II. The treasures of Montserrat are not entrusted to the guardianship of the hermits; nor do the latter possess any considerable means of exercising hospitality to the strangers or pilgrims, who, from motives of curiosity or devotion, frequent that celebrated shrine.† Both offices are discharged by the Benedictine monks, whose convent seems to have escaped the eye of M. Burgoing, as he passed on to Barcelona, by its situation on the opposite side of the mountain. There is no tomb of the great Columbus at Seville; and the inscription, which M. Burgoing has copied incorrectly, is placed over the tomb of his son.‡ We are happy to be able to set M. Burgoing right in two other points in which he has been misinformed. The works at the harbour of Tarragona have not been abandoned,§ but are going on, under the direction of Mr Smith, with every appearance of accomplishing the object that was

Spaniards, that it will be for their advantage, that the French should so improve the quality of their own wool, as not to import any from Spain.

* Vol. II. p. 173.

† Vol. III. p. 269.

‡ Vol. III. 98.

§ *Ibid.* p. 265.

was intended by them; and the canal of Castille is continued with great activity, under the superintendence of M. Betancart.

Instead of a regular analysis of the didactic part of M. Bourgoing's work, we shall content ourselves with some cursory remarks on those parts which appear to us to call particularly for animadversion.

Hidalgo. It is a mistake to suppose that persons cannot be ennobled in Spain. * It is true, that a man cannot be created *Hidalgo de Sangre*: the King cannot give him noble ancestors, if his forefathers were of the *estado comun*; but the King may create any one *Hidalgo de Privilegio*, in which case he enjoys the same legal privileges as if he were *Hidalgo de Sangre*.

Cortes. The Cortes were assembled in 1789, not to swear allegiance to the present King, † but to take the accustomed oath to the Prince of Asturias, as heir-apparent to the Crown. Galicia has not separate states; ‡ but the seven cities of Galicia, which have a right to send deputies to the Cortes, enjoy but one vote; and in the last Cortes, the deputies of Orense and Mon-donedo took the oath in the name of the whole. Twenty-two cities of the provinces of Castille, besides those of Galicia, and sixteen cities of the provinces of Aragon, sent deputies to the Cortes in 1789. The nobles and clergy have had no seat nor voice in the Cortes of Castille since the reign of Charles V. The provinces of Aragon retained, till the Succession-war, their Cortes and the whole of their ancient privileges, except some limitations of the power of the *Justicia Mayor* of Aragon, made by Philip II., in consequence of the affair of Antonio Perez. We cannot conceive upon what grounds M. Bourgoing has asserted, that the Cortes of Catalonia had not been assembled for two centuries before 1702. § We are confident, that there was not a single reign during that interval (that of Charles II. excepted) in which they did not meet.

Ministry. It must be difficult to know the truth with regard to M. Bourgoing's assertion, that the Prince of Peace, during his temporary disgrace in 1798, and under Urquiso's administration, never lost for an instant the favour of the court: || the common opinion is certainly the other way. The vanity of *Urquiso* we have frequently heard censured; but the imprudence which (besides court intrigues) is said to have contributed chiefly to his fall, was having sent to Rome a very strong memorial against certain abuses in the *Dataria* of the Papal court. He

* Vol. I. p. 172.

† *Ibid.* p. 178.‡ *Ibid.*

§ Vol. III. p. 42.

|| Vol. I. p. 194.

may possibly have abused the favour of his master ; but this is a fault which we observe Mr Bourgoing censures only when it can do no more harm. *

Administration of Justice. Not only is torture not formally abolished in Spain †, but it is frequently practised at Madrid, in order to extort confessions of guilt from persons whose criminality is strongly suspected, without a legal proof of their guilt ; and, what is worse, the use of torture, in place of declining in Spain, is gaining ground. ‘ Unjust and partial judges,’ says M. Bourgoing, ‘ are not more common in Spain than in other countries.’ ‡ Whatever be the countries that have suggested this remark to M. Bourgoing, we pity them sincerely ; but we cannot help thinking, that this is rather a light way of treating so serious a calamity. To be secured from injustice, was unquestionably one of the chief ends for which men gave up their natural liberties, and submitted to be governed ; and it seems hard they should now be given to understand, that the object for which they made so great a sacrifice is unattainable.

Revenues. We regret that M. Bourgoing had not published the whole of Lesena’s report, instead of the extracts which he has given. § The pretension of Lesena, that the Spanish revenue is collected at less expence than that of England, could be easily shown, even from his own statement of facts, to be unfounded. It is a curious fact, and shows how things are managed in despotic countries, where concealment is the great maxim of government, that the King, having appointed a *junto* in 1802, to lay before him a state of the revenues of Spain, and of the expence of collecting them, these gentlemen had the audacity to present to him the old report of Lesena as their own, without changing a single figure, omitting only those passages where Lesena appears, from Bourgoing’s extracts, to have sung forth his own praises ; judging rightly, that, since neither report would ever be published, the fraud would probably escape detection, either by the royal personage to whom it was addressed, or by his confidential adviser. Having seen a copy of the report of the *junto* in 1802, and compared it with the extracts giving by Bourgoing of Lesena’s report in 1789 we can assure our readers, that the statements are the same in both, without the smallest variation. It appears, from these reports, that the clear revenue of Spain, in 1787, amounted to 5,883,435l. Sterling, after deducting the salaries of those employed in collecting it.

Public

* Vol. I. p. 201.

† Vol. I. 344.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 338.

§ Vol. II. p. 25. & c.

Public Debts. M. Bourgoing's statements upon this head are deficient, both in clearness and exactness.* A report, presented to the King, in the beginning of 1800, makes the capital of the national debt 44,481,991l. 3s. 4d. Sterling, and the annual interest of that part of it which bears interest 1,704,326l. Sterling.

Bank of San Carlos. More than two thirds of its capital have been lent to the Crown.

Commerce of Grain. We should conclude, from M. Bourgoing's account, that the commerce of grain in Spain was tolerably free; † but the fact is, that no persons, except the common carriers, are permitted to buy the grain of the country in order to sell it again, without a special license from Government.

Colonial Trade. To the statements given by Bourgoing ‡ on this subject, we may add, that the whole value of the imports from America into the Bay of Cadiz, from the peace of Amiens to 31st December 1803, amounted to 22,259,170l. 7s. 10d. Sterling, of which 14,594,724l. 8s. 6d. were in specie, and the rest in effects.

Tobacco. M. Bourgoing represents Galvez as having introduced the culture of tobacco into the kingdom of Mexico; whereas, he only introduced the royal monopoly of tobacco, the cultivation of that plant having been known there long before. §

Wool. M. Bourgoing's chapter on the Spanish merinos ¶ contains much interesting information; but we confess that we have not been convinced by our author nor by his countryman M. Lasterye, who has written some very excellent tracts upon this subject, particularly 'Traité sur les bêtes à laine d'Espagne, an 7,' and 'Histoire de l'introduction des moutons à laine fine d'Espagne, 1802,' when they maintain that the qualities of the Spanish wool are independent of the annual migration of the flocks. We have been assured of the contrary from the most respectable authorities, who state, that the stationary merinos begin to degenerate in the fineness of their wool after a few generations, whatever precautions are taken to prevent it. We have frequently accused M. Bourgoing of partiality to the Spanish Government; but, on the subject of the mesta, he fails in doing it justice. After having dwelt so long on the oppressions of Estrémadura, he ought to have mentioned the royal cedula of 1793, redressing many of the grievances of which he complains.

* Vol. II. p. 34. &c.

† Vol. II. p. 161.

‡ Vol. II. p. 209. & Vol. III. p. 160.

§ Vol. II. p. 264.

¶ Vol. I. chap. 3d.

Spanish Character and Manners. On this subject, we are happy to bestow on M. Bourgoing more unqualified praise than we have been able to confer on the other parts of his work. He appears to be sufficiently impressed with the difficulty of selecting features in the Spanish character which shall be applicable to the whole people; but we think that he has been eminently successful, and that he has done justice to the great and excellent qualities of the Spanish nation, without flattering their weakness. The superstition which forms the chief, and, we had almost said, the only shade in their character, he treats with as little mercy as it is disposed to give; and, in the whole of this subject, he shows himself not inferior to his countrymen in the art in which they so much excel, of sketching lively and animated pictures of manners and opinions.

Literature. Our limits will not permit us to enter upon the discussion which M. Bourgoing's strictures on Spanish literature have a tendency to provoke. Much allowance is due to the severity of his taste formed on the finished models of his own country; but when he concludes his enumeration of the present stock of Spanish literary productions with, 'mais d'ailleurs, pas un seul ouvrage vraiment philosophique,'* we are inclined to doubt whether he has ever read the Memorial of Jovellanos *sobre la ley agraria*, which he has referred to in the course of his work; and, if he has read it, we should be glad to know to which of the philosophical productions of his own country he would give the preference? But a work, of which Turgot might have been proud, requires not the passport of M. Bourgoing to be admitted into the circles of philosophy.

Before we take leave of M. Bourgoing, we must be permitted to express our doubts whether he ever read the works of the two English travellers which he criticises in his Preface. Of 'Swinnburne's Travels' he might have found a less favourable, but not less just character, by the late Chevalier Azara: † and if he had read 'Townsend's Journey' with attention, we scruple not to add, that his description of the provinces of Spain would have been more exact, and his admiration of her charitable institutions less unenlightened.

ART.

* Vol. I. p. 319.

† See Azara's Introduction to the Natural History of Spain, by Bowles. Edition of 1789

ART. X. *Voyage en Espagne, aux années 1799 et 1798 : faisant Suite au Voyage en Espagne du Citoyen Bourgoing.* Par Chretien Auguste Fischer. Traducteur Ch. Fr. Cramer. Avec un Appendice sur la maniere de voyager en Espagne. Avec figures. Deux Tomes. à Paris. An IX. 1801.

THIS little work is said to have obtained a considerable reputation in Germany, the native country of its author, on account of the natural graces of its style, and the liveliness of its descriptions. That these must have been the causes of its extraordinary reputation, we are disposed readily to believe ; for, after having read attentively the French translation before us, we should have been puzzled to assign any causes for its success—so completely have the fugitive merits of the original been suffered to evaporate in this attempt to transfuse them into another language. We must, at the same time, confess, that there is a warmth of colouring and description in some of the scenes brought before us by the author, that shows him not to be without talents or imagination. As a favourable specimen of his descriptive powers, we shall select his picture of the Spanish dance called *volero*.

‘ Le spectacle fini, la scène change en un appartement superbe ; l’orchestre recommence à jouer, les castagnettes le font entendre, et de deux coins du théâtre on voit sortir un danseur et une danseuse, tous les deux dans le costume gracieux d’Andalousie, qui semble inventé pour la danse. Ils s’avancent l’un vers l’autre en s’élançant, comme après s’être longtems cherchés. Déjà l’amante va pour embrasser son amant, elle semble vouloir se précipiter dans ses bras, mais tout-à-coup elle se retourne ; le danseur, d’un air à demi fâché, fait le même mouvement, et aussitôt l’orchestre s’arrête. Ils semblent tous les deux indécis, mais bientôt la musique, qui recommence de nouveau, ranime et presse leur mouvemens. Alors l’amant plus ardent cherche à exprimer ses desirs ; son amante l’accueille avec plus de tendresse. Ses regards deviennent plus languissans, son sein palpite avec plus de force, ses bras s’étendent vers lui. Vaine esperance ! timide, elle lui échappe encore ; enfin une nouvelle pause vient les enhardir. Alors la musique plus vive donne des ailes à leurs pas. Ivre de plaisir et d’amour, l’amant s’élance de nouveau vers sa belle, qui transportée des mêmes sentimens, vole avec ardeur à sa rencontre. Leurs bras s’entrelacent, les levres de l’amante s’entr’ouvrent, et sa pudeur expirante est prête à rendre les armes. Ici l’harmonie fait entendre des sons plus forts et plus rapides ; alors le mouvement des danseurs redouble de vivacité. C’est une ivresse, un vertige, on diroit qu’une seule et même volupté les anime l’un et l’autre ; chaque muscle semble appeler le plaisir, et chaque pulsation accélérer le moment de la jouissance. Tout d’un coup la musique cesse, et les danseurs disparaissent comme plongés dans la langueur délicieuse de l’attente : la toile tombe, et les spectateurs sortent de leur enchantement.’ Vol. II. p. 199.

Every onewho has been at Madrid will recognize the fidelity of the following picture of the *Puerta del Sol*; and to those who have not, it will give a lively idea of the more striking singularities in the appearance of the Spanish capital.

‘Let us through a *coup d’œil* upon the *Red de San-Luis*.* What a varied crowd! what an incessant noise! Women clothed in black, and covered with veils; men in long cloaks; water-carriers; sellers of fruit; superb équipages; heavy diligences; light calashes; waggons dragged by mules, and groaning with their enormous loads; crowds of asses, with their pack-saddles and bells; troops of she goats to be milked from door to door. Further on, blind musicians, singing *tonadillas* and *alguaciles*; a crowd of Galician porters; processions adorned with chaplets; parties of soldiers with their drummer at their head; funeral processions and singing of psalms; the jangling of the bells from the clocks of the neighbouring churches; and, finally, the solemn procession of the *Venerable*.---The little bells of the choir are heard, and every one is on his knees; every mouth is dumb, every head uncovered, every carriage stopt:---This tumultuous mass seems petrified. In two minutes the accustomed turmoil is renewed.---An hour passes and the crowd is dispersed.---The porters range themselves along the houses, to take their *fiesta* or afternoon’s nap; all the shops are shut; the hucksters at the corners of streets cover their stalls, to stretch themselves by side of the pavement.---The place is abandoned; the streets, a moment before so noisy, are dead; though sometimes, perhaps, you may chance to see one or two still on their feet. But the vespers sound, and all are alive again. In a quarter of an hour the street is filled with bustle as before.’ Vol. I, p. 182-187.

But, whatever merit the author may possess in the sort of Flemish painting, for which we admit he has a talent, we cannot imagine how he should have thought of entitling his work a supplement to M. Bourgoing’s travels. That M. Bourgoing’s travels admit of a supplement, we shall not deny. There are many interesting subjects which did not enter into the plan of his book; his information upon some points is incorrect, his representation of others biassed by prejudice, and his general views frequently unsound and inconsistent. But, without expecting from Mr Fischer any assistance upon such points, we may ask him, why, if he meant his work to supply the deficiencies of M. Bourgoing’s, he did not at least visit those provinces into which M. Bourgoing did not enter? Galicia and the Asturias, Granada, Murcia, and the southern part of Valencia, have been passed by neglected, by M. Fischer, as well as by Bourgoing, though they contain some of the most picturesque and interesting objects, and are connected with some of the most important

* One of the streets terminating in the *Puerta del Sol*.

ant inquiries that can engage the attention of a traveller in Spain.

Several things, indeed, surprised us exceedingly in the perusal of M. Fischer's travels. We remarked that he seldom passed the night in a large town, preferring generally some miserable village a league or two distant. He appeared to have gone through Burgos, without entering the cathedral. He travelled from Madrid to Badajoz, without going out of his way to Aranjuez or Toledo. He twice traversed the provinces of Estremadura, without visiting its ancient capital Merida. He was carried through the streets of Cordova without stopping to look at its celebrated mosque. He passed within sight of Montserate, without visiting its convent or hermitages, though he must have known that Burgoing had described them from report. But, above all, we were astonished with the description of a town in Cataluna, which we could find marked in no map of that principality, and described in no book of travels, not even by the laborious Ponz. M. Fischer describes it in the following manner :

' We then arrived at the little town of *Larpagona*, seated on the brow of a hill, from which the eye looks directly down upon the sea. The access is very steep and inconvenient, but the view superb. A small mole, not quite finished, is commanded by batteries, which stand above, on the point of the rocks, from the crevices of which, aloes shoot up. This little town is adorned with pretty houses, and has altogether a neat and pleasant appearance, although with the exception of the noise of a number of coopers, it seems abundantly dull !' Vol. II. p. 268.

In vain did we seek for *Larpagona*, or for any town in Cataluna that answered to this description ; but at length, after many fruitless conjectures, and after consulting with one of our brethren who had travelled once from Barcelona to Valencia, we decided that this little town must be the celebrated Tarragona, and that M. Fischer had been unconsciously treading on the ruins of the ancient Tarraco. True it is, that this opinion was not without its difficulties ; for M. Fischer says nothing of the antique colonnade in the archbishop's palace, nor of the ruins of the Roman amphitheatre, nor of the palace, nor of the bath of Augustus, nor of the innumerable Roman inscriptions and Roman arches which are to be seen in every street of Tarragona ; but, while we were still pondering over this subject, a passage in M. Fischer's appendix opened a new light upon us, and dispelled at once all our difficulties.

In this appendix M. Fischer has given very minute directions for the use of his countrymen who may be inclined to travel in Spain, and he has spared no pains to vary his precepts, and adapt them to persons of every description. After recommending

ing to botanists and mineralogists to hire the *whole* of a carrier's mule, and to attach themselves to a company of that useful fraternity, assuring them that this mode of travelling is as pleasant and creditable as it is economical, he proceeds thus :

‘ It is somewhat different, indeed, when you hire only half a mule, and are forced to pace along in the string on the loaded beast. Then you pay, as for luggage, in proportion to your weight ; and as an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) pays a piastre, a person weighing nearly a hundred and twenty pounds (five *arrobas*) must pay five paistres. But this manner of travelling is so inconvenient and mean, that it is the custom in Spain to say with contempt of one who travels in this way, that he travels *por arrobas*.’ Vol. II. p. 325.

After the perusal of this passage, our sentiments with regard to M. Fischer underwent a sudden and total change. We were about to abuse him for his indolence and want of curiosity ; but after this hint with regard to his weight, and his mode of conveyance, we felt an involuntary admiration of his heroic fortitude, that could persist so long, with a mode of travelling so incommodious and forlorn, to complete his journey. His apparent indifference about objects that interest other travellers, no longer surprised us ; for, how could he dismount from his mule to examine curiosities upon the road, without destroying the equilibrium of the opposite basket, oversetting the *bacalao* that balanced him, and stopping the row of perhaps a hundred mules, in the midst of which he was moving slowly, but steadily along, half stifled with dust, meditating and composing his travels ?

But, in proportion as this discovery raised our admiration of M. Fischer's fortitude, it lessened our confidence in the fidelity of his portraits ; for, how could a traveller *por arrobas*, who is held in scorn even by the *maritornes* of the inns, make such rapid progress in the intimacy and confidence of the Spanish ladies, as to be enabled, from his own observation, to expose, with so much strength of colouring, their abandoned manners, their shameless effrontery, their haughty caprices and slavish superstition ? Will M. Fischer permit us to enquire, whether this overcharged picture be altogether a fancy-piece, or designed after those ladies who saunter a-nights about the post-office,* and with whose wit and talents, and recitation of Spanish verse, he seems to have been so deeply enamoured ?

Descriptions of scenery, and sketches of events, occupy so much of M. Fischer's pages, that we should be inexcusable if we omitted to mention any one of the few subjects of a different sort on which he touches. The one that struck us most, was his account
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* Vol. I, p. 192.

of the contraband trade at Badajoz, at once so minute and particular, as to impress us with a thorough conviction that we had discovered the true object of this out-of-the way journey to that place. His account of the trade of Bilboa is less amusing, and too superficial to serve the purposes of either the smuggler or the economist. His receipt for making chocolate, we have no doubt, is extremely good;* and as to his catalogue of Spanish books, the only remaining subject we recollect, we freely confess, that we derived more benefit from it than from all the rest of the performance.

ART. XI. *Researches into the Laws of Chemical Affinity.* By C. L. Berthollet, Member of the Conservative Senate, and of the National Institute, &c. Translated from the French by M. Farrell, M. D. 8vo. pp. 212. London, 1804.

THE labours of Berthollet have long been devoted to the cultivation of chemical science. He appeared, at an early period, as the associate of Lavoisier, and contributed to establish the modern system, by the zeal and ability with which he engaged in its defence. He has enriched it by the discovery of several important truths; and society is indebted to him for the most successful application of chemical agency that has ever, perhaps, been made by a scientific chemist—that of the action of the oxy muriatic acid on vegetable colouring matter to the art of bleaching; an application by which the processes of that art have within a few years been completely changed. The investigations he has now brought forward are not less important. They are not confined to a few insulated facts, but are directed to the first principles of the science; they present to us new views of the laws of chemical affinity; and the discovery he has announced, if established in its full extent, must materially alter our explanations of chemical phenomena. With such claims of novelty and importance, we deem no apology necessary for giving some attention to this work.

When the phenomena of chemistry were first explained by Newton, from the attraction exerted by the particles of different kinds of matter towards each other, he illustrated sufficiently the general fact, that this attraction is exerted by any body towards a number of others with different degrees of force; and from this difference he deduced the theory of chemical decompositions. In the farther investigation of this subject, it was observed that
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the exertion of this attraction was liable to be influenced by certain circumstances, by which its force is increased or diminished. It was found that the aggregation of bodies has an important effect on the facility with which they combine, and that the application of heat modifies still more powerfully the attractions of which they are susceptible.

With the admission of these circumstances, Bergman, in his masterly disquisition on chemical attraction, contended that that power is to be regarded as an uniform force, or that, when the aggregation and temperature are the same, it will always be exerted with the same strength. The principle which Berthollet maintains is, that affinity is not this uniform force, but that its strength is materially affected by the relative *quantity* in which one body is brought to act on another.

‘It is my purpose,’ says he, ‘to prove, in the following sheets, that elective affinity, in general, does not act as a determinate force, by which one body separates completely another from a combination, but that, in all the compositions and decompositions produced by elective affinity, there takes place a partition of the base or subject of the combination between the two bodies whose actions are opposed; and that the proportions of this partition are determined, not solely by the difference of energy in the affinities, but also by the difference of the quantities of the bodies; so that an excess of quantity of the body whose affinity is the weaker, compensates for the weakness of affinity.’
p. 5.

The principle thus announced is apparently capable of being easily brought to the test of experiment. If the doctrine of Bergman be just, it seems to be a necessary consequence, that of three substances presented to each other, which have mutual attractions, the two which have the strongest attraction must combine, to the entire exclusion of the third; and that no attraction exerted by this third can ever decompose the compound which the others have formed. If, on the other hand, the opinion of Berthollet, that the quantity of matter influences the force with which affinity is exerted, be founded in truth, it should follow, that although one of these substances may have a stronger attraction to another than the third has, yet, by increasing the quantity of the last, the force of affinity between the former two may be counteracted so far, that a partition of the substance to which each has an attraction may be effected.

For the details of the experiments which are brought forward by Berthollet, to prove that this is actually the case, we must refer to the work itself. It is sufficient for us to remark, that a number of examples are given from the class of salts, in which a compound of two principles is decomposed by a substance
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having an affinity to one of these, weaker than the affinity subsisting between them, merely by bringing it to act on the compound in large quantity. Thus, sulphate of barytes is decomposed by boiling it in a solution of potash; sulphate of potash by lime; oxalate of lime by potash; oxalate of lime by nitric acid; phosphate and carbonate of lime by potash; and sulphate of potash by soda.

Admitting the accuracy of these experiments, which still rests very much on the authority of Berthollet, it may be asked, if they fully establish the unlimited principle he has advanced? Of this, some doubt may perhaps be entertained; and we conceive that an objection may be made to them, drawn from a principle pointed out, and admirably illustrated by Bergman.

Bergman observed, that, in many cases, a compound has an attraction to one of its ingredients, in proportions different from those in which mutual saturation is the result; and that, in consequence of such attractions, it may actually be decomposed by a substance having an affinity to either of its principles weaker than the affinity existing between them. From this principle, he explained the decomposition of sulphate of potash by nitric acid; sulphate of soda by muriatic acid; and various similar cases. He observes, * that, in saline substances, there are thus exerted attractions sometimes to an excess of acid, sometimes to an excess of base; and he even adds, that perhaps such attractions take place in all compound salts, though they have not always been observed.

In considering Berthollet's experiments, the question may be fairly put, might not such affinities have been exerted, and may not the decompositions have been owing to them, rather than to the mere circumstance of quantity in one of the agents, as their author has inferred? When sulphate of barytes is decomposed by potash, may not the decomposition have been effected, not in the mode Berthollet points out, by the single affinity of the potash, aided by its quantity, but in the mode in which Bergman would have explained it—by the joint affinities of the potash to the acid, and of the sulphate of barytes to an excess of its base?

We are fully aware, that if this latter explanation be just, the decomposition must always be partial, or the whole of the sulphuric acid cannot be transferred from the barytes to the potash. Were the decomposition, therefore, proved to be complete, it would certainly go far to establish the theory of Berthollet. But, with regard to the fact on this point, though of so much importance,

* Dissertation on Elective Attractions, p. 61.

Importance, no satisfactory information is given; and we are rather inclined to suspect, from the manner in which the following sentence is expressed, that the experiment has not been made.

‘ If but a small quantity of the decomposing substance be employed, the effect will not be perceptible; but if, on the contrary, a large quantity be employed, as, for instance, if I had treated the sulphate of barytes successively with additional quantities of potash, and removed, by repeated washing, the disengaged barytes, I should have ultimately decomposed the sulphate of barytes almost entirely.’ p. 12.

It appears to us, indeed, to be a necessary consequence of Berthollet’s own reasoning, that a compound cannot be entirely decomposed by a substance having a weak affinity to one of its principles, but that the decomposition must always be partial; for, in proportion as this decomposition proceeds, the influence of quantity aids the affinity subsisting between its ingredients, and, at a certain stage, must be capable of counteracting the effect arising from the affinity and quantity of the decomposing substance. If potash is boiled in sulphate of barytes, and abstracts part of the sulphuric acid, the proportion of the barytes to the acid remaining in the compound is thus increased; its affinity to the acid, therefore, assisted by its quantity, must become more powerful; and this must increase rapidly in energy as the acid continues to be abstracted, until it become sufficiently powerful to put a stop to the decomposition.

It appears to us also, from the principles Berthollet has assumed, that, in such decompositions, the ingredient of the compound, which does not combine with the decomposing substance, cannot be separated in a pure state;—that by boiling, for example, sulphate of barytes in potash, no pure barytes can be procured. If we examine closely the reasoning on which this new theory of affinity is established, it will be found to involve the proposition, that substances, having mutual attractions, must exert them, not merely when they are in determinate proportions to each other, but in every proportion; for how otherwise can the quantity of matter have any influence in adding to the energy of its affinity? If sulphuric acid and potash have a tendency to combine with each other only in one determinate proportion, what advantage can be gained by presenting them to each other in proportions different from this? If to a portion of sulphate of barytes as much potash is added as is sufficient to saturate the quantity of acid it contains, can any additional force be given to the affinity of the potash to the acid by adding a larger portion of it? The very assumption, that the acid has no attraction to the potash in this additional quantity, precludes such a

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supposition. If the potash can combine only in a certain quantity with the sulphuric acid, the presence of any additional quantity must be altogether indifferent. But if it can combine in unlimited proportions with the acid, it is conceivable, that, by adding a large quantity of it, such an additional force may be gained to its affinity, as will enable it to abstract the sulphuric acid from the barytes. Now, if this be admitted, as we think it necessarily must, the conclusion equally follows, that the same unlimited attraction, with regard to proportion, must be exerted between barytes and sulphuric acid; that, consequently, if from sulphate of barytes a part of the acid be abstracted, the portion of base combined with it can never be evolved pure, but the whole must continue combined with the remaining acid.

We trust that, from these observations, it must be apparent, contrary to what Berthollet has assumed, that the decomposition of a compound, by a substance having a weaker affinity to one of its component parts, cannot, according to his own principles, be complete; and that, in such decompositions, no part of that ingredient of the compound, from which the other has been partially abstracted, can be evolved pure and uncombined. If these conclusions are admitted, those who have attended to the preceding reasoning must at once perceive with what advantages a follower of Bergman might oppose the doctrine of Berthollet. Nor can it escape observation, that Berthollet's experiments are confined to those very substances in which Bergman supposed such affinities to be exerted.

In a different part of his work, indeed, Berthollet endeavours to show that the reasoning of Bergman on reciprocal affinity is fallacious inasmuch as it is founded on the assumption, that the compound salt has an attraction to an excess of one of its ingredients in a determinate proportion; whereas it appears, from Bergman's own observations, that it can combine with that ingredient in a still larger proportion or quantity than that which he thus supposed to be intermediate. The observation we believe to be correct. But the fact may be admitted, without invalidating Bergman's reasoning. It may be allowed, that the attraction of the compound salt to one of its ingredients is not limited to a precise or determinate quantity, without the conclusion following, that the attraction which it does exert to it, and which may vary in its intensity in different proportions, may not contribute to the decomposition of the salt, when it is acted on by a substance having an attraction to its other ingredient. Bergman affirms, too, as a fact, what is directly contradictory to Berthollet's assumption, that the decomposition of sulphate of potash can never be entirely effected by nitric acid; whatever quantity

of acid be employed, it always stops, when a third part, or a very little more, of the sulphate of potash is decomposed. It is easily conceivable that the sulphate of potash may have an attraction to still more sulphuric acid, than the excess it is combined with at the period when the decomposition ceases, but that this attraction, diminishing in force in proportion to the quantity already combined, may not be sufficiently strong to aid farther the affinity of the nitric acid to the potash, so as to decompose more of the salt.

These observations lead us to remark, that the actions which occur in such decompositions are probably more complicated than they are represented to be in Berthollet's theory; and that this able chemist has observed them only under one point of view. When a compound is decomposed by a substance exerting an attraction to one of its ingredients, he seems always to consider the decomposition as being effected altogether by the attraction exerted by the latter, aided by its quantity, to one of the ingredients of the other, and to regard the affinity exerted between the ingredients of the compound as simply *opposing* its decomposition. We are inclined to believe that it may be viewed in another light; that it may be considered as co-operating with the other affinity, and *promoting* the decomposition, to use the language of Bergman, by the attraction it may exert to one of its ingredients in a different quantity; or rather, to employ a more correct phrase, by the varying strength of the affinity, according to the proportions of these ingredients.

In making these observations, it is not our intention to dispute the principle, that quantity of matter influences the energy of chemical affinity, but rather to show that the opinion of Berthollet, as to the mode in which this principle operates, is doubtful, and that his reasoning is not always strictly consistent. The principle, however, is important, not only in itself, but in the applications of which it is susceptible; and it is this part of the work that appears to us to have the fairest claim to originality. The influence of quantity had been to a certain extent previously established. Bergman had demonstrated it, by shewing that the force of attraction varies according to the proportion of the substances between which it is exerted; and various observations were afterwards made by which this truth was confirmed. The difficulty of the entire decomposition of a compound, whether by exposure to heat, or by the intervention of a new attraction, was known; the last particles which enter into combination, it was observed, adhere with an inferior force; and the law was hence established, that the power of attraction is in an inverse ratio to saturation.

But no chemist had attempted to trace the influence of this principle beyond the few facts from the observation of which it was deduced. Berthollet has extended its operation much farther: he has attempted to prove that various affections of bodies influence their attraction, by limiting the quantities of them which can be brought within the sphere of action? And he has succeeded in shewing an exact correspondence between his deductions and a great number of chemical phenomena. It would surpass our limits to give a full statement of this part of the subject, or engage in much discussion with regard to it:—we must be satisfied with a slight sketch.

The *insolubility* of a substance, he observes, must be unfavourable to any action it is disposed to exert as tending constantly to withdraw it from the sphere of action. If it be employed as a decomposing substance, its action must be limited to few points of contact, even when it has the assistance of agitation. Or, if it be acted on by a fluid tending to decompose it, it will, from the same cause, escape in a great measure from the action, and its decomposition will be more difficult. If a substance evolved in consequence of chemical action, be insoluble, it will cease to oppose the decomposition from which it has resulted; or, if the product of a mere combination, it will, in some measure, determine the proportions in which its principles have combined. Great *specific gravity* in an insoluble substance will add still farther to those effects. The force of *cohesion* existing in any substance, it is sufficiently known, opposes another obstacle to the exertion of chemical attraction; and may thus resist either combination or decomposition. Berthollet further conceives, that it determines the combinations of bodies in certain proportions—in those in which precipitations or crystallizations are the result. *Elasticity* has an opposite operation. By removing substances which are disengaged in consequence of chemical action, it abstracts a power which is capable of resisting, with a certain force, the action of another; and, hence, it often renders affinities apparently weak, and causes decompositions to be more complete. *Effervescence* is supposed to have a similar effect, though to a less extent.

The view which is given of double, or, as Berthollet terms them, complex affinities, is an inference from the same principles; it is very different from the commonly received notion; and is, perhaps, one of the happiest applications of the theory. When solutions of two compound salts are mixed together, it often happens that an interchange of their principles takes place, and two new compounds are formed; and this has always been ascribed to the different forces of affinity subsisting among the principles.

Berthollet, however, denies that any such interchange takes place, except where a force of cohesion is exerted. He conceives that the principles of the compounds remain in equilibrium; the former salts do not exist in a distinct state, nor are new ones produced, but there is merely a combination of the four elements remaining in solution. But if the force of cohesion, with regard to any of these substances, be exerted, it will determine their combination, and the proportions in which they unite, and will therefore be the real cause of what, in the old theory, is ascribed to the predominance of divellent over quiescent affinities. Hence it is observed, that

—‘ if all the decompositions ascribed to complex affinities be investigated, it will be found that the prevailing affinity has been always ascribed to those substances which have the property of precipitating or of forming a salt which can be separated by crystallization. For this reason it may be inferred, *a priori*, from a knowledge of the solubility of salts which may be formed in a liquid, that those substances which are least soluble, and most apt therefore to precipitate, will be found to be the same as those to which Bergman and other learned chemists have attributed the strongest affinity in their tables.’ p. 106.

Double affinities, exerted in the dry way, with the application of heat, receive an explanation equally ingenious, though less remote from the common opinion with regard to the influence of caloric on chemical attraction.

‘ If it be desired to know,’ says Berthollet, ‘ the result of the exposure of two salts to the action of heat, it is only necessary to consider which of the two bases, and which of the two acids, have the greater volatility, if there be a difference; for the more volatile base and acid will escape, and enter into combination, and the fixed base and fixed acid will remain behind, and combine with one another.’ p. 111.

We have no doubt that much of the reasoning with regard to the influence of these circumstances is just, and we admit the extensive and strict coincidence of these deductions with facts: but it may still be questioned, whether, with the ardour of a discoverer, Berthollet has not extended their influence too far. That differences exist in the force of attraction, exerted by different bodies towards others, is abundantly obvious. To what such differences are to be ascribed, is a problem we are at present unable to solve satisfactorily. That the sensible qualities of bodies, their elasticity, cohesion, &c. may give rise to them in part, may be admitted as sufficiently probable; but to assume these as the *sole* cause, is proceeding beyond the bounds of strict induction; and a slight examination of the tables of affinities must convince us that in many, nay in by far the greater number of cases, circumstances of this kind are

are insufficient to account for them entirely ; and that we must admit the operation of causes more obscure, but probably more important. If Berthollet therefore means to contend, that all the differences observed in the strength of affinity are owing to the properties he has pointed out, he will, in innumerable cases, find his hypothesis deficient, and irreconcilable with fact. If he take more limited ground, and admit that there are other causes which affect the force of affinity, independent of those more obvious qualities, his reasoning is liable to the unanswerable objection, that he has made no allowance for such causes, and has consequently exhibited only a partial view of his subject. The apparent strength of affinity between the principles of sulphate of barytes, we are told, is owing to its insolubility and great specific gravity, which determine its formation, and render it difficult of decomposition by any substance capable of exerting an attraction to either of its constituent parts. But what proof is given of the justness of this conclusion, or what evidence have we, that there is not, independent of such causes, a strong affinity between sulphuric acid and barytes, arising from the figures of their particles, or other circumstances, not easily appreciated, but the operation of which we are, in innumerable other cases, forced to admit ? Do we not find that this very compound, sulphate of barytes, is equally difficult of decomposition by any single affinity, in the dry way, where its insolubility or specific gravity can have no effect ? or, is it not true, that nitrate or muriate of barytes, either of which is abundantly soluble in water, is likewise difficult of decomposition, by substances exerting an attraction to the acid, as by potash or soda, though such decompositions ought to be favoured by the comparatively sparing solubility, and the tendency to cohesion of the pure barytes ? and do not these facts prove, that, independent of these circumstances, a strong attraction is exerted between barytes and the acids with which it combines ? Nay, the inference would probably be just as correct, that sulphate of barytes derives its insolubility and strong cohesion from the strength of the attraction by which its principles are united, as that the strong attraction is owing to its being possessed of these properties. The carbonates are very susceptible of decomposition ; and the separation of the acid from the base is easily rendered complete. The cause assigned by Berthollet, is the elasticity of the carbonic acid, which removes it when separated, and prevents it opposing the action of the decomposing substance. But, allowing the operation of this so far, we may repeat the question, Where is the proof that it is the sole cause, and that nothing is to be ascribed to the real weakness of affinity between

the carbonic acid and the bases with which it is combined? and why, if the principle be just in its full extent, is not the same facility of decomposition to be observed in the muriates and fluates? Innumerable observations of this kind will occur, on reflection, to every chemist, and must lead to doubt of the justness of these applications, at least in the extent to which they are carried in this theory.

To the explanation of complex affinities, the same objections occur, with equal or superior force; for, with regard to these, still more weight seems to be given to these modifying circumstances, in determining combinations, than in single attractions. Differences in strength of affinity between different substances, exist, which cannot be ascribed to cohesion or similar properties; and these must necessarily operate, and in part determine the combinations which take place.

It cannot escape observation, too, that, in ascribing to the circumstances of cohesion, insolubility, or specific gravity, any power of determining combinations, properties belonging to a compound are assigned as causes of its formation. This is an absurdity, indeed, with which the chemist has become familiar, from the common theory of disposing affinity (which, we may observe, is, like Berthollet's doctrines, supported by a very extensive coincidence with fact); but it must still afford a sufficient refutation of any doctrine to which it is attached. Cohesion or insolubility in a compound, may have an effect in preventing its decomposition, or in counteracting its combinations with other substances. But it would not be easy to state a more glaring incongruity in terms, than that these properties, belonging to a compound when it does exist, should contribute to its existence, by promoting the combination of its constituent parts. The cohesion of a compound is not owing to any intimate union of its constituent principles, but to a force exerted between its *integral parts*; and these parts must have been formed, or the principles must have been combined, before such a power could be brought to operate. Its insolubility belongs not to its elements, but is acquired in consequence of their combination, and cannot therefore be the cause by which that combination was effected.

We think it unnecessary to engage in the further discussion of this subject, which rather requires an experimental investigation; and our limits will not allow us to notice some subordinate points relative to chemical affinity, which form part of the subjects of speculation in this volume. Of the general theory we have spoken with some indecision; for, although we perceive objections to part of the reasoning by which its first principle is attempted

attempted to be established, and are doubtful of the justness of its applications in the extent to which they are carried, yet we cannot regard it as altogether unsupported; and we are struck with its coincidence with an immense number of chemical phenomena. Whatever may be its merit, it will probably be received by the chemist with reluctance; for its necessary consequence appears to be, to unsettle what he has been accustomed to regard as the most fixed principles of the science, and to render chemical action less uniform, and less capable of being appreciated with accuracy. The principle on which nearly the whole of chemistry has hitherto been supposed to rest is, that different bodies attract each other with different degrees of force; that these forces are exerted with uniformity; and that it is therefore easy to predict their results. If the theory of Berthollet be just, it follows that such uniformity of action does not exist, since it is in every case so much influenced, not merely by circumstances in general uniform, as the cohesion or elasticity of bodies, but by the variable circumstance of the quantity in which they are brought to act on each other. This must introduce a source of error, against which it will always be difficult to guard; and must lead us to regard with distrust much of what has hitherto been considered as indubitable fact. Yet, should these new views be just, though they may be so far perplexing, they will not be without their advantages. In knowing that quantity modifies affinity, we gain possession of a new power, which, in practical chemistry, may perhaps be often employed with advantage; and the knowledge of it will enable us to avoid the important errors that might result from considering affinity as an uniform force.

‘Should it be regretted,’ says Berthollet, to whom the possibility of the reluctance with which his speculations might be received seems to have occurred, ‘that this essay excludes the hope of being able to class the chemical power of bodies independently of the conditions which modify it; yet it must be acknowledged, that tables of affinity were mere memorandums of barren facts; and that they precluded the advantages resulting from the consideration of the most productive properties, by attending to which a great number of the results of chemical action may be foreseen, and that action understood and directed, without having occasion to recur to suppositions and particular principles.’ p. 154.

To the theorist it will also occur, that these speculations have a tendency to render more perfect the approximation of chemical to mechanical philosophy, as they afford additional reasons for inferring the identity of the great powers of attraction from which their phenomena arise; and perhaps they present to us

more clearly the prospect, however remote, of our being able to explain the actions of chemistry by the same laws that are known to govern the more sensible motions of bodies. In every point of view they are interesting; they may certainly claim the merit of originality; and no one will question the subtilty of reasoning and extent of knowledge by which they are supported.

ART. XII. *An Historical Review of Ireland, from the Invasion of that Country under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain on the 1st January 1801.* By Francis Plowden. 2 vol. 4to. nearly pp. 2500. With a postliminious Preface. Egerton, London, 1803.

IT is common in England to put prefaces *before* books, but the author of this work, aware of the privileges of his subject, has judiciously put his preface *after*. We have no objections to this inversion of accustomed order, provided the practice be confined to histories of Ireland. Mr Plowden's postliminious preface, however, is fraught with amusing matter. We do not recollect many scenes in a comedy more piquant than the manual performance of a certain departed statesman, snatching a convictory piece of his own orthography from the hands of the astonished historian; while the staid and solemn gravity of the premier affords a fine contrast to the light-fingered agility of his brother. There is nothing in the whole history half so picturesque as this closet scene in the preface.

The circumstances under which the historical review of Ireland was undertaken and executed, are such as palliate, if they cannot excuse, a number of inaccuracies, and a general want of style, preparation, and dignity, which would otherwise afford decisive evidence of Mr Plowden's incapacity for the arduous task of an historian. Were the author to undertake (as we earnestly exhort him to do) a new and abridged edition of his work, we should humbly hint at some improvements, along with which and its present merit as an extensive compilation, it might become a popular and valuable performance. A main fault that pervades the whole, is the monotonous cry of *miserere* for the poor Irish; and, above all, for the unhappy and harmless Roman Catholics. The minuter errors, which run like veins through successive pages and chapters, are but diverging branches of this general and intolerable blunder. At every interval of narration, the tenderness of the reader is afflicted with those appeals to his heart; if he opens Mr Plowden at any given æra, he is sure to be assailed with this strain of lamentation; and if he shuts
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the book with full faith in its contents, it must be with a flood of tears. In history, as in the real scenes of many-coloured life, there is always room for a variety of moral remarks ; and the historian ought unquestionably to provide himself with a considerable assortment, upon the supposition that the reader cannot moralize for himself. But here we have no remark but one, and, whether true or false, it is exhibited without relief or variety. Pity the poor Irish, is the only note in the gamut of his observations : It comes in like the melancholy cry of a wild sea-bird, that may keep us in low spirits for a while, but must ultimately lull us asleep. Indeed, the late hour to which our pensive historian will necessarily detain his peruser, will make it necessary to take some such refreshment, before he can get through volumes of such a size ; and the reader of Mr Plowden will exclaim, in the words of *Æneas*, ‘*Quis talia fando temperet à lacrymis ? at jam nox humida cœlo descendit suadentque cadentia sidera somnum.*’

Another slight objection to the present state of Mr Plowden's performance, is the quantity of special pleading which it contains ; a fault into which men of the law are peculiarly prone to fall ; but in which the genuine historian seldom indulges, except in a foot-note or appendix. It is with perfect deference to Mr Plowden's general abilities as an author, that we offer those remarks ; and with full assurance, that his readers will still respect in him (after all deduction) that honest zeal which has prompted him to plead the cause of his injured fellow believers, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and the independent spirit with which he has stood forward in the cause of justice and humanity. A better age, we trust, is near at hand, for the interest of that class of society whose cause he has taken up. But it is not our business to plead in their behalf.

The Historical Review of Ireland was undertaken (as we learn from the author's postliminious preface) under the auspices of Mr Addington—‘*Nil desperandum Teucro duce.*’ The author had been able, from his knowledge of Irish affairs, as early as 1792, to predict to the then minister, the consequences that would result from refusing any longer to accede to the claims of the Catholics ; and, as the opposers of Irish emancipation and the recallers of Lord Fitzwilliam, are now generally allowed to have had their share in the merit of certain consequences that followed close upon the heels of that refusal, it is but fair to give Mr Plowden credit for sagacity in this prediction. Lord Fitzwilliam did undoubtedly pay the same compliment to our cabinet measures, in foretelling a civil war in Ireland to be the certain result of disappointing three millions of subjects in a promise which

which had been virtually made to them. But it seemed more consistent with the dignity of government, to overawe than to concede; and they persisted in a proud refusal, and abided by its worst effects—'Quenching the flame of bold rebellion even in the rebel's blood.'*

It seems a melancholy peculiarity in the history of our present illustrious minister, that his fairest intentions have been continually blasted in the bud. His idolons of reform, the gentle nurslings of his fancy, in times before the moral elements of mankind were dashed and confounded by the demons of sedition, fled dismayed before the tempest of the French revolution; and Mr Pitt, it is to be feared, will never be the reformer of Parliament. His efforts against the slave-trade have not overcome the consciences even of the paltriest clerks of his administration; and Mr Pitt, we are afraid, will not be the destroying angel of that traffic. As a friend to the Catholics of Ireland, he is probably as upright and sincere;—sacrificing even ambition to purity, he has been seen to go out of office in despair, when his voice could no longer avail them. But still it is deplorably visible, that Mr Pitt has come in, and may go out once more, without being in the least serviceable to the cause of Catholic emancipation.

In the year 1792, although he honoured Mr Plowden with a number of conferences on the subject of Irish politics, yet he treated him unfortunately like a second Cassandra. A written statement of Mr Plowden's opinions was given in at his request; but he scattered and threw aside the sybilline leaves; or, what was the same thing, handed them over to the hands of Lord Melville; and that ingenuous statesman has never had leisure, for twelve years past, to tell what use he made of the monitory paper.

The author was afterwards induced, at the instance of Mr Addington, to undertake an account of Irish affairs that should influence the public opinion in favour of the Union. As Mr Plowden's own sentiments were enthusiastically attached to that measure, he was peculiarly well fitted for the task. His book appeared suddenly, almost instantaneously, in two prodigious quartos, executed within a few months. It was necessary, indeed, to write fast under Mr Addington's administration, if one wished to enjoy the benefit of his patronage.

But, when the day of reckoning came, it was found that the undertaker had outwitted the doctor. Mr Plowden's history was in favour of the Union indeed; but in favour also of Irish Catholic emancipation. It abounded with anecdotes of oppression in Ireland,

* Shakespear, Henry IV.

land, and with a number of little stories about flogging and torturing, and hanging inoffensive people, which were not at all diverting to the minister or his Irish auxiliaries. A most affecting interview accordingly took place, when the parties met. The premier, tenderly upbraiding his historian, exclaimed*—‘Did you think it possible I could like such a work, in favour of Catholic emancipation, when I hold my very place by resisting that question?’—‘*Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide tantum posse nefas?*’ Mr Plowden’s book probably will not fare the worse with the public, because the author forfeited the patronage of his employer, by a conscientious adherence to principle : and we wish we could say as much in favour of its execution, as of the motives which led to the undertaking.

In this historical review of Ireland, our author has commenced *ab ovo*. He wanders back to the pleasant and hypothetical times of the father of Heber and Eremon, and to the golden age of Ollam Fodlah. The Irish emperors of Ulster, a dynasty of 197 enlightened sovereigns who reigned during many centuries before Christ, are announced with as much precision as if the acts of their respective parliaments had been printed by Debrett ; and the great Messrs O’Flaherty, Keating, and O’Halleran, are brought as bail for their existence. Their grand monarchy, by a dexterity peculiar to Irish politics, was so contrived, as to be both elective and hereditary. Military talents (says Mr Plowden) outweighed civil accomplishments ; personal imperfections or deformities excluded the candidate ; and a long beard, we find, was so respectable a recommendation, that a prince of the blood in the third century unfitted his rival from competing, by setting fire to his beard when the other had imprudently *got drunk at the election*.

‘The grand epoch of political eminence,’ says Mr Plowden, ‘in the early history of the Irish, is the reign of their great and favourite monarch *Ollam-Fodlah*, who reigned, according to Keating, about 950 years before the Christian æra. Under him was instituted the great *Fes* at *Teamor* or *Tarah*, which was in fact a triennial convention of the states, or a parliament, the members of which consisted of the Druids and other learned men, who represented the people in that assembly. Thus the monarch and the provincial and other kings, who had the executive power in their hands on one side, and the philosophers and priests, together with the deputies of the people on the other, formed the whole of this ancient legislature. When this great council was convened, previous to their entering upon business, they sat down to sumptuous entertainments for six days successively. Very minute accounts are given by the Irish annalists of the magnificence and

* This is all truly stated according to the postliminious preface.

and order of these entertainments : from whence we may collect the earliest traces of heraldry that occur in history, and deduce that partiality for family distinctions, which to this day forms a striking part of the Irish national characteristic. In order to preserve order and regularity in the great number and variety of the members who met together on these occasions, when the banquet was ready to be served up, the shield bearers of the princes and other members of the convention delivered in their shields and targets, which were readily distinguished by the coats of arms emblazoned upon them : these were arranged by the grand marshal and principal herald, and hung upon the walls on the right side of the tables ; and, upon entering the apartments, each member took his seat under his respective shield or target without the slightest disturbance. The first six days were not spent in disorderly revelling and excess, but particularly devoted to the examination and settlement of the historical antiquities and annals of the kingdom : they were publicly rehearsed and privately inspected by a select committee of the most learned members. When they had passed the approbation of the assembly, they were transcribed into the authentic chronicle of the nation, which was called the register or psalter of *Tarah*. This singular caution, to prevent the introduction of any falsity or misrepresentation into their national history, would have furnished posterity with the most authentic and interesting relations of this ancient and extraordinary kingdom, had not the Danes, in their frequent ravages and invasions of Ireland during the 9th and 10th centuries, burnt all the books and monuments of antiquity that fell in their way. We have still more to lament the shameful and fatal policy of our ancestors, who, from the first invasion of Henry Plantagenet down to the reign of James the First, took all possible means of art and force to destroy whatever writings had by chance or care been preserved from the destructive hands of the Danes. They imagined, that the perusal of such works kept alive the spirit of the natives, and kindled them to rebellion, by reminding them of the power, independency, and prowess of their ancestors. The public mind upon this subject has long been changed : two centuries have gone by since Sir John Davies said, that “ had these people been granted the benefit of the English laws, it would goe infinitely farther towards securing their obedience, than the destruction of all the books and laws ever published in this kingdom.” We have happily lived to see a legislative union of the two countries, which will, it is trusted, by the natural workings of the British constitution, go further in three years towards the destruction of national prejudice and dissaffection, than a mere communication of laws did in three centuries.*

The splendid efforts of the Irish literati under Ollam Fudlah are only generally noticed by Mr Plowden. That so few of their

* “ In the middle of the last century, Bishop Berkley observed, “ though it is the true interest of both nations to become one people, yet neither seem apprised of this truth.” Warr. Hist. p. 30.

their essays, histories, and learned effusions, have come down to the present generation, is accounted for by the wicked irruptions of the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries. In this apology for such abundant scantiness of aboriginal Irish literature, there is something that strongly reminds us of the Irish advertisement: 'Lost on Saturday last, but the loser does not know where, an empty sack, with a cheese in it. On the sack, the letters P. G. are marked; but so completely worn out, as not to be legible.'

The Irish undoubtedly had abundance of literature in their early ages. But the Danes came among them; and as the Danes were great destroyers, *ergo* they destroyed a number of Irish MSS. of which a vestige does not now remain. How perishable is human glory, even literary glory, which plumes itself on the immortality of mental existence! A thousand years hence, perhaps, the luminaries of the present age will be as little known to posterity, as the wits and philosophers of their psalter of Tarah are to us; and truly, if the document of their existence be as ambiguous, we need not blame our descendants for incredulity. With regard to the Danes, however, who were so mischievous as to burn all the libraries of the old Irish sçavans, it appears that many writings in their northern penmanship have been found in Ireland; and as there can be no doubt that such writings are the offspring of Irish genius, though written in a foreign alphabet, it appears that those evil-minded invaders either were the writing-masters of the Irish, or took notorial copies of some of their MSS. before they committed them to the flames. In addition to Colonel Vallancy's discovery of the old Irish lines in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, Mr Plowden adduces, as proof of the Carthaginian origin of the Irish, the similarity of certain pieces of armour dug up at Cannæ, to those which are found in the bogs of Ireland. If it were even possible to prove that those pieces of armour are not Roman (and as the Romans fell at Cannæ in pretty considerable numbers, such a supposition is not to be excluded), still we think it a mean compromise, in Irish antiquarians, to derive their origin from the Carthaginians. Why not derive the Carthaginians from the Irish?—the one difficulty is not a whit greater than the other.

The English history of Ireland opens with Pope Adrian's famous bull; an article, by the way, which seems to have thriven and increased prodigiously in this fertile soil. In this bull his Holiness has the kindness to make over all Ireland in a present to his dear son in Christ, Henry the II. of Ireland; and farther, he enjoins his dear son Henry to go over to Ireland, and root out the foul wickedness of the Irish, not forgetting to exact Peter's

ter's pence in behalf of his holy mother church. The Irish, unwilling to pay an assessed tax to this newly appointed office of the Pope's revenue, and having their own clergy to maintain already, independent of Peter's pence, resisted their invaders; but, whether from an improper defence-bill, or a bad supply of volunteers and militia, or for want of a great man of the law to enforce volunteering, their defence did not succeed; and the English established themselves never to be expelled. A handful of English having rooted themselves in a district denominated the Pale, exercised a most savage authority over the conquered as well as the surrounding natives. It appears that, for many centuries after the conquest, it was accounted no crime to kill 'a mere Irishman;' and that every pretext was used to encourage the extirpation of that unhappy indigenous breed. Rewards were even held out, as we should do to lessen the propagation of foxes or weasels. The Englishman of the Pale was allowed to put to death every thief, or alien, or mere Irishman (for the names were used promiscuously and synonymously) that he met with; and the captor was to enact, in one summary performance, the part of thief-catcher, judge, jury, and executioner. As it was easy to distinguish the native Irishman by the costume of his country; so the very dress, or rather the nakedness of the wretched native, became his death warrant; and for the crime of being taken with hair on his upper lip (the practice of shaving it being confined to the English), the Irishman usually had his head cut off. To avoid this disagreeable treatment, the native septs flew to arms, and fought as well as men, so wretchedly disciplined, and so divided among themselves, could be expected to fight: but of all the glory and chivalry, and boasted improvement, and regular government, of the early Irish, not a vestige remains at this period of their history. They disappear at the æra of English invasion, like fairy scenes at the cock-crow, and leave us fairly to doubt if they ever existed, except in the brains of Irish antiquarians.

The period of the Reformation opens a third grand æra in Irish history. 'It has been too prevalent,' Mr Plowden observes, 'to lay indiscriminately to the account of that great innovation in our national church, the various struggles, revolutions, and convulsions, that afterwards happened in the state, an error pregnant with incalculable mischief.' If it be an error, however, to ascribe those convulsions in the state of Ireland to religion alone, it certainly would be an equal error, to exclude it altogether. But although it was the mutual hatred of the nations, and the savage spirit of the Irish chieftains, alternately submitting and revolting, as they were subdued or provoked anew by the race within the Pale (a race who are described as *ipsis hybernis hyberniores*),

verniores), that kept alive eternal hostility ; yet, if selfishness and pride inflicted reciprocal wounds upon the Irish, it was religious animosity that made those wounds rankle and grow incurable :— if the former causes gave vigour to the bow, the latter imparted venom to the shaft. The peculiar effects of the Revolution, indeed, appear to have been to give a general, instead of a desultory aspect, to the civil commotions of Ireland. It converted their hostilities, from the feuds and inroads of families, carried on against the districts of each other, into broad and extensive war. It was now the war of a Catholic colony against its Protestant government, as, excepting a few adherents of the English government, the whole island seemed to be armed in defence of the faith of St Patrick.

The discontents of civil war were aggravated during the reign of Elizabeth, by a severe system of religious intolerance. Natural as it might be for a Protestant government to hate that religion which had so lately threatened desolation to the whole Protestant world, yet the sufferings of Ireland during Elizabeth are not to be excused upon any principle of justice or necessity. How far the misdemeanours of her deputy Lord Fitzwilliam ought to be imputed to his royal mistress, may indeed be questioned ; but, that Elizabeth knew well, from personal correspondence with official persons in Ireland, the sad state of her native subjects, is established by records of the clearest nature. In a MS. letter, which is still preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, from an officer of the name of Lee, to Queen Elizabeth, an open description is given, of which we cannot doubt the authenticity ; but of such cruelties, as we should have rather expected to find in the history of a Turkish, than of an English province. We refer the reader, who wishes to see this paper, to No. XI. of Mr Plowden's appendix.

The bitter fruits of oppression appeared very soon and distinctly in the subsequent history of Ireland. Rebellion produced confiscation. Proscription and poverty drove the loser of his house and estate into despair and insurrection ; and the execution of the rebel only rooted deeper in the hearts of the spectators a desire to avenge their sympathies and their wrongs. It is to these acting and reacting causes, to the cherished and fostered spirit of indignation, increasing and propagating its strength from one generation to another, till, fed by every feeling of national and personal pride, it grew to be the main passion, and as it were the religion of a barbarous man,—that we are to look for the terrible event, which at no distant period laid the island desolate with blood.

The reign of the first Charles presents a still stronger proof against Mr Plowden's insinuation, that religious differences were not the chief sources of the troubles of Ireland after the period
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of the Reformation. According to Mr Plowden's account of this reign, the sole spring of discord was, the double conduct of Charles, and the bigotry of Ormond's hatred against the Catholics. It would be little to the purpose, upon this question, to exculpate Charles from the crime (to call it by its worst name) of giving a double commission to Ormond and Glamorgan; but, at all events, whatever were the faults of Charles, his Lord-Lieutenant is impeached by no facts, and only by the suspicions of his Catholic enemies. He had (we may concede to Mr Plowden) no very cordial affection for the Irish Catholics; but it was not the hatred of an oppressor, but of one who severely smarted under their perjury and their breach of treaties. He was sent to subdue them as traitors, after the horrible massacre of 1641; and, when he had laid them at his feet, he wished to grant them generous terms; for, if we make allowance for the religious fury of the times, the terms which he offered them were extremely liberal. He wished to make a league with them, and to bring in their whole strength and enthusiasm to the aid of the royal cause. But Ormond's plans, and the peace of Ireland, were sacrificed to the influence of the Irish priests, principally to the intrigues of Mr Dominic Fanning, and the fulminations of the Pope's Nuncio. Mr Dominic afterwards exhibited upon that instrument of destruction, to which all wicked priests should be exalted. Unfortunately, the Pope's Nuncio was not brought to the same exaltation. But, is it possible to blame Ormond for the breach of the treaty of 1645, even although we could excuse the Catholic confederates for breach of faith, on their plea of Glamorgan's commission? Or, is there a shadow of proof, as Mr Plowden asserts, that Ormond connived at the treachery of his Sovereign? As to the private character of Ormond, it is given much more amiable, and in much truer colours, in the words of the venerable Clarendon, than in the work before us. For an answer to that unfounded charge of corruption on the Marquis's character, in the affair of surrendering Dublin, which was originally raised against him by his contemporary enemies, and has been since taken up by Mr Plowden, we refer the reader to Clarendon's *Historical Review of Ireland*, at p. 71. & 72.

Over the succeeding reign, under which Clarendon filled the place of Ormond as the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and the Catholic commander Lord Tyrconnel came over to England to persuade his Sovereign to break through the act of settlement, for the purpose of putting the power and patronage of Ireland into the hands of his fellow-believers, Mr Plowden passes in a brief and epigrammatic manner. At certain stages

stages of his pilgrimage through a long history, the writer is often impelled to drive rapidly on; or invited to delay and expatiate, according as the scenes which lay before him promise cheer and entertainment to his civil and religious opinions. In the glorious Revolution of England, there is nothing hospitable to the wishes of a Catholic, and nothing, indeed, exhilarating to the feelings of an Irish historian who views that event in its immediate relation to Ireland alone. The words of Mr Burke are introduced by Mr Plowden on this occasion; * and no words, certainly, can have more weight and authority than those of that great man, who felt so deeply, understood so thoroughly, and pleaded so powerfully, the interests of Ireland. When he came forth in the proud maturity of his powers, 'like a giant to run his race,' his efforts and his eloquence in behalf of Irish commerce and emancipation, were such as should consecrate his memory as a patriot, and endear it to his native country. If he lived to be the prophet and apostle of a faith less congenial to liberty, let it be remembered what extraordinary circumstances of the moral world produced that obliquity of his genius from its once more liberal inclination. If he erred, it was the wandering of a mind dazzled with its own splendours, and which seemed, durst we use the similitude, like the throne of Milton's heaven, '*dark with excessive bright.*'

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* 'By the total reduction of the kingdom of Ireland in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and, in a great measure too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain, that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries only served to augment their torture. Machines which could answer their purposes so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time, in England, the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious), shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed, in all its force, to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and indeed as a race of bigotted savages who were a disgrace to human nature itself.' *Burke's Letters to Sir Her. Lang.* p. 44.

The British Revolution brought to Ireland a conqueror of mild and tolerant principles, but whose better intentions unfortunately yielded to the anticatholic zeal of his English Parliament, who seemed to think there was no other way of making faithful subjects of the Irish Catholics, than by yoking them with penal statutes and a system of rigour.

‘ However glorious in the cause of civil freedom (says our author) were the exertions of our ancestors at the Revolution, yet the unbiassed mind must necessarily doubt the purity of their patriotism, when it contemplates the English Parliament and Government opposing that very liberty in Ireland which they so zealously supported in England. The fermentation between England and Ireland became alarming. It was no longer a contest between a conqueror and an oppressed people, reclaiming their natural, civil, or religious rights. The bulk of the nation was so dispirited and reduced under their sufferings, that their feeble moans were scarcely heard on their own shores, much less across St George’s Channel: they existed only as the passive objects of persecution. The conflict was with that very protestant ascendancy in Ireland, which it had been the primary policy of the English cabinet for the last century to establish, and which now only had been effectually accomplished. It was impossible that civil liberty should make the progress it did in England, and that Ireland should be more than insensible of its blessings. The Irish legislature was called upon to surrender and renounce those very rights which the English Parliament had so gloriously asserted. Mr Molyneux, one of the members for the university of Dublin, a very popular character, was the most forward in the cause of Irish patriotism. In 1698, he published his famous book, intituled, “ *The Case of Ireland’s being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated,*” which greatly increased his reputation, influence, and popularity, within and without the Parliament of Ireland.

‘ This book was written in a strain of independent discussion and spirited assertion to which Ireland had hitherto been a stranger. The author considered how Ireland originally became annexed to the crown of England; how far this connection was founded in conquest; what were the true and lawful rights of the conquerors over the conquered; and whether those rights, whatever they might be, extended to posterity indefinitely; and, finally, what concessions had been made to Ireland, and what were the opinions of the learned who had handled the subject. He closed with strong inferences in support of a perfect and reciprocal independence of each kingdom upon the other. As, by the first act which the Irish legislature passed under William and Mary, they had especially recognized, that “ the Kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom (Ireland), was declared to be justly and rightfully depending upon and belonging, and for ever united to the same,” it was clearly impossible to reconcile the theory of perfect independence with the practice. The very exigencies of human policy required, that
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the predominancy of the power of England should, throughout every department of Irish government and legislation, command an ascendancy, against which the only remedy lay in an incorporate union. With reason, then, did the late Lord Clare assure the House of Peers on the 10th of February 1800, "that our ancestors saw the seeds of disunion in the connexion which at this time subsisted between Ireland and England."

'The English House of Commons took up the gauntlet with a high hand. A committee was appointed to examine Mr Molyneux's book, and to report such passages as they should find denying the authority of the parliament of England, and also what proceedings had taken place in Ireland, that might occasion the said pamphlet. On the 22d of June 1698, the committee reported the obnoxious passages, and stated, that, on inquiry into the proceedings in Ireland which might occasion the pamphlet, they found in a bill transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, during the late parliament there, intituled, "A Bill for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government," that the whole of an act passed in England for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths, was re-enacted with some alterations; and that, in the same bill, the crown of Ireland was styled the imperial crown of Ireland. Upon this report, the house resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They resolved also, "that the bill lately transmitted from Ireland, whereby an act of parliament made in England expressly to bind Ireland is pretended to be re-enacted, had given occasion and encouragement to forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book." The house, in a body, presented an address to the King, enlarging, in terms of great indignation, on the book and its pernicious assertions, and on the dangerous tendency of the proceedings of the Irish parliament, beseeching his Majesty to exert his royal prudence to prevent their being drawn into example, and to take all necessary care that the laws which directed and restrained the parliament of Ireland in their actings, should not be evaded; and concluding with an assurance of their ready concurrence and assistance, in a parliamentary way, to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of England. The King answered, "that he would take care that what was complained of should be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired." Thus were the parliaments of the two countries at issue.' Vol. I. p. 202---205.

The firm consolidation and away of the English party in Ireland, is dated by Mr Plowden from the commencement of the reign we have just mentioned. From this time, the Churchmen

and Presbyterians drew more nearly and cordially to each other, against those whom they styled their common enemies, *i. e.* the Catholics. And yet, illiberal as their Protestant conquerors might have been, and dreadful as that *imperium in imperio*, the government of Dublin castle, certainly was, we may see, through the darkest descriptions of Mr Plowden, that the Irish began, immediately after the Revolution, to catch and embrace the enlightened principles of the sister kingdom, and to cherish a love of liberty and of letters akin to the civilization of England. By that Gordian entanglement of good and evil which is visible in all human events, the domination of England over Ireland has introduced, at particular periods, more than the common desolations of conquest and oppression; but if we look to the progress of Irish civilization, numerical increase, industry, and the interminable vistas of improvement which are open to her future days, he must be a bold calculator of possibilities who will assert, that Ireland would have risen to a better state than her present, under any native and separate government. It is but two hundred years since our good King James the First was obliged to force his Irish subjects to harness their horses at the plough; and so obstinately were the accomplished descendants of Milesius attached to the system of their own Board of Agriculture, that it required very severe penalties to keep them from tying the plough to the horse's tail. And, much as we may censure the subsequent oppressions of the Catholics, when penalties were become as unnecessary as they were impolitic and unjust, yet so dreadful must have been the reversed picture of events, had James the Second triumphed over his Protestant opponents in Ireland, and secured, by Catholic loyalty, the independence of his Irish Kingdom, that no friend to human nature can lament his defeat. We do not accuse our author of doing so; but we are astonished at his unqualified assertion, that James, after playing the tyrant and coward in England; after abjuring, as well as breaking the British Constitution, was still *de jure* and *de facto* King of Ireland. He was not King of one inch of British Dominion, after breaking his coronation oath. He had not two coronation oaths, one for England and another for Ireland: he had but one, which he broke; and, in so doing, abjured the crown of both kingdoms. A King of England who could do so, was not to be suffered to erect the standard of arbitrary power at the head of any portion of his subjects: he was to be rooted out of Ireland, if he fled there to maintain the divine rights of tyrants and Popes, as much as if he had fled to the island of Jamaica to fight for the divine right of planters to burn and devour their fellow-creatures.

Popery continued to be dreaded in England when it might have

have been securely hated and despised. Under the reign of Queen Anne, that prevailing passion dictated the severe penal laws against the Catholics, of which Mr Plowden, it must be owned, with justice complains; but the severities of our forefathers, if denied an apology, ought to be traced to their proper cause. The memory of the Irish massacre; the memory of the French massacre of Protestants, the gun-powder plot, and the late tyrannies of James, made people of the reformed persuasion naturally apprehensive for their safety, should the holy mother church ever arise from her overthrow to be the mistress of these realms. It was impossible for a pious Christian, with the lanthorn of Guy Fawkes in his imagination, or fresh from perusing the bill of fare of the inquisition, not to anticipate the carving and cooking of human flesh that was likely to take place, if the old lady of Babylon should once more sit down to her wonted entertainments. At this day of advanced improvement, when popery has learned humility from defeat, and Catholics themselves have grown tolerant, we might not, perhaps, have fed the mother church with all the dainty refinements of her ancient persecution; but it is probable she would have long continued to regale herself with the plain roast and boil of Smithfield and St Bartholomew. Popery, however, like the lion with his nails pared and his teeth drawn, grows harmless in a state of subjection. 'Babylon was now fallen,' assuredly to rise no more; and hence the injustice of proscribing a religion, when its bigotry had become no longer a proper object of apprehension. Retaliation is unworthy of men, when clemency can conquer by reconciling. Who can hear, without horror, (as is related by our author, and, though disputed, not disproved), that, as late as 1723, an act was passed by the Parliament of Ireland for catching and castrating all Irish priests, as if that unhappy race of animals had been capable of perpetuating their faith, and their species by one and the same means.

It is curious to trace the progress and decline of that dread and detestation of popery which once made so great a figure in our history. For a century after the Reformation, it seems to have electrified the whole Protestant community, and exerted its influence even over the most enlightened statesmen. It fell next, by the laws of gravitation, upon the less exalted intellects of aldermen and country squires, who used to toast, in large bumpers, the downfall of the Pope and Pretender. By a farther declension, it was afterwards found to settle among genuine methodists and devout old women; and, so late as the Popish riots of 1780, a number of enlightened theologians, the sailors of Leith and Wapping, sallied out upon the respective capitals of the two kingdoms, to drive heresy from its quarters, with cudgels in their hands.

Last of all, about the beginning of the present century, Mr Addington, doing gentle violence to his own humble ambition, turned the prime minister out of his place for presuming to emancipate the Papists of Ireland!

Through the three Hanoverian reigns of his history, which, in point of volume, form by far the most considerable part of the book, our author pursues the contests of the Irish oppositionists with the ministerial majority in Parliament, with a fervent partiality to the former side. Of the state of the Catholics during the reign of Primate Boulter's influence, he gives the following picture:

'The Catholics, broken down by oppression, scarcely claimed the rights of existence, and were occasionally made the passive instruments of the other parties, according to the exigencies of their several temporary projects, and were too often made subjects of new rigour and persecution, for the sole purpose of withdrawing the attention of their opponents from measures which the particular parties wished to carry. Several measures of the British cabinet, with reference to Ireland, immediately tended to convince the whole of the Irish nation, that the prosperity, welfare, and felicity, of that kingdom, had but little sway in determining their conduct towards it. Hence the Tory party, which still persisted in their old principles, to resist the whig administration, being joined by those who threw their eyes on the real state of their country, and exerted their efforts to advance its prosperity, the whole of the old and the new party acquired (and perhaps not undeservedly) the common appellation of Patriots. This was the party which Primate Boulter always affected to term the discontented, and not unfrequently the King's enemies; and of whose successful opposition to the measures of those whom his Grace termed *the King's servants, and consequently friends*, he complained.'

The loyalty of the Irish Catholics during two successive rebellions against the family of Hanover, is urged by Mr Plowden as a proof of their claims to the indulgence of a Protestant government. During the first days of the latter Sovereign, the affairs of Ireland are drawn in the darkest colours. The memorable scarcity of the years 1728 and 1729 was aggravated by the stagnation of trade and manufactures. Wretchedness, riots and emigration, formed the chief events in the history of Ireland during these and many succeeding years; but the latter part of the reign presents a fairer scene. The triumph of a native Irish and patriotic opposition on a question of great national magnitude, breaks in like the day-spring of Irish independence on the middle of the last century. An honourable testimony is given by Mr Plowden to the tolerating dispositions of George the Second and his minister Walpole; and here the reader receives, at last, the blessed intelligence, that his unhappy friends the Catholics had a tempo-

rary breathing from their sufferings. It was not only under the halcyon days of Lord Chesterfield, but also under the Dorset and Devonshire administration, that a milder system was begun to be observed.

'We are now arrived' (says Mr Plowden) 'at that period of the Irish history at which Mr Burke observed the English in Ireland began to be domiciliated, and to recollect that they had a country. The English interest, at first, by faint and almost insensible degrees, but at length openly and avowedly, became an independent Irish Interest, full as independent as it could ever have been in the persons of the native Irish. The new Lord Lieutenant, when he met the Parliament in 1747, complimented them on his Majesty's continuance of his paternal regard to a dutiful and loyal people, and recommended a continuance of the same good conduct and vigilance which, under God had prevented the communication of so dangerous an infection (*i. e.* the Scottish rebellion) to that kingdom.'

From the above period through the rest of George the Second's, and a great part of his present Majesty's reign, the history of Mr Plowden appears to us amusing in matter, and animated with the just zeal of a constitutional Whig. When he conducts us to the important victory of the Irish Orator Grattan over a venal and arbitrary interest in the Irish Parliament, and to the events which have since been denominated the Irish Revolution, viz. the extended establishment of the volunteer associations, and the declaration of legislative independence by the Irish Parliament; the progress of his narrative, though impeded by materials either heavily superfluous, or by no means sufficiently abridged, is yet regular and perspicuous in arrangement.

The rest of the history, allotting nearly a thousand quarto pages to the later years of his present Majesty, is more diffuse than copious. Copies of letters, addresses, and resolutions; copies of heads of bills; copies of entire debates in Parliament; lists of voters, and transcripts of protests, with sundry formalities of the confidential oaths, &c. of Orangemen, Defenders, and Peep-of-day-Boys, compose this voluminous sketch of the affairs of Ireland for fifteen years back. Such a compilation may be useful as a source of reference or information to future historians, but will never answer the instructive and dignified uses, any more than it can deserve the exalted name, of *History*.

ART. XIII. *Surgical Observations, containing a Classification of Tumours, with Cases to illustrate the History of each Species; an Account of Diseases which strikingly resemble the Venereal Disease; and various cases illustrative of different Surgical Subjects.* By John Abernethy, F. R. S. Honorary Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, and of the Medical Societies of Paris, Philadelphia, &c. Assistant Surgeon to St. Bartholemew's Hospital, and Teacher of Anatomy and Surgery. 8vo. pp. 263. Longman & Rees, London. 1804.

WHOEVER thinks of the importance of the science of medicine, and has seen, in practice, the baneful effects of imperfect theories or mistaken principles supported in the writings of medical men, must enter into the consideration of these subjects with some degree of discussion; and if no personal animosity lurk under an apparent zeal, the public ought to regard, with great indulgence, an ardour without which the science can neither be improved (so many and disagreeable are the obstacles) nor the practice of the profession followed with sufficient attention to the patient. On the present occasion, where we see in an author the utmost plainness in manner, the greatest zeal for the improvement of surgery, and an uncommon degree of success in this laudable pursuit, there can be no place for severity of criticism. But we are sure, that Mr Abernethy will be better pleased with a free enquiry into the subject of his work, than he would have been with obsequious and unqualified praise. We make use of his own words, when we say, 'that he is not unwilling to lay himself open to criticism and censure, when he has the view of bringing a difficult and interesting subject before the public;' though we would observe, that censure is a term which can never be applied with justice to the author of these *Observations*.

The first part of the present volume contains a treatise on Tumours. Here the reader will be disappointed; if he expect a very satisfactory arrangement. The manner in which the subject is treated, confirms us in the idea, that Mr Abernethy is one of those authors who are more anxious to appear original, than careful to reduce their remarks into their proper place in the general system of knowledge. But on this subject we shall be more particular immediately.

He next treats of diseases which resemble Syphilis. This will not fail to interest many; and occupies a large proportion of the volume.

The rest of the work consists chiefly of a kind of an appendix to Mr Abernethy's former works. The subjects are—Injuries of the Head; Ancurism; the operation of puncturing the bladder; the

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Tic Douloureuse ; the Removal of loose Substances from the Knee Joint.

We shall not endeavour to extract the matter of these Observations, to enrich our Review, and supersede the perusal of the work ; but, strenuously recommending the book to the attention of our readers, shall confine our criticism to some of the most prominent and characteristic doctrines and cases which it contains.

I. To one unacquainted with the frequency and the danger of tumours in the human body, the principal subject of the present volume will not perhaps appear very interesting ; but, in the mind of a surgeon, the subject has great importance. He knows how much tumours are neglected in their first stage, how the patient reconciles himself to their gradual increase, how full of danger they are in the end, and to how miserable and lingering a death many of them inevitably lead. He will therefore look forward with eagerness to the perusal of these essays, as likely to resolve many of the difficulties which embarrass him in practice.

Before we enter upon this part of the publication before us, we shall shortly explain what, according to our conceptions, a treatise on tumours should embrace.

The subject presents an extensive field for observation ; much is yet to be done by anatomical investigation ; there is great scope for physiological discussion : and much remains to be settled by the results of extensive practice. Hitherto, the small number of well marked cases has served only to open new views of facts, and further sources of uneasiness and apprehension. In the present state of our knowledge, (even after the perusal of the work before us), the observations relative to the structure of tumours are not sufficiently minute to sanction a perfect and scientific arrangement of them on the principle of their internal structure. While, therefore, we acknowledge the merit of the present publication, we consider the imperfections, of which we are bound to take notice, as imputable, not so much to the author, as to the general neglect in which the subject has been left, and the want of sufficient materials for a less exceptionable system.

In investigating the nature of tumours, three divisions of the subject appears to be necessary. *First*, The external characters are to be studied ; and by these external characters only can tumours be usefully arranged. These characters are distinguishable in the form, consistence, and colour of tumours ; in their elasticity or hardness ; in the degree of looseness or adhesion of the skin which covers them ; in the degree of inflammation, venous vascularity, discolouration of their surface, or ulceration ; in the pain or sensation in the part affected ; in the constitutional peculiarities ; the time of life ;

life : the slowness or rapidity of the growth of the tumours, &c. An arrangement founded on this principle, would make our information immediately applicable to practice. The *second* division of the subject would convey a knowledge of the internal structure and the peculiarities of the vascular state of the part : which, ingrafted as it were on the living body, retains a function somewhat independent. Under this head of the inquiry, the nature of those tumours which we have been previously made acquainted with, from the external appearance, would be investigated, many unforeseen dangers would be discovered, and a rational foundation laid for practice and for improvement in knowledge. A *third* head of the inquiry would form the most indispensable part of the work—including the connexion between the anatomy and the subject of operations, the means to be employed in the extirpation of tumours, and the occurrences apt to embarrass the surgeon during operation.

These being our ideas of what might have been done, the ground of our principal objection to the present paper will readily appear. The work has unquestionably great merit, and contains many good practical remarks ; but we feel ourselves called upon to make a very free comment on the foundation of our author's arrangement of tumours, and on some of his insulated cases and observations.

Let us not be considered as too eager antagonists to Mr Abernethy, because we venture to arrest him on the threshold, and challenge even his first definition. We oppose him in the very outset, because the principles which he there assumes embarrass him throughout his progress, and involve him in manifold difficulties and contradictions. We find our author defining tumours to be 'such swellings as arise from some new production which made no part of the original composition of the body.' It seems to us to be a fundamental error to found a definition upon opinion merely : on a theory which may be delusive, and certainly will not be universally received. Mr Abernethy is deceived, if he considers this as a definition, and equally mistaken, if he conceives that the character here given distinguishes the permanent tumour from an occasional swelling.

But we do not apprehend that the error rests with the definition ; for we are immediately involved in a very difficult inquiry into the growth of pendulous tumours. The author places himself here under the guardianship and authority of Mr Hunter ; and explains the formation of a pendulous tumour in the peritoneum, by supposing that the blood having first been thrown out and coagulated, the vessels had afterwards shot into it, and deposited the matter which formed the tumour. 'There can be little doubt' (he continues)

tinues) 'but that tumours form every where in the same manner. The coagulable part of the blood, being either accidentally effused, or deposited in consequence of disease, becomes afterwards an organized and living part, by the growth of the adjacent vessels and nerves into it.

In opposition to this account of the formation of tumours, we offer these remarks. A tumour is produced by a change and increase of the vascular action of a part; in consequence of which there is either an accumulation of matter similar to the original conformation of the part, or matter is formed and secreted by this centre of diseased action, not only unusual in quantity, but different in nature, and entirely foreign to the original matter of the body. In illustration of this, let us suppose, that an ill conditioned sore is allowed to remain for some time on the head, or in a limb; we find the glands, in the course of the lymphatics, become painful, and swell; by and by they diminish in size, and cease to be painful; but they remain hard or indurated. Although these circumstances are in time forgotten, the natural function of the gland is destroyed. It is no longer pervious to the lymph; a new action is gradually ingendered; it becomes painful, and swells a second time; it forms, in fact, the nucleus of a diseased action, and the gland rises into a tumour. Mr Abernethy will say, that in such an instance as this, the gland has become the matrix in which a tumour is formed; and thus a very ridiculous question arises—whether this be the same gland, or a new part? We presume that the change of action was the commencement of the disease; and, as the effect is evidently produced by the action of the vessels of the gland, it is surely wrong to define a tumour to be a new part. If Mr Abernethy means that the fluids or solids, effused or secreted in the interstices of the original gland, and which really form the bulk of the tumour, consist of new and foreign matter produced by this new action of the vessels, we may readily allow the explanation to be true in some instances. But how is such a fact, in the form of a definition, to help us in distinguishing betwixt a tumour and a simple swelling, or such extravasation as may be produced by inflammation or a bruise? how does it 'exclude all simple enlargements of bone, joints, glands,' &c.?

In truth, we shall often see a hand, or even a whole limb, when bruised and highly inflamed, degenerate from its natural action, and form a mass of disease. What, for example, is the hand painted in Ruysch's XIV. table (*Epist. Anat. prob. IV.*), but the hand degenerated into an irregular tumour? Unless we deduce the commencement of the tumour from the time of the change in the natural action, we shall find the utmost difficulty

in determining in what a tumour is to be distinguished from simple swelling. We should define a tumour to be a change of vascular action, which produces an unnatural conformation of the part, and a progressive accumulation of adventitious matter—'qui contra naturæ leges eveniunt, ideoque veros morbos producant.' Astruc, *Tract. de Tum.* p. 1.

The growth of tumours, when the centre or nucleus of disease is once formed, is equally against the hypothesis of Mr Abernethy. A gland in this diseased state, or, if you will, a tumour, is a congeries of vessels, which have partaken of some change of action. When the sphere of this diseased action is increased, and the surrounding parts become diseased, it is in consequence of the branches of the vessels which supply the tumour, and which run into the neighbouring parts, taking upon them the same disposition. Accordingly, when, in this situation, the tumour is sent out, and no apparent disease remains, the vessels left will quickly engender a new tumour. Another proof of the importance of taking into consideration the peculiarity of the vascular action, in investigating the nature of tumours, is to be found in the ulceration which attacks the contiguous skin. Here the rapid destruction of the surface is but a new form of the disease; or rather the disease is altered in its effect by the nature of the part acted upon; changed by operating on the surface, instead of operating in deep parts. Or again, when the tumour breaks out into an open ulceration, and when, instead of an accumulation of matter, there is now a wasting both of the tumour and the original substance, is it not apparent, that the leading feature in all these phenomena is the change which the vascular action has undergone? and that to pay attention to the changes in the nature of the action of the part is much more important, than merely to consider tumours as 'productions which made no part of the original composition of the body?' Accordingly, diseased action will sometimes be propagated along the course of the lymphatics towards the body; sometimes by contiguous sympathy equally all round; sometimes it will be found peculiar to parts of similar structure, as the glandular viscera, the skin, the adipose membrane.

Notwithstanding these objections to the leading view of Mr Abernethy's premises, we willingly assent to his conclusion, that the nature of a tumour depends upon its own action and organization; and that like the embryo, it merely receives nourishment from the surrounding vessels; that a tumour once formed seems to be a sufficient cause of its own increase; that the larger it becomes, the more it stimulates, and of course contributes to its own growth.

We shall venture one other observation on Mr Abernethy's introductory

introductory view. It regards the capsule, or surrounding membrane of a tumour. Both here, and in a subsequent part of the work, we conceive him to be wrong, in ascribing the formation of the capsule entirely to the pressure, in consequence of the increasing size of the tumour. Pressure, without some degree of inflammation, would cause absorption merely; but some action being at the same time excited with the pressure and moulding of the tumour, first a kind of stool is formed, and then more distinctly a sac. This is not a subject without interest. There are not wanting cases in this book, which show the necessity of judging accurately, whether the capsule be merely a condensed cellular membrane, or whether it partakes of the diseased action. Mr Abernethy very properly draws the attention of surgeons to this subject; but he treats it too briefly.

We now follow our author in his classification of tumours. Tumours, he observes, form an order of local diseases, and they have these two genera, *sarcoma* and *incysted tumours*. Under the first head many varieties are remarked; under the second we are presented with some irregular remarks only. We must acknowledge ourselves totally at a loss how to proceed here. Some idea may be conceived of our difficulty, from these words of our author: 'I have not, however, been able to devise any better mode of denominating these tumours (viz. than their internal circumstances); for all the species must agree in the external characters, those of an increase of bulk and a fleshy feel.' Upon this opinion, we must observe, that the only hope we entertain of the investigation into the structure of tumours being useful, is, that it may lead to a knowledge of their external sign and character; for how else is this knowledge of the anatomical conformation of tumours to be a guide to the operating surgeon? When the external character becomes a sign of a particular structure, and connected with this structure, we have the knowledge of a certain train of consequences: and then only can the anatomical investigation prove useful. We trust, therefore, that Mr Abernethy is deceived, in supposing that tumours admit of no distinction but from their anatomical structure.

We are afraid that, in Mr Abernethy's mind, the case books of St Bartholomew supersede all other authorities: we regret that he did not preface his observations with some critical remarks on the systems of preceding authors; and we think that his failure (where he has failed) is to be ascribed in a great measure to his neglect of what had been done by others before him. But although we entertain this unfavourable opinion of Mr Abernethy's classification of tumours, we value his book very highly as a collection of cases. We recommend, in a particular manner, the perusal of the ob-

servations

Observations under the head 'Medullary Sarcoma.' Indeed, through the whole of this part, there will be found many observations worthy of the author's reputation, and highly useful in practice.

II. In the division which treats of diseases resembling syphilis, Mr Abernethy has proceeded on the idea, that the partial and limited observations of any one surgeon cannot afford a sufficient basis for general rules of practice; and that surgeons are likely to err, if they draw inferences from their own practice only. We are indeed aware, that most surgeons have a favourite rule of practice, from which they never deviate. Some are too scrupulous in expecting all syphilitic sores to be accompanied by those unequivocal symptoms which are marked as the distinguishing characters of the disease; while others regard all sores in certain circumstances as venereal. No doubt, this undeviating adherence to rule, prevents all accurate and minute observation, and, by checking inquiry, is prejudicial to the improvement of the science.

In regard both to the original and secondary sores, Mr Abernethy holds some opinions not commonly entertained. He has been induced to believe, that the venereal poison can be conveyed into the constitution, and contaminate it through the medium of a sore, the general action of which is probably not venereal. Again, 'that the irritation of venereal virus may excite extensive surrounding disease which is not venereal.' Against both of these opinions we would protest; and we regret that our limits will not allow us to enter upon the extensive and minute discussion which a refutation would require.

In illustration of the latter of these opinions, Mr Abernethy brings the instance of the erysipelatous inflammation, which precedes the venereal ulcer in the throat, and that of the general rheumatic pains in the limbs and contiguous joints, which usher in a node. These symptoms he conceives to be produced merely by the local venereal action, and not to partake of the disease. From observation we should be induced to reason differently. Most diseases, before they become strictly local, are more general, or even constitutional; and, before settling into a secondary ulcer, the venereal action is more extensive: but, having fixed upon a part, the general surrounding action is enfeebled by the accumulation of the diseased action to a point. Thus, syphilis in the system has a tendency to seize on the membrane of the throat, and its first effect is a general blush of inflammation, which, by and by, settles into a smaller space, and produces ulceration: And so also, the more general and painful affection of the limb precedes the formation of the node. The node is not the occasion
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of the rheumatic pain in the limb and joint. These are the effects of the disease ; but the pains presently cease to be wandering, and fix into a confirmed local disease.

The most valuable part of this treatise of syphilis consists of a set of cases, resembling in their general character lues venerea, but which were cured without mercury. These cases are curious and very interesting ; yet, for obvious reasons, we shall not detail their circumstances. They point out to us, that we must not trust to the appearances of the primary and secondary effects of the disease, but attend particularly to the time and sequences of symptoms.

III. We shall now proceed to select from this volume one or two cases, which we conceive to require animadversion.

Under the title, 'Pancreatic Sarcoma,' we have Mr Abernethy's description of an operation, in which the effect of negligence in leaving a bleeding artery was very remarkable ; and we must also say, that the remark which it draws from our author is no less curious.

After the extirpation of a tumour under the base of the jaw, and which appears to have been one of the lymphatic glands lying on the facial artery, the surgeon (not Mr Abernethy) had neglected to tie this artery, which had been cut ; the wound was put together by a ligature and adhesive plaister. Soon after, the patient was alarmed with a sense of suffocation ; and Mr Abernethy acknowledges that he would actually have suffocated, if assistance had not been immediately given. It will be sufficiently evident what had happened. The artery had bled profusely, until the accumulated blood had compressed the throat, or thrust down the epiglottis, so as nearly to produce suffocation. How much more are we called upon to hold up such negligence to censure, than to criticise a slip or error in the composition of a sentence ! We recollect to have heard of this artery having been taken as an example, to show how the surgeon may be deceived in the small quantity of blood it throws out during an operation, and have been cautioned as to the powerful effects of its action, when the patient, no longer faint from the immediate effects of the operation, is put into the warm bed.

Our author's observation on the accident is this,—that so far is the confined blood from compressing the bleeding artery, that 'it seems to be a stimulating cause exciting an hæmorrhagic action in the vessels.' To explain the appearances in question, however, we really do not think that any thing more can be necessary, than merely to recollect the difference between the condition of an artery exposed in an open wound, when the secondary branches cease to bleed for a time, and its condition when buried in the warm,

warm parts, by bringing together the lips of the wound : the difference betwixt the state of the circulation, when a patient has lost blood, and is cold and faint from an operation, and when he is laid warm in bed with all his fears quieted. Our indignation is not raised by the recital of this case alone, but from having too often been witnesses of the effects of similar carelessness. When a patient becomes faint, from losing a quantity of blood during an operation, the vessels cease to jet out the blood. It is supposed to be only an *oozing*, forsooth ! The wound is closed—pins and ligatures are put through the skin ;—by and by the blood flows in dangerous quantity through the dressings ;—every thing is to be undone, and the torment of a new operation to be undergone. The surgeon who allows ‘one drop of Christian blood’ to flow at such a time, should lose ‘the prop that doth sustain his house.’

The next case in this volume, to which we shall call the attention of our readers, is a very interesting one.—A man was gored in the neck by a cow, so that the internal carotid artery, and many branches of the external carotid, were torn. Notwithstanding the size of the vessels which were torn, they did not immediately bleed. The wound was therefore bound up, and the man conveyed to the hospital : before the wound was opened, an assistant compressed the trunk of the carotid artery against the lower cervical vertebra, which, upon opening the wound, was found to prevent the hæmorrhagy. Presently, however, and upon the motion of the patient, the blood gushed from the bottom of the wound so suddenly, and in such quantity, as to prevent an accurate examination. The man complained greatly of the pressure, and was distressed with a sense of suffocation. The attempt to secure the lesser arteries was abortive. The patient seemed to be suffocating : his extremities were cold, and his pulse scarcely to be felt. Things being desperate, Mr Abernethy made an incision betwixt the trachea and carotid artery, and, introducing his finger beneath the artery, was enabled to compress it betwixt the finger and the thumb placed on the integuments of the neck.

Mr Abernethy now passed a ligature round the common carotid, to serve as a tourniquet ; and, after an examination of the wound by dissection, he preferred the drawing permanently of the first ligature, to the tying of the branches separately. Next morning it was found that the patient had been delirious and convulsed during the night—the pulse about 130, and hard—the strength declining through the day—at 10 o'clock, the second night, he died in convulsions, 30 hours after the ligature was made on the carotid artery. On dissection, the brain was observed to be considerably inflamed, with effusions on the surface,
and

and a gelatinous substance under the tunica archnoides. The most curious circumstance appeared in the different states of the two sides of the body. The right side was paralytic, or approaching to it, while the left was more convulsed than paralytic.

On this interesting case, several remarks may be offered. In the first place, we may venture to doubt, whether the carotid was here at any time effectually compressed by the assistant; for it will be observed, that even this large vessel, the internal carotid artery, had been so affected by the violent laceration (not a cut), that it had little tendency to bleed;—accordingly we find that the first simple dressings stemmed the bleeding; and these dressings being so near the throat, could not be very tight. In this state of the vessel, then, the pressure of the assistant's thumb could compress the artery; but when the artery was roused to action, and the blood flowed, the attempt at compression was found to cause an intolerable sense of suffocation, and the struggling of the patient prevented the artery from being compressed. If such a case should occur again, and it should be ascertained that the carotid was wounded, or the flow of blood such as to prevent its source from being seen, we would suggest, (with much diffidence however), whether it might not be better to compress the bleeding wound, while a small incision being carried down upon the neck, not laying open the artery, but merely penetrating through the platysma myoides, the finger and thumb might be admitted among the loose cellular membranes, when, the beating artery being felt, might be easily compressed. We hazard this suggestion, because we know how very unmanageable a ligature is upon a great artery, when it is used as a tourniquet. The ligature is first drawn tight, and then there is no bleeding; it is afterwards slackened, to discover the orifice; but, instead of the blood flowing gently, it gushes out with force, and the wound is filled, so that nothing can be observed. After two or three unsuccessful attempts, it will generally happen, as it did here, that the surgeon in despair draws the original ligature.

We are tempted to make one observation more on this case. We cannot dispel the suspicion, that if this patient had survived the immediate danger, the ligature would have cut through or ulcerated the artery. We do not perceive why Mr Abernethy did not cut the carotid, as he would have done the femoral or iliac artery, after tying them. The ligature being in this case so near the heart, within perhaps five inches of it, the impulse must have been very great, especially as the course of the blood up into the carotid is direct from the heart. It will be observed,

that when an artery is tied and kept stretched in its place, the pulsation of the blood against the ligature is direct and powerful; but when it is afterwards cut, the vessel shrinks by its elasticity; and the impulse of the heart, instead of striking on the extremity of the vessel, is subdued and exhausted, in extending the elastic tube to its original stretch.

Lastly, our attention is naturally called to the cause of death in this case, and the difference which was observed in the sides of the body.

We should be tempted to believe, that the convulsions and death were to be accounted for from the great general injury, the laceration of the nerves, and the loss of blood; were this sufficient to account for the paralytic state of the right side. But, attending to this unequal state of the body, we naturally look for the explanation of the symptoms in the tying of the artery. The tying of one of the carotid arteries must produce an inequality in the circulation through the brain. The right side of the brain would, in this instance, receive the full impetus; the left side would receive it less directly. The effects accord with this view. The comparative fulness and irregularity in the circulation through the vessels of the right side of the brain, produced tremors and convulsion in the left side of the body; while the left side of the body is more still and motionless, because the circulation is less perfect and full in the right side of the brain. It is curious to observe, how little the loss of blood, and the tying of the great artery, controuled or prevented the inflammatory turgescence of the vessels of the brain. Probably the inflammation had been excited by the derangement of the circulation, and the inequality of the action in the vessels of the brain.

Under the head of Aneurism, we have the detail of two unsuccessful operations. The time was, when to narrate an unsuccessful case was heroism; the fashion is altered, and we have adventurous operations and unsuccessful cases in great abundance. These, we are afraid, do not always operate as beacons to the inexperienced; and we rather suspect that the authority of our author may sometimes be quoted in vindication of the fool-hardy surgeon, and his want of success, as an apology in the event of an unfortunate result.

One of these operations was the tying of the external iliac artery. Here a very curious circumstance had occurred previous to the operation. The sac of the aneurism being firmly embraced by the fascia of the thigh, burst betwixt the psoas and iliacus internus muscles, and separated the peritoneum from the loins and from the diaphragm! It is curious that this bloody track, being so near the course of the iliac artery, was not laid open during

during the operation ; yet the blood seems only to have found its exit in a sanious discharge after the operation. Mr Abernethy has not explained this difficulty ; but we suppose that the suppuration produced by the incision and ligatures had opened a communication with the aneurism, or with the track by the side of the psoas muscle. The inference Mr Abernethy draws from this occurrence is, that in case signs of the putrefaction of the blood in the sac ensue, or such an occurrence becomes evident, it will be necessary to open the sac, and remove the blood ; in doing this, if no blood come from the lower orifice of the artery, there will be no necessity for tying it. We think this would need to be done with great judgment and care ; for cases have occurred, where sacs being opened and emptied, the artery has bled into the cavities of the thigh, and the patient has suffered. From such practice, too much inflammation and quaggy deep suppuration, seems likely to ensue. The operation for aneurism seldom succeeds, unless it be done with particular nicety, and there follow neither much inflammation nor suppuration.

Mr Abernethy, with great modesty in the relation of his cases, seems to possess strength of mind, and decision in operation. His boldness, however, is very different from temerity ; it is the boldness of knowledge, and is founded on a diligent study of his profession, and an acquaintance with anatomy, as it relates to the living body. In other words, to his knowledge of what is commonly called anatomy, he has added that of the living system ; and, with this combination, he may well be fearless, where others are in the midst of difficulties. How many of our surgeons have commenced operators, on the strength of having dissected merely ; and how superior are those to the still more numerous class, who have the boldness only of ignorance ! Betwixt such operators, and the skilful surgeon, there is the widest difference. The one attempts his operation without apprehension, even where he vaguely knows there are many and great dangers. The other, perhaps naturally timid, appears adventurous to the ignorant only. He has anticipated every adverse occurrence—his opinion is settled, and his hand his consequently steady.

In conclusion, the character of the book before us is that of an unaffected, plain narration ; where attention to the importance of the subject has sometimes made the author careless of his language. There is the most unequivocal appearance of an unbiased and faithful relation of the result of practice, and a close and philosophical attention to the real improvement of the science. Novelties are not wanting ; but the practising surgeon will be more gratified with that minuteness of observation, which puts the readers of the case almost in the situation of those who attended it.

ART. XIV. *Letters on Silesia, written during a Tour through that Country in the Years 1800, 1801.** By his Excellency John Quincy Adams, then Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Court of Berlin, and since a Member of the American Senate. In Two Parts. London, Budd. 1804.

THE eldest son of the late President of the United States, is the writer of these letters, which were addressed to his brother, Thomas Boylston Adams, Esq. at Philadelphia. We are told, in an advertisement from the London Editor, that they were not originally intended for public view; but the younger Mr Adams, at the request of some gentlemen of distinguished taste to whom they were shown, permitted them to be printed in the *Port-Folio*, a miscellaneous paper, published in the metropolis of the United States. From that paper they are now for the first time collected into a volume. It is divided into two parts; the first containing a journal of the tour, with miscellaneous notices and descriptions; the second presenting, in another series of letters, a sketch of the history and statistics of Silesia.

We indulged some expectations from the title of this book, which have been disappointed, though they seemed very natural. The travels of an ambassador are an unusual gift to the public. The son of the American President, must have a motive to political studies, as well as advantages of political education, such as would eminently qualify one who had any activity or turn for speculation, to examine the circumstances of a national system. And the duchy of Silesia forms a subject of statistical description, which, at the same time that it is far from being complicated or very extensive, abounds in valuable details, and suggests several important topics of general discussion. The European reader, however, who has any acquaintance with common books, will not receive any farther information, or any new conclusions, from these letters of Mr Adams. It may be said, that they were not written for general instruction. But the talent of observation does not display itself only upon occasions of ceremony and public audience; when it is possessed

There is a mistake in this part of the title, which has been affixed by the London publisher; for the tour occupied only about six weeks in the summer of 1800. Some of the letters in the second part, which give an abstract of Kloeber's book, are dated in 1801, but all from Berlin.

possessed, it will be constantly active. Accuracy and fullness in the statement of particular facts, comprehensive exactness in the deduction of theoretical reasonings, cannot indeed be very fairly demanded, except where an author comes forward expressly with a formal treatise. But one who has powers of original reflection, and an eye for the discrimination of details, as well as for the larger views which they open into general knowledge, will carry those habits about him daily, and shew them to advantage in his most unprepared discourses. The present letters are not without some appearances of labour, and the last part bears the form of systematic preparation. We must therefore account in the other way for their want of originality, and for the absence of almost all those speculations, inferences, and suggestions, which render the pleasures of the traveller an important contribution to the labours of the philosopher and the statesman. It may appear somewhat hard to subject a work which does not offend by any pretensions, to a comparison with the excellent standards of its kinds; but when we held it in our hand, we could not help thinking of the American Presidency, and of the state of learning in that powerful and prosperous commonwealth. The state of knowledge, and the general condition of a people in other important respects, may sometimes be represented fairly enough by an individual specimen, provided we meet with an instance divested of extreme circumstances. And the application of this remark would lead to a subject of more interest than can be attached to the merits or demerits of Mr Adams's letters.

After all, however, we might have found his book easy and pleasant enough, if we had not set out with expectations perhaps unreasonable. A route through interesting countries will suggest reflections, though we have nobody at hand to discuss them; and the queries that start themselves may be satisfied on the next opportunity. There is even a pleasure in running over the names of places where we have travelled before, and in tracing the road from one stage to another. And though this author is neither lively nor very instructive, he shows some qualities which make him a tolerable companion for a very short tour; except, perhaps, when he falls into the description of natural scenery, in which he is apt to be tedious. It is not, to be sure, quite so high a recommendation of a book, as it is of its author, that it manifests an amiable temper, unaffectedly full of those common-places of justice and kindness which compose the most valuable, though the most ordinary, of all characters. There abound through these Letters the sentiments of a calm, inactive benevolence; that quiet admiration of order, that indolent sympathy with the appearances

of public prosperity, that settled and tranquil attachment to freedom, which are worked into the constitution of every man of virtue who has the fortune to belong to a free and prosperous community. Mr Adams has many recollections of his native country ; but his feelings about it more resemble the loyal acquiescence of a subject, than the personal interest and ardour of a republican ; and it is the name alone which recalls us from the thoughts of a lazy good old monarchy, to the youth, enterprize, and faction, of the United States.

One of the chief objects of his tour, he expressly observes, was to obtain information respecting the manufactures of the countries through which he passed ; and he frequently recurs to the idea, that America might import from them many articles, for which she at present pays much higher prices to England ; such as glass from Bohemia, linens from the mountain towns of Silesia, and even broad-cloths from Grünberg. He is not unaware, however, of the great superiority of English workmanship, nor, of what operates still more effectually, the superior magnitude of English capital. The natural power of this capital is augmented, with respect to America, by a circumstance which he states very candidly, though it cannot be new to many of our readers. He admits, p. 62, that he scarcely ever knew an European merchant trading with America who did not complain of bad payment ; and, p. 163, that all the merchants in the mountain-towns, who had made the experiment of consigning linens directly to America, had for this reason desisted from the speculations. The general fact, indeed, is too notorious to be questioned ; and it is not unimportant that it should be recorded for the historian of some future age, who shall trace the revolutions of foreign trade, the vicissitudes of national wealth, and the changes of dynasty which commerce shall have undergone.

On the linen manufacture of Silesia, Mr Adams is neither very full nor very distinct ; and the subject is too well known to require that we should make any extract from his collections. Though the survey of manufactories was one of the principal objects of his tour, he does not seem to have furnished himself with the preparatory knowledge that is indispensably requisite ; for he is ignorant of the elementary principles of all the chemical arts ; and rarely refers to the topics that form the very rudiments of political economy. The omission of every notice, even the slightest, with respect to agriculture, is too remarkable not to strike every reader ; as if that did not form the most important feature in all political arrangements ; and as if a system for the reproduction of the rude materials were not to be found in a country which fabricates a great staple for exportation, and which

is described (p. 267.) as doubling its number of inhabitants within a shorter period than any other district of the old continent.

The only remarks, in the course of the Letters, that partake at all of useful speculation, relate to that interesting question which every district of manufacturers calls to mind,--- Whether the general prosperity of the people is most favoured, when the fabric is spread over the country among independent workmen, or organized into a few great establishments? Mr Adams appears to be upon a right track for the investigation of this subject, when he observes, that, under the former system, there will be *less accumulation*, and *more circulation* of wealth. Not that we are prepared to consider this as ascertained, or to acquiesce in it as a decision of the question; but it is one of the aspects in which we think that question ought to be examined; and the distribution of national wealth among the various orders of the people forms a view more separable from that of its aggregate increase, than it has usually been considered by the most eminent economists. The problem is one of great nicety, however, and probably involves several solutions, according to the circumstances that may happen to be combined in various cases. Mr Adams states his opinion in the following passage, written from Grünberg.

‘ This town contains about seven thousand inhabitants, who derive their subsistence from two sources, from the manufacturing of broad-cloth, and from the cultivation of the vine. The first is carried on in a manner which it should seem might serve as an example for our own country. Here is no large capitalist at the head of an extensive manufacture, and employing, at wages which will scarcely keep soul and body together, a large number of workmen, whose labours only contribute to accumulate his enormous wealth. But here are between six and seven hundred looms, which furnish comfortable subsistence to as many families. The wool is partly raised in the neighbourhood, and partly imported from Poland. There are several fulling-mills, which belong to the guild or corporation of the manufacturers, and are used in common by them all; but the spinning, the carding, the dyeing the weaving, the drying, the pressing, the napping, in short, the whole process, from the shearing of the fleece to the sale of the cloth for the tailor, is performed by each separate manufacturer for himself. It is possible, (for I cannot dispute the principles of Adam Smith respecting the *division of labour*), that, by the separation of all these single operations, the same quantity of industry might produce a greater quantity of manufactured materials; but it is very doubtful whether it would produce a competent subsistence for so many individuals. Where the system of subdividing labour *ad infinitum* is established, each individual workman is but an infinitesimal fragment of a vast body. One man, ten men, fifty men, combining all their faculties together, cannot produce

duce any thing : unless there is a manufacture upon an immense scale, there can be none at all. The single workman is thus placed altogether dependent on the great capitalist, and must of course become his drudge. Thus, hundreds of laborious men will be compelled to groan and sweat under a weary life, for the sake of adding thousands more to the thousands of one merchant. But, where all the operations for the production of a manufactured work can be performed by one man, or by a small number of men, each single workman will be of more consequence in himself, more independent of his employer, and more certain of subsistence ; the profits of manufacturing will be distributed in smaller portions, and to greater numbers ; there will be less accumulation, and more circulation of wealth.' p. 15-17.

And he afterwards writes, from Hirschberg.

' Here we find again the same system of manufactory which we had remarked with respect to broad-cloths at Grünberg, the system which will undoubtedly be the most suitable for the imitation of our own country, when it shall become a manufacturing land, as indeed it already prevails among us to a certain degree.' p. 61.

Our readers will have no occasion for us to show them, that all this is very feeble and loose speculation. And the inference in the last extract is an instance of that heedless temerity in projecting or transferring systems of regulation, which is not likely to be so practicable, in this case, as it has fatally been found in others. There is a description in one of the subsequent letters, the original of which might have been expected to suspend our author's theoretical opinion, as well as his recommendation to the statesmen of America.

' We passed through the little town of Gottesberg ; and before almost every house saw women, boys, and girls, industriously employed in knitting worsted stockings, of which that is the principal manufacturing place. Thus, upon almost every mile of our passage, we behold industry with a different, and always with an useful occupation. But it is always a great alloy to the satisfaction we receive from this prospect, that it is accompanied with that of wretchedness. The poor people who are thus continually toiling, can scarcely earn a sufficiency for their bare subsistence, and are subjected to various heavy oppressions. The manufactories of linens, in particular, which raise large fortunes to the merchants who export them from the cities, scarcely give bread to the peasants, who do all the valuable part of the work.' p. 156, 157.

The contrast which this real picture presents to that drawn from theory in the first extract, is quite suitable to those which we have often found in other travellers who have touched the same inquiry, particularly in the tours of Mr Arthur Young. The only difference is, that the counterparts are sometimes reversed from their present position, the fancy-piece being distressful and bleak, and the landscape from nature cheerful, active, and luxuriant. No example can more forcibly remind political reasoners

reasoners of the old neglected precepts of logic, to observe well, to observe long, and to observe all.

We should say nothing of the language of these Letters, if we had not a little praise to bestow. Some finery, perhaps, might be objected to, in the heavy raptures that too often recur, while Mr Adams is climbing the giant mountains; but the picturesque seems doomed to profanation; it is ethereal ground, and should be kept sacred; 'yet the dull swain treads on it daily with his clouted shoe'n.' The style of Mr Adams is in general very tolerable English; which, for American composition, is no moderate praise. A few national peculiarities, perhaps we might still venture to call them provincial, may be detected; but it is, upon the whole, remarkably free from those affectations and corruptions of phrase which overrun the productions of that country—even those in which we should least expect them, the enlightened state papers of the two great Presidents. If the men of birth and education in that other England which they are building up in the west, will not diligently study the great authors who purified and fixed the language of our common forefathers, we must soon lose the only badge that is still worn of our consanguinity. A spurious dialect, it is probable, will prevail, even at the Court and in the Senate of the United States, until that great commonwealth shall become opulent enough to break more distinctly into classes, and to invite the refinements of art, instead of that of luxury, which is more compatible with the occupations of industry. In a work coming from a diplomatic character, we cannot overlook the unbecoming manner in which a colleague from this country is spoken of, p. 255. To retail the anecdotes of a living family is repugnant not only to good manners, but to rules of a higher order. Mr Adams has presumed, likewise, to speak of one of the most accomplished noblemen of England, with a petulance and illiberality which cannot often be exceeded in the lowest circles of common scandal. A story of a more public nature, which is given in the same part of the volume, may be new to most of our readers.

Mr E—— is in person, and at times in manners, one of the most accomplished gentlemen I ever knew. He was extremely civil to us last autumn, though I had occasion afterwards to know that his civilities did not then proceed from any cordial kindness towards us; but that as Americans, he saw us at first with embarrassment and dislike. These sentiments, in the course of our intercourse with him at that time, I believe gradually wore away; and as they had probably proceeded from the supposition that his name was odious to Americans, owing to the transaction at Berlin relative to Mr Lee's papers during the American war, I found him now designedly and repeatedly recurring to that subject in his conversation. After observing that it was now a circumstance

stance that might with full freedom be talked of as a mere historical occurrence, he solemnly declared that the seizure of Mr Lee's papers was not made by his orders; that it was entirely the act of an officious servant, who thought to do him a service by it; that when the papers were brought to him, he did look over them indeed, and found among them only two of any consequence; one the draught of an unfinished treaty with Spain, and the other a letter from Frederick the Second, or one of his ministers, promising, that if any great power in Europe would set the example of acknowledging the independence of the United States, he would be the first to follow it. I am inclined to believe that this account is true; and I was pleased to see the anxiety with which Mr E—— wished to remove the imputation of having premeditated that act of violence.' p. 256--258.

The second part of these Letters is described, in the title, as containing a complete geographical statistical, and historical account of Silesia; together with a detail of its political constitution, military, civil, and ecclesiastical establishments, seminaries of education, literature, and learned men. This, however, must be the quackery of the London booksellers; it is about as faithfully descriptive as the advertisements of the ever memorable Mr Christie. The second part of the book, however, will be entertaining to those who are not yet acquainted with Silesia: as it gives, in a rapid sketch, some interesting particulars on several of the foregoing topics. They are confessedly collected from Kloeber's account of Silesia before and since the year 1740; as the information scattered through the Letters that compose the Journal, is acknowledged to have been taken chiefly from Zollner's Tour in 1771. A very hurried outline of Silesian history precedes a statement of the financial and ecclesiastical arrangements which Frederick introduced after his conquest. One or two circumstances only are mentioned with respect to the political condition of the different ranks of the people; but there is an excellent letter on the system of Education. That upon the literature of Silesia mentions three eminent men: Opitz, the father (as he is considered) of German poetry, the 'Swan of Bober,' who died in 1639; Wolff, once a mighty name, whose mighty works have long ago been deposited in the catacombs; and Garvè, whose elegant translations and judicious criticisms have proved so serviceable, upon the Continent, to the reputation of our Scottish moralists.

We shall conclude our notice of this volume, with an extract of the greater part of the letter, which we have already mentioned, on the seminaries established in Silesia for the education of the people. The picture it presents is, in almost every respect, satisfactory; and we give it at length to our readers, not only on account of the curious particulars to be found in it, but
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from the hope that an example so successful in the result, and so honourable to its authors, may in some parts of our own country prove auxiliary to those reasonings which have hitherto been found equally unanswerable and ineffectual.

' Besides the University at Breslau, and the Academy of Nobles at Liegnitz, there are what we call Grammar-Schools, where Latin is taught in almost every town of the province, and usually in connection with some church or convent. But the arrangements and regulations of the trivial schools, as they are here called, schools destined for that elementary instruction which ought to be diffused over the whole mass of the people, particularly deserve your attention; because you may perhaps, as a native of New-England, entertain the prejudice, that your own country is the only spot on earth where this object is rightly managed, and where the arts of reading and writing are accomplishments almost universally possessed.

' Probably, no country in Europe could so strongly contest our pre-eminence in this respect as Germany; and she, for this honourable distinction, is indebted principally to Frederick II.; to the zeal with which he pursued the purpose of spreading useful knowledge among all classes of his subjects; and to the influence of his example, and of his success, even beyond the limits of his own dominions. To enter upon this topic, with the details of which it is susceptible, might perhaps not amuse you, and would lead me too far from my subject. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the measures he adopted, and the system he introduced, in this particular, into Silesia.

' At the time of his conquest, education had seldom been made an object of the concern of governments; and Silesia, like the rest of Europe, was but wretchedly provided either with schools or teachers. In the small towns and villages, the schoolmasters were so poorly paid, that they could not subsist without practising some other trade besides their occupation as instructors; and they usually united the character of the village-fiddler with that of the village-schoolmaster. Even of these there were so few, that the children of the peasants in general throughout the province, were left untaught. This was especially the case in Upper Silesia. Frederick issued an ordinance, that a school should be kept in every village, and that a competent subsistence should be provided for the schoolmaster, by the joint contribution of the lord of the village and of the tenants themselves. The superintendence of the schools was prescribed as the duty of the clergy.

' But, in order that this ordinance might have its due execution, it was necessary to form the teachers themselves, properly qualified to give useful instruction. This was effected by the persevering intelligence and zeal of a man, by the name of Felbiger, an Augustine monk, belonging to a convent at Sagan; a man, says a Silesian historian, whom a great part of Germany must thank for a revolution, not less important, though of slower progress and milder character, than that which, two centuries and a half earlier, was accomplished by another monk of the same order--by Luther.

Felbiger,

‘ Felbiger, after spending some years at Berlin, to obtain a perfect knowledge of the best method of instruction practised in the schools there, returned to Sagan, and made the convent to which he belonged a seminary for young ecclesiastics, and candidates as schoolmasters, to acquire the knowledge of the improved mode of teaching. Several other institutions of the same kind were, in due time, established at Breslau, Glatz, and other places, upon his principles, and conducted by persons whom he had formed. To defray the expences necessary for the support of these seminaries, a fund is raised, consisting of one quarter's salary, which every catholic curate is obliged to pay upon being first settled in a parsonage.

‘ With each of these seminaries are connected certain schools, where the young candidates for the clerical or teaching office are obliged to attend, and observe the practice of the method, the theory of which they learn at the seminaries themselves. The clergy are required, no less than the teachers, to go through this process; because the superintendence over teachers is entrusted to them. No young man can be admitted to either of the offices, without an attestation of his qualifications from one of the seminaries.

‘ After all these preparatory measures had been carried into effect, an ordinance was published in the year 1765, prescribing the mode of teaching, as adopted in the seminaries, and the manner in which the clergy should superintend the efficacious establishment of the system. The regulations of this ordinance prove the earnestness with which the King of Prussia laboured to spread the benefits of useful knowledge among his subjects. The teachers are directed to give plain instruction, and upon objects applicable to the ordinary concerns of life; not merely to load the memory of their scholars with words, but to make things intelligible to their understanding: to habituate them to the use of their own reason, by explaining every object of the lesson, so that the children themselves may be able to explain it, upon examination. The candidates for school-keeping must give specimens of their ability, by teaching at one of the schools connected with the seminary, in the presence of the professors at the seminary, that they may remark and correct any thing defective in the candidate's method. If one school suffices for more than one village, neither of them must be more than half a German mile distant from it, in the flat country; nor more than a quarter of a mile in the mountainous parts. The school-tax must be paid by the lord and tenants, without distinction of religions. In the towns, the school must be kept the whole year round. It is expected that one month shall suffice to make a child know the letters of the alphabet; that in two it shall be able to join them; and in three, to read. The boys must all be sent to school, from their sixth to their thirteenth year, whether the parents are able to pay the school-tax or not. For the poor, the school money must be raised by collections. Every parent or guardian who neglects to send his child or pupil to school, without sufficient cause, is obliged to pay a double school-tax, for which the guardians

guardians shall have no allowance. Every curate must examine, weekly, the children of the school in his parish. A general examination must be held annually, by the deans of the districts of the schools within their respective precincts; and a report of the condition of the schools, the talents and attention of the schoolmasters, the state of the buildings, and of attendance by the children, made to the office of the vicar-general, who must transmit all these reports to the royal domain offices. From these, orders are issued to the respective landraths, to correct the abuses, and supply the deficiencies indicated in the reports. This system was at first prepared only for the Catholic schools; but it was afterwards adopted, for the most part, by most of the Lutheran consistories. Its truly respectable author, Felbiger, was, in the sequel, with the consent of Frederick, invited to Vienna by the Empress Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II., who appointed him director of the normal schools or seminaries in all the Austrian dominions. His regulations have been introduced, and are acted upon, in almost all the Catholic countries of Germany.

‘In Silesia, they had at first many old prejudices to contend with. The indolence of the Catholic clergy was averse to the new and troublesome duty imposed on them. Their zeal was alarmed at the danger arising from this dispersion of light to the stability of their church. They considered alike the spirit of innovation, and the spirit of inquiry, as their natural enemies. Besides this, the system still meets resistance from the penurious parsimony and stubborn love of darkness, prevailing in some parts of the province. Many villages neglect the support of their schools; many individuals, upon false prettexts, forbear sending their children to school, for the sake of saving the tax. The compulsive measures, and the penalties, prescribed by the ordinance, are used seldom, and with reluctance. The benevolent design has not been accomplished to the full extent of which it was susceptible; but, as far as it has been accomplished, its operation has been a blessing. That its effects have been very extensive, is not to be doubted, when we compare the number of schools throughout the province, in the year 1752, when they amounted only to one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, with that in the year 1798, when they were more than three thousand five hundred. The consequences of a more general diffusion of knowledge are attested by many other facts equally clear. Before the Seven-years war, there had scarcely ever been more than one periodical journal or gazette published in the province at one time. There are, now, no less than seventeen newspapers and magazines, which appear by the day, the week, the month, or the quarter, many of them upon subjects generally useful, and containing valuable information and instruction for the people. At the former period there were but three booksellers, and all these at Breslau. There are now six in that capital, and seven dispersed about in the other cities. The number of printing-presses and bookbinders has increased in the same proportion.’

ART. XV. *An act to Regulate the Importation and Exportation of Corn, and the Bounties and Duties payable thereon.* 30th July 1804. 44. of the King, cap. 109.

Cursory Observations on the Act for ascertaining the Bounties, and for regulating the exportation and Importation of Corn. By a Member of Parliament. London, Stockdale. 1804. pp. 16.

THAT part of the new Corn Law, in which the Legislature has reverted to the system of bounties upon exportation, after having in a great measure abandoned it for a period of thirty years, appeared to us to bear so hard upon an established and salutary doctrine in political œconomy, that we looked with eagerness for an opportunity of entering with our readers into a discussion of the measure. Hitherto, however, there has been no *publication* upon the subject, except the statute itself; and we owe too profound a reverence to parliamentary black-letter, to subject it to the prophane licence of Edinburgh criticism. One little tract, the ‘*Cursory observations*,’ was circulated in London, we understand, by one of those most respectable gentlemen with whom the bill originated; but as it was not regularly published, it does not fall within our reach. It was probably considered by the rest, as the whole case they could make out; stated very briefly, indeed, but with neatness, great fairness, and all the strength that their view of the argument was possessed of. In the course of our Journal, our readers have been so much accustomed to find the notice of a book nearly lost in dissertation, that they will perhaps hardly be sensible of an innovation upon our plan by a dissertation without any book for its text. If an apology however be necessary, we must take it from the importance of the occasion. Opinions, as well as compositions, have from the first been the object of our humble endeavours to assist the public judgment; and we should not have entered so minutely as we have often done into the examination of the latter, if we had not our eye always fixed on those systems of useful knowledge, which they contribute to form. We shall therefore make no further introduction to the following investigation, except to mention, that the writers whom we have principally in view, when we speak of advocates for the bounty, are Dr James Anderson, who, in his *Letters on National Industry*, has given an elaborate argument in its defence; Mr Mackie of Ormiston, in East Lothian, whose letters to Colonel Dirom display much acuteness, as well as practical

tical information ; and Mr Malthus, the ingenious and enlightened author of the *Essay on Population*. *

The law, which gave a bounty on the exportation of corn, will always be famous in the economical history of Great Britain, whatever may be the final opinion as to its merits. It originated under an administration, the splendour of whose measures is reflected even from their errors. And though, in framing that law, they were probably quite unconscious of the invention and design to which it has since been ascribed, yet, if we view it in a particular aspect, through the medium of those reasonings which have since been constructed in its favour, it may be made to appear a bold and original deviation, not only from the policy that had long prevailed, but from prejudices that are very natural on such subjects. In this light, accordingly, it appeared to the best writers and statesmen of England, throughout the first part of the last century : they mentioned it always with admiration ; as an institution that had been planned in wisdom, and the success of which was complete ; to be ranked with the act of navigation, the laws for the woollen staple, or Queen Elizabeth's provision for the poor ; an inseparable part of that peculiar system to which England was indebted for her superiority over all other nations. These vague and confident praises of the bounty had long been established among the idioms of parliament, even before some circumstances in the later history to the corn-trade were attended to, which seemed to furnish a very plausible confirmation of them. The diminution of the average price, and the progressive increase of exports, within the period at the beginning of which the bounty had been instituted, presented no doubt a very deceitful coincidence ; and at a time when the analysis of national wealth was unknown, it was natural enough to believe, that the cause of these curious facts could be no other but that remarkable law which just preceded their appearance. These sentiments, with regard to King William's corn-law, were adopted by our admirers upon the continent. The bounty became a theme of panegyric in all their political treatises. Though a most artificial expedient, it was applauded even by the economists of France, in whose profound

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* To this last gentleman we owe many apologies for having delayed so long the account of his original and important work ; and for anticipating, as in this article, the examination of a detached part of it. It is as well to confess at once, that the person, into whose hands it was put, has disappointed us, from indolence or other occupations, or a sense of the difficulty and extent of Mr Malthus's speculations. We have reason, however, to hope that it will make its appearance in our January Number.

writings all devices were reprobated, that might check the spontaneous order of nature. In the mean time, opinions, more consistent with the tenor of their other speculations, were spreading in this country, among well educated men of practice, as well as philosophical inquirers; and Parliament at last began to enforce some of those principles which, many years before, had been expounded in the lectures of Adam Smith. The act of 1773, which was conducted through the House of Commons by Mr Burke, effected a virtual repeal of the bounty, though it retained the language, and seemed even to confirm the purposes of the former law, in compliance with those prejudices which it was easier to betray than to conquer. Dr Smith has said of this statute, what was said of the laws of Solon, that though not the best in itself, it was perhaps the best which the interests and temper of the times would admit of. He probably bore in mind, when he used these expressions, the answer which Mr Burke had made to him, on being reproached for not effecting a thorough repeal: that it was the privilege of philosophers to conceive their diagrams in geometric accuracy; but the engineer must often impair the symmetry, as well as simplicity of his machine, in order to overcome the irregularities of friction and resistance. In the same strain, Dr Smith has likewise said of that statute, that it might perhaps in due time prepare the way for a better; and those who had most imbibed the spirit of his philosophy, acquiesced very confidently in this expectation. But, by another coincidence of circumstances, still more accidental perhaps than the former, the changes in the price of corn, and in the balance of the corn-trade, have been precisely reversed, since the repeal of the bounty, from changes which have taken place since the time of its enactment. Prices have risen, and the balance is turned against us. Those persons, who had been moved in favour of the bounty by the first part of this experience, as it seemed, could not help feeling the second to be irresistible: if the original trial furnished a probable conclusion, this converse of the experiment, yielding the same result, seemed to establish it to demonstration. The course of these facts appears, accordingly, to have made a great impression on several ingenious and well informed minds; the bounty has once more found advocates in some political writers of great merit, and in several statesmen, who are fortified by their general principles against artificial schemes of commercial police; and a statute has been passed, which, it is expected, will work all the miracles and blessings that are supposed to have been accomplished by the old law. Although we have long been satisfied about the wisdom of unimpaired freedom in every branch of the corn-trade, foreign as well as inland, we have been prompted, by our respect
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for those persons, and by the importance which is attached by them to the subject, to examine very carefully the reasonings with which they recommend the revival of the bounty. In the course of this examination, we were led to perceive that Dr Smith's deductions are not perfectly correct; but in the practical conclusion, we were again brought to coincide with him, and with the statesmen who are understood to have framed, upon his principles, the act of 1773.

The earliest topics that were used in praise of the bounty, were its great encouragement of British shipping, and the gold it brought home to pay the balance of exported corn. These have not been brought forward this time. So much we owe to the diffusion of knowledge. There are arguments and views of policy that were deemed irrefragable by the best understandings in the generation before the last, of which the refutation is now become even colloquial. It is a reflection that yields encouragement to the free scrutiny of other opinions, which appear no less susceptible of refutation. We are still told, *first*, that a bounty, by forcing a production of corn greater than the annual consumption of the home-market, provides a reserve against years of deficient crop: *Secondly*, That it secures an adequate profit to the farmer: *Thirdly*, That it brings the prices of corn, which usually fluctuate so much, to a greater steadiness and uniformity: And, *lastly*, That it makes this uniform price rather lower than it otherwise would be. Upon these four propositions it may be observed, that the promised steadiness in the price of corn must be derived from that surplus of produce which is to be reserved in years of a bad crop. Now, this surplus of the average produce above the annual consumption, must be the result of an enlarged encouragement of tillage; and this encouragement, which operates by augmenting the profits of the farmer, must ultimately consist in an increase of the price of his commodity. So far, then, as the argument depends upon the first three of those alleged advantages, it resolves itself into this single proposition, that the bounty gives the farmer a real advance upon the price of his corn. When it is stated, in the fourth place, that it has likewise the effect of lowering the price of corn to the consumers, it is the money-price only that can here with consistency be understood; a diminution of which is no doubt compatible with an advance of the real price. It appears, therefore, that when we examine what effects a bounty must have upon the commerce and growth of corn, our subject of investigation is precisely the effect of that bounty upon the real price, and upon the money-price of corn. Dr Smith, accordingly, who has decidedly pronounced an opinion very dif-

ferent from the foregoing, maintains it by propositions directly the reverse of those which we have enumerated : that it can have no effect in equalizing prices, because there is no surplus to be reserved in years of scarcity : that there can be no such surplus, because the bounty gives no additional encouragement to agriculture ; that it can give no such encouragement, because it occasions no advance of the real price of corn : and, lastly, that its effect is to raise, not to lower, the average money-price of that commodity. In order to ascertain where the truth lies between such contradictory opinions, it will be necessary to trace, more minutely in detail than has hitherto been done, the influence which a bounty on corn must have upon its exchangeable value, whether that be expressed in money, or in what is called the real price—the aggregate of other commodities that are purchased with money.

Let us suppose, in a country where the returns of the farmer are of course adequate, and no more than adequate, to replace his advances with a profit proportioned to the profits of other capital, that a bounty were granted out of the public revenue directly upon the *production* of bread-corn : Its immediate effect would evidently be, to lower both the money-price and the real price, to all purchasers in the home-market. A part of the old price, instead of being paid by the purchaser himself, would now be paid for him by the public ; and while he paid so much less, the farmer would receive altogether the same sum as before. The farmer would no doubt be willing enough to keep up the market price to its original rate, that he might thus increase his receipts by the whole of the bounty. But the same power of competition, which had before adjusted his profits, would continue to adjust them to the same rate, by reducing his receipts from the private purchaser in proportion to his new receipts from the public. Notwithstanding this bounty, therefore, the profits of the farmer would, by the operation of the principle of competition, subside towards their former level. They would for some time indeed, be kept from sinking quite down to this level, by the force of competition that would act in the opposite direction. For, in consequence of the real price of grain being lowered to the consumers, their power of purchasing this article would for the time be augmented, whether they had other commodities or their labour only to give in exchange ; and thus the limits of the effective demand for grain would be widened, by a greater waste in the use and preparation of it for food, a nicer palate as to the quantity, and ultimately by an increased number of consumers. The effect of such an increased demand for grain, proceeding from any other cause, must evidently be, to enhance a little its real price :

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the effect of this increased demand, proceeding from an artificial reduction of the real price, would be, to prevent that reduction from being wholly completed, to prevent the market price from being lowered quite so much as by the whole amount of the bounty. The difference would be received by the farmer, in addition to the adjusted rate of his profits, and would of course operate as a new encouragement to tillage. It is evident, however, that this encouragement could last no longer than the increased demand in the home market, from which it originated; and that could not subsist long, because, while the general circumstances of the nation remain the same, no reduction of the real price of corn can be permanent. The wages of the labouring consumers had been adjusted before, by the principle of competition, to a rate proportioned to those general circumstances; and the same principle would continue to adjust them again to that rate, by lowering the money-price of labour, and, through that, of other commodities, to the money-price of corn. Thus the whole effect of this bounty on production, would terminate in a reduction of the nominal or money-price. The real price would soon be raised, and the profit of the farmer soon lowered, to their former level; and the interval would speedily elapse, during which a new encouragement had been afforded to agriculture. At the close of that interval, both the absolute number of the people, and the gross annual produce, might be found a very little increased. The relative condition of the labouring orders, in respect of opulence and comforts, would be found unchanged. And, to defray the bounty, there would subsist a tax, probably very burdensome, certainly quite unnecessary, and it would subsist to no other purpose but to effect a preposterous inversion of the natural order of things.

If it should be deemed expedient to renew that sort of encouragement to tillage, which has now been described, it might no doubt be renewed by a fresh addition to the bounty; which would operate over again the same series of effects, leaving in the end the money-price still lower, and the tax still more burdensome. And such statesmen, as may have a predilection for artificial schemes of this sort, will easily see the superior artifice of meting out the bounty in small portions from time to time, in order that, with the smallest amount of bounty, there may be obtained the greatest number of these intervals of encouragement to agriculture.

If, on the other hand, it should be felt desirable to get rid of such a bounty as this, and to restore the commerce of grain to its natural course, such a step could not be taken without a great deal of temporary inconvenience; for that series of effects

which took place after the enactment of the bounty, would be precisely inverted by its repeal. The sudden enhancement of the money-price would abridge, for the time, the wealth and comforts of the labouring consumers ; and the restriction of their demand, reducing the profits of farming below its natural rate, would for the time discourage agriculture. And this would continue until the advance of the money-price of corn communicated itself to the money-price of labour, and, through that, to the money-price of other commodities. It is unnecessary, for our present purpose, that we should attempt to trace any farther the consequences of a direct bounty upon *production*.

A bounty, granted out of the public revenue upon the *exportation* only of corn, will operate according to the same principles ; but, from the different manner in which the bounty is then applied, its effects will be considerably different. It will produce no *immediate* change of prices in the home-market. The national consumer will continue to pay what he did before, no part of this payment being made for him by the public : there will be no diminution to him of the real price of corn, consequently no enlargement of consumption and demand, and therefore no new encouragement on this side to agricultural investments. But every foreigner, who shall purchase part of the exported grain, will pay so much less for it, as the bounty amounts to, than he otherwise would have paid. Whether he will purchase any part of it or not, will of course depend upon this condition, that the price of the exported grain, reduced as it is to him by the bounty, is at the most not greater than the price of other grain in his market. Now, the price at which the exported grain could be sold in the foreign market, independently of a bounty, may either be equal, or less, or greater, compared with the price of other grain in that market. If equal, the bounty will enable the exporter to undersell the foreign dealer by the whole amount of that bounty. If less, he would be able, without a bounty, to undersell him by the whole difference of the prices ; and the bounty will enable him to undersell by the sum of that difference, and the bounty added together. If the price at which the exported grain could be sold in the foreign market, independently of a bounty, is greater than the price of other grain in that market ; then, to enable the exporter to undersell the dealer in that other grain, the bounty must be more than sufficient to compensate the difference of the prices ; and a bounty may no doubt be made large enough to do more than compensate that difference. In all these cases, too, it is to be observed, the exporter will actually undersell the foreign dealer by very nearly the whole difference by which he

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can afford to undersell him. He would be willing enough to do it by as small a portion of that difference as possible, in order that the remainder might be added to his profits; but the force of competition, as upon all other occasions, will restrict his profits very nearly to the lowest rate at which he can afford to trade. They will not be brought quite down to this rate, however; the exporter will not be forced to undersell the foreign dealer by quite the whole difference by which he could afford to do it, in consequence of a competition that will act in the opposite direction. For, by the reduction of the real price to the foreign consumers, their effective demand will be enlarged; and this enlarged demand will prevent that reduction, which the bounty has a tendency to effect, from being wholly completed. The difference will be received by the exporter in an addition to the adjusted rate of his profits; and, the extension of foreign demand being communicated to the home-market, will raise at home both the price of corn and the profits of farming. By raising the profits of farming, it will operate as an encouragement to husbandry; by raising the price of corn to the consumers at home, it will diminish for the time their power of purchasing this necessary of life, and thus abridge their real wealth. It is evident, however, that this last effect must be temporary: the wages of the labouring consumers had been adjusted before by competition, and the same principle will adjust them again to the same rate, by raising the money-price of labour, and through that, of other commodities, to the money-price of corn. The bounty upon exportation, therefore, will ultimately raise the money-price of corn in the home market; not directly, however, but through the medium of an extended demand in the foreign market, and a consequent enhancement of the real price at home: and this rise of its money-price, when it has once been communicated to other commodities, will of course become fixed.

This fixed advance of the money-price at home will necessarily affect the price at which the exported corn can afterwards be sold in the foreign market. It will of course diminish that difference, whatever it is, by which the exporter can undersell the dealer in foreign grain. That difference, however, may still be large enough, with the assistance of the bounty, to allow the exporter still to undersell that dealer; and to occasion, in the same manner as before, a farther extension of demand. This will be followed, as before, by a series of effects, ultimately terminating in a farther advance of the money-price at home. And this series will be constantly renewed, until the advance of that money-price becomes so high, as to cover the whole difference

ence by which the exporter was before able to undersell other dealers abroad. By a new bounty, however, granted in addition to the former, a new range may be created for the repetition of another series of the same effects. But, whatever limit we suppose to the amount of the bounty, its complete and ultimate effect will always be found to be a corresponding rise of the money-price in the home market, both of corn, of labour, and of all commodities. In the interval that must each time elapse, before wages are equalized with each successive rise in the price of corn, there will be a certain degree of new encouragement held out to husbandry, and some diminution in the wealth and comfortable subsistence of the labouring consumers. That encouragement to husbandry will not be followed by any increase of the number of the people, because the additional production is excited by a foreign demand. And this diminution of the comforts of the labouring people, from being temporary, may become almost a permanent diminution, if the successive advances of the price of corn shall follow each other without interruption, and so keep always ahead of the successive advances in the wages of labour.

If it should be felt expedient to remove such a bounty as this upon exportation, and to restore the commerce and production of grain to their natural order, such a repeal would be attended with some temporary inconveniences. The sudden destruction of that part of the foreign demand, which had been forced by the bounty, would throw an excess upon the home market, and would reduce the profits of farming for a time below their actual and just rate. The national consumers would for a time be more easily and plentifully supplied; until, by the abstraction of capital from tillage, the supply of corn was once more accommodated to the real demand, and the profits of the farmer raised again to their natural rate.

If, in the preceding analysis, we have deduced with accuracy the operations of the principle of competition, a correction must be made in Dr Smith's argument upon the bounty. When we consider, indeed, the patient, circumspect, and comprehensive care which the reasonings of that great author almost always evince, and the hazard there is, that, in a process of some length and intricacy, we may have overlooked one or more necessary steps, it is not without much diffidence that we presume to attempt such a correction. At present, however, he appears to us not to have completed this investigation with his usual success. In the first two editions of his *Inquiry*, the form of the investigation is considerably different from that which appears in all the subsequent editions. In these, he states and answers separately

parately two arguments that had been alleged by others in favour of the bounty—the extension of the foreign market and the enhancement of price to the farmer. But, in the first two editions of the work, there was no notice of any alleged extension of foreign demand, but only of the single argument founded on the enhancement of price. By omitting all consideration of the foreign market, he excluded that to which we have traced the operation of the bounty as commencing in the first instance.

In separating the extension of the foreign market and the enhancement of price, from each other, and treating them as quite distinct, he overlooked that necessary connexion which we have endeavoured to point out between them. In both cases, his error appears to have consisted in too hastily assuming, from those whom he was about to refute, that a bounty on exportation would occasion *immediately* a rise of the money-price in the home-market: an assumption which betrays itself explicitly, when he comes to speak of it as ‘a very moderate supposition, that a bounty of five shillings the quarter upon exportation, may raise the price four shillings in the home-market.’ This assumption is evidently the foundation of his separate answer to the alleged enhancement of price, in which his general remarks are quite accurate, so far as they reach, but are inadequate to the inference, which he founds upon them, that the bounty can have no effect in raising the real price of corn; inasmuch as he has overlooked that *interval* which elapses, as we have shown, between the enhancement of the money-price of corn; and its communication to the money-price of labour and other commodities. In his separate answer to the alleged extension of foreign demand, he does not expressly deny the fact, but affirms that, in every particular year, this is at the expence of the home-market; and endeavours to show that the bounty restrains also the gradual extension of the home-market, by its enhancement of the price. But in affirming that the quantity exported in every particular year, were it not for the bounty, would remain in the home-market, he evidently takes it for granted, that this quantity, though there had been no bounty, would still have been grown: now, this is the very question upon which he undertakes to prove his particular opinion. In endeavouring to shew, that the enhancement of price, occasioned in the home-market by the bounty, must restrain the population or the industry of the country, he proceeds upon the above mentioned assumption, that the bounty occasions an immediate rise of the money-price of corn, and therefore must either reduce the subsistence of the labourers, or, if wages rise, the ability of their employers to give them work. If that rise of money-price, however, is consequent,

as we have shewn, to an extension of demand in the foreign market, it will at first increase the ability of those employers; and though it will likewise reduce at first the subsistence of the labourers, their wages must soon rise to their true rate; and his rise in the money-price of labour will only reduce the ability of the employers to its former level.

If these criticisms on the reasoning of Dr Smith shall appear well-founded to such of our readers as have bestowed on his work the study it merits, from all who are serving their apprenticeship to the science, or to the practice of commercial policy, they will at once perceive, that we have derived, out of the work itself, the means of correcting its imperfections.

Some of the errors, into which the advocates for the bounty have fallen, are more palpable, and proceed from an imperfect acquaintance with the fundamental principles of political economy.

In the *first* place, they have quite misunderstood Smith's important doctrine, that the variations of the money-price of corn are communicated ultimately to that of labour and other commodities. He has not perhaps stated this general truth, nor deduced the reasoning by which we are led to it, in a form perfectly unexceptionable; but his application of it to the operations of the bounty is quite legitimate. They have insisted, some of them at great length, that the price of commodities and labour is liable to be affected by many other circumstances besides the price of corn. This is unquestionably true; but is surely not incompatible with Dr Smith's proposition, which, so far as it enters into his reasonings about the bounty, goes no farther than to assert, that every change it may occasion in the money-price of corn will communicate itself, first to the money-wages of labour, and, through them, to the money-price of all other articles; and that thus the real price of corn will be maintained the same, notwithstanding a nominal variation. Without a just apprehension of this fundamental truth, it is impossible to reason with accuracy upon the subject.

In the *second* place, they seem very imperfectly aware of the manner in which the principle of competition operates upon profits, and upon exchangeable value. And on this account, many of the remarks, which they have made, are inconsistent as well as unfounded. They have uniformly supposed, as Smith appears likewise to have done, that the sum of the bounty is immediately added to the former money-price even in the home-market: at the same time, they contend that the average price in that market will be lowered. It is their opinion that the real price of corn will upon the whole be rendered cheaper to the consumers, and that the

the same real price will be maintained permanently higher to the farmer ; though these two positions are in direct terms contradictory of each other. When Mr Malthus, who is by far the most intelligent advocate for the bounty, observes that ‘ it lowered greatly the price of corn, by producing a growth considerably above the wants of the actual population,’ he evidently forgets, that a greater growth can only be occasioned by a greater demand, will always be adjusted to that, and, keeping the supply and the demand always in the same ratio, will in other words keep the price always at the same rate. And when this writer speaks of ‘ the experienced difficulty of lowering wages when once they have been raised,’ he seems to have forgotten, for a moment, that very part of the great principle of competition upon which his own researches have thrown so much light ; and, in fixing his eye upon an irregular movement at some part of the large machine, to have quitted his steady view of that uniform motion in which all the retarding and accelerating forces are found to have balanced one another. But the advocates for the bounty have betrayed a much less pardonable inattention to the necessary action of this principle of competition, when they conceive, as some of very high authority* have done, that the average price of grain in the home-market may be so low as not to yield a ‘ fair and reasonable’ profit to the grower. We shall afterwards point out the share which this very erroneous prejudice may be supposed to have had, in recommending the late legislative attempt : but it would be endless to submit, at this time of day, to the formal refutation of an error so palpable and so antiquated. We shall notice only one mistake more, into which the theoretical writers appear to have fallen. Both Dr Smith and his antagonists have pronounced, that, in years of extraordinary abundance, the bounty will prevent the money-price of corn in the home market from falling quite so low as it would fall if there were no bounty. In this position, Smith is quite consistent at least with himself, because he uniformly maintains that the bounty can have no effect in rendering the annual produce larger than it otherwise would be. But the same consistency cannot be allowed to those who both assert this position, and assume that the bounty does increase the produce, and occasions a surplus growth above the annual consumption. For this surplus, it is to be observed, will, in a year of extraordinary abundance, partake of the extraordinary increase ; so that, over and above the usual home supply, there will in such a year be reaped not only the extraordinary increase upon that

* Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting the Corn Trade, ordered to be printed 14th May and 14th June 1804.

that supply, together with the usual surplus for exportation, but likewise the extraordinary increase upon that surplus. Of these four portions of the crop, therefore, not only the second, but the fourth also, will be thrown as an excess upon the home-market ; and the price in that market will consequently be lowered much more by the whole of this excess, than it would have been by the former part of it alone.

In the result, therefore, our idea of the operations of a bounty upon export differs a good deal from both the opinions which were stated at the outset of this investigation. We conceive that it may, in a particular manner, afford some temporary encouragement to tillage ; and thus, to a certain degree, force the production of a surplus, which may be reserved for the home-market in deficient years. By preventing in those years, the temporary price from rising so high as it otherwise would, it may be considered as restraining a little on one side the occasional fluctuations of the price of corn ; but, by overstocking the home-market in plentiful years still more than it otherwise would be overstocked, it must be considered as giving a still greater range to the fluctuation of the temporary price on the other side. Whether or not it approximates one extreme point of variation more or less towards the ordinary price, than it removes the other ; and whether or not it thus contracts or extends the whole range of occasional variation, is a question which it might be difficult to solve, but which is probably of greater curiosity than importance. While this is the influence of the bounty upon the temporary changes of real price, its effects, we conceive, upon the nominal price of corn, is to raise and keep it higher than it otherwise would be.

If that sort of encouragement to tillage, which we have here admitted, should be deemed a sufficient benefit to recommend to a great nation the establishment of a bounty, it must still be remembered that, though it may indirectly secure a more certain supply of corn, it necessarily retards, upon the whole, the growth of national opulence and industry. It forces a part of the national capital into a branch of trade which is necessarily a losing one, and which does not return the whole of the capital that is employed in it. Defence, however, it has been said, is of more importance than opulence : * and an independent supply of subsistence lies at the foundation of the means of defence. The general observation is undeniable. The truths of political economy form but a class among the principles of administration, and in their practical application must often be limited by higher maxims of state, to which in theory too they are held subordinate.

* *Wealth of Nations*, II. 195.

ordinate, as being less general. Yet, unless this subordination is finely and truly felt, the limit may be placed very injudiciously; and we may be summoned to deviate from general rules, whenever a statesman takes fright at a temporary inconvenience, or is captivated with some specious project of a remedy. The wisdom, which would become this mature age of English policy, is of more simple arrangement, as well as firmer to its purpose. A case should be made out of controuling necessity, and of a result clearly overbalancing, by the advantage, all disadvantages that may be concomitant. After estimating to its full amount the possible benefit to be derived from such an artificial contrivance as the bounty, we must not only weigh against that, both the immediate sacrifice and all the subsequent disadvantages, but we ought likewise to consider whether the very benefit proposed, at least in one point of view, might not be better obtained in another way—as by the removal of any existing impediments to cultivation, to the free commerce of land, the free employment of capital, or the free transference of labour. There is an immediate sacrifice in forcing the national capital into a branch of trade, in which part of it is absolutely lost; for the whole sum granted in bounties, together with the expences of collecting the tax by which they are defrayed, is a part of the national capital thrown into that trade without any return. There is some disadvantage, in that constant diminution of the real wages of labour, which is occasioned by the progressive rise of the price of corn in the home-market. Very considerable disadvantages are incurred, from the constant enhancement of the money-price of labour and all other commodities, both in the depreciation of fixed pecuniary returns, and in the injury to domestic manufactures in their competition against foreign industry. But the greatest disadvantage, perhaps, of all, consists in the uncertainty and derangements to which interferences of law subject the capital that is vested in the trade of grain, and the obstacle which these oppose to the free enlargement and consolidation of that most important system of commerce. On the other hand, the encouragement, such as it is, which any assigned bounty will give to husbandry, must expire after a short interval—as soon as the money-price of corn in the home-market has risen, and it cannot fail to rise, so high as to cover the whole advantage, which the bounty had originally given to the exporter in his sales abroad; and the whole encouragement or stimulus, which, even during this interval, the bounty can give to agriculture, will be found to be very slight, if we consider the manner in which this stimulus is formed, and that it consists, not as it has hitherto been represented, in the addition of the whole bounty to the farmer's price, but in that small addition to his price, which is occasioned

casioned from time to time by the gradual extension of foreign demand. It may be important, likewise, with reference to the present circumstances of this country, to remark, that, when the average price of corn at home is greater than that of the foreign market, the interval of encouragement to tillage, under the same bounty, will be shorter than in the other two cases, and the whole disadvantage of high money-prices will be sooner brought to its greatest height.

The present circumstances of the country, with respect to its agricultural produce, have excited a very unnecessary alarm among some of our legislators as well as political writers. It is affirmed, that as in years of scarcity we have been dependent on very large importations from abroad, we are even in ordinary years dependent upon importation for a certain portion of our necessary supply. If the fact be so, of which there is not yet full proof in possession of the public, we can discover no reason why it should be considered as more than a temporary and slight inconvenience. A bounty upon exportation, at any rate, and the prohibition of importation, do not seem to form the most reasonable sort of remedy for such a state of things, or one that is very likely to prove successful. An entire freedom of importation, combined with a bounty upon production augmented from time to time, might have appeared at least a more plausible proposal. But it is evident that all such schemes must be nugatory, compared with the remedy which a supply, too narrow for the actual demand, provides for itself. The demand in the home-market is at all times by far the most powerful, generally the sole encouragement to cultivation; and its power must be increased immensely, when circumstances force on the demand still more rapidly than the supply can be augmented. In the present circumstances of Great Britain, the law surely can add nothing to the permanent encouragement of agriculture, though there are a few impediments which it might remove. Nothing can be more unfounded than the fears which some advocates for the bounty have expressed, that England may cease to be an independent agricultural nation; except the lamentations, which others have indulged over the actual decline of its husbandry since the fatal statute of the year 1773. They must have lost all trust in their own memory, as well as the evidence of their senses, who can doubt for an instant, that from year to year of this period the husbandmen of Britain have extended their capital, their skill, and their produce. The commerce and the manufactures of the island conceal in some measure its agricultural grandeur; of which we may not perhaps obtain a full view, unless this splendid superstructure of our present prosperity, mouldering away from the fragility of the materials,

or shattered by external violence, shall expose the strength and extent of the base on which it rested. Like Lombardy, and Tuscany, and Flanders, England would be left rich and orderly even in ruin; and would be resorted to, for the lessons of her ancient husbandry, by such nations as might then be accumulating from commerce the resources of agricultural improvement. In the mean time, the growth of our population, and the distribution of wealth among the industrious classes, accelerated at a rate with which our agriculture cannot keep pace, instead of showing symptoms of decay, form an unprecedented case of rapid progression; favoured a little by an accidental conjuncture in the political situation of neighbouring states, but originating in the condition of our national opulence itself. It is a fact, indeed, from which the inference to the present argument seems irresistible---although a full explanation of it is not yet furnished by our knowledge of general principles. For the different employments of national capital, and the progress in which they naturally succeed each other, or alternate, form a subject on which we are not yet in possession of a complete theory; though a beautiful sketch has been drawn by Dr Smith, * to which many original remarks have been added by Mr Brougham in his work upon Colonial Policy, and some happy illustrations by Lord Lauderdale in the last chapter of his late publication. It is a subject, the farther investigation of which we earnestly recommend to our speculative readers, as it would throw light on some of the most important points of the wealth and œconomy of nations. Such an investigation, we have little doubt, would prove that the deficiency of domestic produce, which may take place in a great agricultural country from an accelerated diffusion of wealth among the people, can only be temporary, though it may occasionally recur; and ought to be considered as indicating, in the clearest manner, the velocity of that natural current, which the regulations of law may check, but never can impel. A careful collection of some circumstances in the history of different nations, such as have always been most neglected by historians, would curiously show, that similar oscillations, in the balance of the trade of provisions, have often accompanied the most steady progress of accumulating wealth. Lord Bacon, we remember, in some of his political treatises, has more than once found occasion to remark, that ‘whereas England was wont to be fed by other countries from the east, it sufficeth now to feed other countries;’ and that ‘the good yields of corn, together with
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* From the beginning of the Fifth Chapter of the Second Book, to the end of the Third Book.

some toleration of rent, hath enticed men to break up more ground, than all the penal laws for that purpose made and enacted, could ever by compulsion effect.*†

The bounty seems likewise to have recommended itself to some of its admirers, by that air of ingenious contrivance which they fancy that they perceive in it. The very simple expedient, of paying a few shillings at the customhouse, is to secure such a surplus of annual produce as will equalize the variation of value, and establish even a remedy against the natural inequality of the seasons. The bounty, it would seem, being attached to this irregular system of supply and prices, is to perform the functions of what mechanicians call a fly, attached to an engine in which the opposite pressures are apt to become unequal. It is to accumulate a surplus of produce, by which an occasional deficiency shall be supplied; and it is to act as a regulator of the price, against the circumstances that tend to enhance or to depress it. If it can be said to do all this, it may be said to do something more; 'to repress,' as Mr Malthus has inferred, 'to repress the principle of population a little in years of plenty, and to encourage it comparatively in years of scarcity; regulating, in this manner, the population more equally, according to that quantity of subsistence which can permanently be supplied.'* For ourselves, we confess, that all this appearance of device and project would raise a presumption against the bounty, if we were still unprovided with a more legitimate conviction. In the real machinery of the arts, human ingenuity only proceeds to render less imperfect its own designs; but the mechanism of commerce and circulation proceeds from another hand; and we can only disorder the scheme when we presume to touch it. That can rarely be wisdom for one great state, which may not permanently be followed by all. All cannot, by adopting the bounty, secure to each an export of corn; and the single nation that stoops from the plain high maxims of policy to so paltry an artifice, will ultimately be convinced that not even a paltry advantage can be gained. The balance of this trade cannot long be very great to any nation; and it will naturally be possessed by that one, whose capital and skill are in a condition to furnish the additional supplies most advantageously to all. In this condition, if the exportation is free, it will hold the balance, without requiring the aid of a bounty; nor can a bounty give it the balance, if it is not in that condition. In one instance, indeed, it has happened, that a bounty was in force while a particular nation was in this condition; and the possession
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* See his Advice to Villiers, and the Observations on a Libel.

† P. 457.

of the balance was ascribed, not to the condition, but to the bounty. A bounty upon exportation, it is to be observed, implies, to a certain length, a free exportation; and the real consequences of that freedom are very apt to be ascribed to the bounty.

We are afraid, however, that in the late relapse of our Legislature to the old exploded system, some effect is to be imputed to an error of a much coarser fabric than either this project about a surplus, or the apprehensions of a national deficiency. Without the aid of the new statute, it has been said, the farmer cannot be sure of obtaining, even in the home market, a 'fair and reasonable profit.' If he cannot, without this statute, secure that profit, he has but little chance of it with all its assistance. How so gross a prejudice could be listened to again, after all that people have been taught, it becomes necessary to explain. Like other sorts of trade, that of the farmer is liable occasionally to the spirit of overtrading, if profits for a time have happened to be greater than ordinary. The late years of dearth and most extraordinary price, rendered the profits of farming, for the time, much greater than ordinary; and the consequence appears to have been, a pretty free indulgence of the disposition to trade too much, and to enter into projects disproportioned to the capital that would immediately be invested. In many instances, where farmers came to make a new agreement about rent, they reckoned too confidently upon the continuance of prices which they ought to have considered as unusual; and made the estimate of their future returns too much upon the recent rate of profit, and not upon an average sufficiently and reasonably large. Like other improvident speculators, they were, of course, to suffer for their want of foresight, as soon as prices and profit returned to their ordinary rate. The loss suffered by the improvident, is 'the fair and reasonable,' as well as the unavoidable, consequence of imprudence; of which it is at once the punishment and the preventative. The number of those who overtraded in this manner, was of course small, compared with the whole number of farmers; but that is no reason why their voice should not be loudest, when the majority have no interest in contradicting them. As a few merchants, whose credit is exhausted, and who can get no money to borrow, persuade not themselves only, but all the world, that there is too little money in the country, the farmers, to whom it is difficult to make good their imprudent engagements, find it almost as easy to persuade other persons as themselves, that prices are a great deal too low. Their landlords, in particular, are not the persons most likely to discover that prices are not too low, but rents a little too high; and they may honestly find it somewhat difficult

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to be convinced that the embarrassment of their tenants is owing to that local cause, and not to something that affects the general condition of the country. The country gentlemen, accordingly, upon the recent occasion, spoke out with that explicit plainness from which they seldom deviate, even when they most mislead the public councils. In the pamphlet whose title we have prefixed to the present article, it is said, that ‘times unfortunate in other respects, impressed on tillage a renovated vigour, a vigour which the principles of this act, and these alone, are able to sustain.’ And in the second Report * of the Committee of the House of Commons, the same acknowledgement is still more express---

‘It appears to your Committee, that the price of corn, from 1791 to the harvest of 1803, has been very irregular; but, upon an average, increased in a great degree by the years of scarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to the grower. The usual high prices, however, have had the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, and other causes, have occasioned such a depression in the value of grain, as it is feared will greatly tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of Parliament.’

One might imagine that the framers of this reasoning have proceeded upon the supposition of a *cast* of farmers, whose numbers and whose capitals do not admit, or ought not to be suffered to admit, of being diminished by the operation of the principle of competition. The success of such topics almost carries one back (which is not the effect of many other appearances at present) from the years of the nineteenth century to the times of the old country party. But the success might not perhaps have been equally great, if the Master of the State had already been securely fixed upon that vantage ground, from which he may now dictate a policy more congenial to his former system. Amidst the arrangements of foreign policy and war which may be supposed to absorb his mind, the humble and less precarious plans of domestic legislation may be forgotten. But the minister who tampers, for a present purpose, with his own maxims, and indulges individuals in their frivolous fondness for making laws, instead of opposing, to temporary interests, the spirit of a general policy, cannot be true either to his own fame, or to the lasting prosperity of Britain.

ART.

ART. XVI. *A Defence of the Slave Trade, on the grounds of Humanity, Policy, and Justice.* 8vo. pp. 90. London. Highley. 1804.

THE question of the abolition of the slave trade has undergone such ample and repeated discussions, and so much has been written by the partizans on either side, that we scarcely had conceived it possible that any publication, for or against the measure, whatever might be its other merits, could now possess the grace of novelty. But the anonymous writer of the tract before us has convinced us of our error; and it is but fair to begin by acknowledging it. His very title-page, indeed, served to rectify our misconception—‘*A Defence of the Slave Trade, on the grounds of Humanity, (as well as of) Policy and Justice;*’ and in a short advertisement, by which the work is preceded, the author particularly requests the impartial attention of those readers who may have been led to conceive that the slave trade is hostile to humanity, and expresses his confidence that their benevolence will prompt them to be friendly to that much injured commerce. The best pamphlet we ever remember to have read in defence of the slave trade, was entitled, ‘*Doubts concerning the Abolition, &c. on the ground of Justice, Humanity, and sound Policy, by an old Member of Parliament.*’ This was published before the famous decision of the House of Commons in favour of gradual abolition, in 1792. The great body of evidence, which was about that time published, and the Parliamentary debates which then took place, threw great light on the whole subject; and, with the exception of the Members for one or two places concerned in carrying on the slave trade, we well remember, that whatever doubts might be entertained concerning the policy of the abolition, or rather of the immediate or sudden abolition of the trade, there was but one opinion concerning its injustice and inhumanity. Mr Dundas and Mr Addington, who were the chief advocates for gradual abolition, avowed, in the plainest and strongest terms, that they entirely agreed in opinion with the abolitionists as to the character and effects of the traffic; one of them even declared, that he knew no language which could add to its horrors; nay, they acknowledged, that good policy also strongly recommended the abolition; but they contended, that the attempt to put a *sudden* stop to the trade, would shock the prejudices of the West Indian colonists, and that it would be found impracticable to effect the measure without the concurrence of these colonists themselves. It was reserved for the writer of the work now before us, to take the higher ground of justice and humanity, and thus interest us by the novelty of his principles, as well as convince us by their soundness and force.

It seemed, however, that our author's plea was not well suited to the period at which his work was published. The mild principle of English jurisprudence, that every one is to be deemed innocent till he has been proved to be guilty, had secured even to this greatest of all criminals, the slave trade, a fair trial; and it was not till after a very extended examination, and many and long discussions, that its guilt was ascertained, and its sentence pronounced. After this, we scarcely expected more than an application for some delay in its execution, from the most sturdy of its advocates. It was therefore with some admiration, and with no little curiosity, that we entered on the perusal of this work. Not unwilling, we trust, to be convinced of our errors, if errors they should be proved, we prepared ourselves for those new facts, or new principles, which were to lead us to conclusions so different from those to which our former inquiries and considerations had conducted us. Nor have we been disappointed in those expectations of novelty; for, certainly, a newer set of facts was never brought forward; and even those with which we were formerly familiar are so completely altered, as to present altogether a new face, to speak altogether a new language, and to serve a different, and even opposite purpose. Our readers may probably wonder that these facts can have been so long kept secret. Their surprise, however, will lessen, when we inform them, that they are the result of invention, rather than of experience. Should any sturdy moralists be ready to condemn this intrusion of the imagination into the province of memory, and to stigmatize it with a shorter and a harsher epithet, let them remember, in the first place, the exigency of the case. Necessity, like 'misery, acquaints a man with strange bedfellows.' The author had to prove the slave trade to be just and humane. Now, it was plain that the old facts would not answer his purpose; for advocates as able as himself, and full as well affected to the cause, had been obliged to confess that the fair deduction from those facts was, that it was unjust and inhuman. He had therefore no course left but to get a set of new ones; and if they were not to be had from others, he must provide them for himself. Whatever we may think of this resource, the result is not, after all, so unfavourable to truth as might be at first conceived. An overloaded piece is often, by the recoil, more hurtful to the person who uses it, than to him against whom it is directed; and we confess, that we have been sometimes apt to suspect, in the course of the perusal of the work before us, that the writer had been all along playing a double game, and that, as we have heard of those who have given to truth all the effect of falsehood, so he had been ingeniously contriving to give to falsehood all the effect of truth.

Our

Our readers, however, will enter more completely into the justness of our remarks, from our furnishing them with a few instances.

First, then, much use being to be made of Mr Parke's work, (almost the only work on the subject with which the writer appears to have been acquainted), it was material that no exception should be taken against Mr Parke's evidence. But our author is not of a temper to do things by halves. He is not satisfied, therefore, with assigning reasons why Mr Parke's testimony may be received against abolition, but he boldly and repeatedly calls him the 'missionary,' 'the envoy,' 'the agent' of the abolitionists; they were his 'employers, for whom his work was composed,' &c. (p. 10, 19, 20.) Now, few of our readers are probably ignorant that this assertion is not only different from the truth, but directly opposite to it. The leading members of the African association, who were Mr Parke's patrons, are well known to have been adverse to the cause of the abolition; and a narrative or abstract of Mr Parke's Travels, prepared from his materials and oral communications, which formed the basis of Mr Parke's larger work, and was entirely incorporated into it, was composed by one of Mr Wilberforce's most zealous and active opponents, Mr Bryan Edwards. The work, therefore, so far as it may have received an unintentional tincture from the opinions and feelings of its editor, would come forth unfavourable to the abolition; and the courage of our author in asserting the contrary is the more to be admired, because Mr Parke himself, though speaking with respect of the abolitionists, expressly declares his opposition to their views.

Again, in speaking of the general character of the Africans, he says, on Mr Parke's authority, 'the Africans are habitually indolent and improvident.' Now, hear Mr Parke (*Travels*, p. 280.)—'The negroes in general, and the Mandingoes in particular, are considered by the whites on the coast as an indolent and inactive people; *I think, without reason.* Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only as is necessary for their own support.' After which, Mr Parke goes on to give a detailed account of their agriculture, their fishery, and their different manufactures of cloth, and dyeing—(their chief colour, which is produced from indigo, being very beautiful, and equal, in Parke's opinion, to the best Indian or European blue); of their manufactures of wickerwork, of leather, of iron and gold; of which (indolent as they are) they execute a variety of ornaments with a great deal of taste and ingenuity.

Again, appealing all along to Mr Parke, our author affirms—‘ the Africans, like other barbarians, are cruel and blood-thirsty.’ Now, to quote all the instances which Mr Parke has given of the directly contrary qualities of the Africans, would be to transcribe a large part of his work. Their ingenuity, their desire of instruction, their parental tenderness, their filial affections, their kindness and hospitality, their gentleness and cheerfulness, their value for truth, their love of their country, in some instances their magnanimity, do honour to the human character. The same account of their character is given by Mr Winterbotham.

Let us next take a passage, wherein our author enumerates the principal sources of slavery mentioned by Mr Parke. ‘ One of the chief causes of slavery, ‘ says our author, under this head, (that of penal law), ‘ is the belief of witchcraft. At every meeting of a criminal court, supposed witches and wizards are doomed to slavery.’ (p. 11. 12.) Now, what says Mr Parke himself? ‘ No trial for this offence (witchcraft) came under my observation while I was in Africa; I therefore suppose that the crime and its punishment occur very seldom.’

In proof of the *fatal* effects of the slave trade on the peace, order, and civilization of Africa, Mr Wilberforce had affirmed, that while, in every other region, the sea-coast and the banks of navigable rivers, those districts which from their situation had most intercourse with civilized nations, were found to be most civilized and cultivated, the effects of the slave trade had been such in Africa, that those parts of the coast which had been the seats of the longest and closest intercourse with the European nations, in carrying on a flourishing slave trade, were far inferior in civilization and knowledge to many tracts of the interior country, where the face of a white man had never been seen. Mr Wilberforce added, that the slave trade had been able also to reverse the ordinary effects of Christianity and Mahomedanism, and to cause the latter to be the instructor and enlightener of mankind, while the former left them under the undisturbed, or rather increased influence, of all their native superstitions. Mr Wilberforce’s assertion would not be very fairly tried by Mr Parke’s personal observation of the effects of the slave trade on the coast; because, as he himself states, ‘ the trade of the river Gambia with Europe has been almost annihilated.’ (p. 25.) ‘ Slaves are the chief article; but the whole number which at this time are annually exported by all nations, is supposed to be under one thousand, and most of these unfortunate victims are brought to the coast from very remote inland districts.’

districts.' (p. 25.) It is a flourishing, not a declining and almost annihilated slave trade, which Mr Wilberforce states as being so unfavourable to the progress of civilization and knowledge. Our author, however, appealing to Mr Parke, flatly contradicts Mr Wilberforce's position altogether. He first goes into a good deal of detail. The kingdom of Barra, says our author, nearest to the ocean by the mouth of the Gambia, is very populous and fertile. Yana, the next to it inland, is populous, and affords abundance of the accommodations and comforts of life. This is also the case with Walli, the next in order; and Woolli (next to that) is beautiful, fertile, and well peopled. The people of Barra, Yana, Walli and Woolli (says our author, p. 19,) are more polished than more eastern Africans. Now, it is really singular, that, in the account of the kingdom next after these first four, but to the east of them, we find Mr Parke stating—'I went to the top of a high hill, and had a most enchanting view of the country. The number of towns and villages, and the extensive cultivation around them, *far exceeded any thing I had yet seen in Africa.*' (p. 88.) However, our author does allow Bondon to partake of the populousness and agriculture of the more maritime districts. But he goes on—'In Kagaago and Kasson the people are poor and thievish, and the country less populous;' and he gives you to understand the same concerning the two other countries still further eastward, Kaarta and Bambarra. At length he thus sums up his argument on this head,

---'Every separate passage, and the whole tenor of Mr Parke's account of his travels, proves, that the *assertion of Mr Wilberforce*, that desolation and barbarity prevail near the coast--cultivation, populousness and refinement, at a distance from the coast,---is quite contrary to fact. Mr Parke found, "that the direct opposite was true." The more maritime countries were cultivated, populous, hospitable and civil. Coming to the inland nations, which Mr Wilberforce pronounced to be flourishing and civilized, he found either desolate wilds, that denied subsistence, or savage manners, that would not suffer him to proceed.' p 22. 23.

Now, to give a full and particular refutation of our author's falsehoods. To show, how it is only by confounding together the Moors, whom he has the discretion not to mention, and the Negroes, two classes of men, whose race, appearance, dispositions, morals, and manners, are not only different, but directly opposite, that he can obtain from the most hasty and superficial reader the slightest colour for his assertions, would be too long a task; but it may be sufficient to remark, in direct contradiction of our author's statement, that, in proportion as Mr Parke travelled eastward, he found the countries more populous and cultivated, more advanced in the arts of civilized and social life; and though,

from the fear of the Moors, the natives, and especially those whose high stations rendered them more liable to observation, durst not always openly patronize and defend him, wherever he went he was almost invariably received with hospitality and kindness. It was in Bambarra, that scene of misery and disorder, according to our author, that he found the river Niger, with all that industry and populousness, to the production of which, a large navigable river is so favourable. 'There, the great city of Sego, containing, as he had reason to believe, 30,000 inhabitants, filled him with astonishment. The view of this extensive city,' says he, 'the numerous canoes upon the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed, altogether, a prospect of civilization and magnificence, which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa.' Such is the support which Mr Parke gives to our author's contradiction of Mr Wilberforce's assertion, that superior cultivation, populousness, and civilization, prevail at a distance from the coast. Had Mr Parke's just apprehensions of personal danger from the Moors, and of the consequent loss of all the information he had actually obtained, permitted him to penetrate still farther eastward, instead of finding, according to our author, increasing desolation and barbarism, he would have seen the large and flourishing cities (of which, as it was, he received undoubted accounts) 'of Jenne, in Bambarra, which is said to contain a greater number of inhabitants than Sego itself,' (p. 213.); 'of Tombuctoo, long supposed to be the capital of Africa, an extensive city, and one of the principal marts of an extensive commerce, the king of which, a Moor, is reported to possess immense riches, and the chief officers of state live in considerable splendour, and the whole expence of his government is defrayed, as Mr Parke was told, by a tax on merchandize, which is collected at the gates of the city; of the city of Houssa, concerning which Parke conversed with many merchants who had visited it, and they all agreed that it was larger and more populous than Tombuctoo, the trade, police and government, nearly the same in both.'

Now, as to the dispositions of the natives. It was among these inland nations of desolate wilds, or savage manners, that Mr Parke places the scene of that beautiful and pathetic tale of simple hospitality, which must touch the heart of every reader who peruses it, (p. 190—199.) The same general facts are abundantly confirmed by two more recent publications. Dr Winterbotham, in his account of Sierra Leone, expressly states, that the towns and villages on the coast are both much smaller and much more rudely built than those in the interior; and he testifies, that trials for witchcraft are of daily occurrence in the former

mer situation, while Mr Parke never witnessed or heard of one, during a residence of eighteen months in the inland regions. The other work alluded to is Mr Barrow's account of the Cape, where he notices the general fact of the uniform barbarism of the coast, compared with the interior, in terms which we have had occasion to specify in our review of that publication, (Vol. IV. p. 448.)

Again, in illustration of his opinion that the slave trade saves the lives of prisoners of war, who would otherwise be murdered, our author states the opposite conduct of the kings of Kasso and Bambarra. The former, says he,

---' had a feud with the king of Kaarta, and having captured a considerable number of prisoners, he did not massacre them; but being nearer the coast, and having communication with slave traders, he sold, instead of butchering, his captives. But the dominions of Bambarra being at such a distance from the coast, a king of Bambarra having defeated his enemies, killed great numbers and took many prisoners, of whom the chief portion was put to death, as there was no vent for sale.' p. 127.)

Now, as a contrast of this sort suited our author's purpose, it was natural for him to state it; and if history did not furnish such a contrast, imagination must supply the defect. But, considering that Mr Parke's book is much too interesting to have been sent to the grocer's, or even to lie neglected on the shelf, it was a little too courageous in him to adduce the precise instance he has named of the king of Bambarra; because from that book it clearly appears, that, so far from being fact, it is in all respects utterly contrary to it. '*Most of the slaves,*' says Parke, 'who are sold at Kancaba, a large town on the banks of the Niger, and a great slave market, *come from Bambarra*; for Mansong, the king of Bambarra, to avoid the expence and danger of keeping all his prisoners at Sego, commonly sends them in small parties, to be sold at the different trading towns; and as Kancaba is much resorted to by merchants, it is always well supplied with slaves, which are sent thither up the Niger in canoes.' Can any words more clearly describe a regular slave trade? Yet, 'the dominions of Bambarra being at such a distance from the coast,' says our author, 'there was no vent for the sale of prisoners made by them in war!' Again, speaking of this very war made by the king of Bambarra against Kaarta, we find, (p. 107.) 'that he began his operations by separating a great part of his army into small detachments, and ordered them to overrun the country, and seize upon the inhabitants before they had time to escape.'—'Most of the poor inhabitants of the different towns and villages, being surprised in the night, fell an easy prey. He accordingly sent all the prisoners he had taken in-

to Bambarra. Parke afterwards mentions several parcels of slaves with which he fell in, who had been taken prisoners in this very war, and mentions the manner in which the prisoners were generally kept, till the opportunity of selling them arrived; and he closes his account of the war with these words—‘The rainy season put an end to the war of Kaarta, which had enriched a few individuals, but destroyed the happiness of thousands.’ (p. 289. 318. 356.)

But the vigour of our author’s imagination, though it has been put to hard service, is not spent by his account of the effect of the slave trade on Africa. It is no less powerful, when he is painting the comforts of the middle passage (*App.* p. 87.); though in the body of his work, he had been inadvertently drawn into some concessions of a contrary tendency (p. 86.); and also when he comes to that part of his subject which respects the West Indies. We will begin with an assertion, which is utterly without foundation, and which we can contradict the more positively, because all our English abolitionists, we believe, without a single exception both in their writings and their speeches, have positively declared the contrary. ‘In the early stages of this discussion, the abolitionists were votaries of emancipation; they would not have a slave in the West Indies!’ (p. 61.) Let us next give a very few other instances of our author’s inventive powers, taken from his account of the slave’s situation. First, of the slave’s food. After describing the poor and scanty fare of the British peasantry, he goes on—

—‘A negro has plenty of corn and rice, to dress as he pleases, for breakfast; abundance either of fish or meat, and the best vegetables for dinner, and a sufficient quantity for supper, with a considerable allowance of sugar-cane, and as much rum to dilute with water, as will invigorate and enliven, without intoxication. Besides, from their own savings, many of them live luxuriously. (p. 49. 50.) The allowance of flour, rice, bread, fish and beef, to each negro, is greater than a strong healthy man will consume in England, with as much liquor as will answer the purposes of health and invigoration.’ (*App.* p. 87.)

If our author’s imagination were not of that rapid flight which prevents his ever pausing to weigh probabilities, to solve difficulties, or to adapt means to ends, we might be tempted to ask him, whence came the meat and fish with which the negro table was so sumptuously provided? It is rather singular that so great a provision trade as must be required for the annual supply of near 600,000 negroes with meat and fish, to say nothing of venison and wild-fowl, should have been hitherto kept such a secret; for the only trade to the west Indies for provisions, of which we ever heard, is of a far more vulgar sort, that of British and American flour, or barrelled herrings, and other cured fish;

fish; which last, however, scarcely correspond we fear, with the other luxuries of a negro table, since we remember that it was a worthy alderman's special plea in favour of the slave trade, that it furnished the means of disposing of our refuse fish which was too bad to be eaten by any other class of individuals. But this is really too serious a subject to joke upon. 'Though sport to us, it is death to them.' The scanty feeding of our negroes, especially in some of our old islands, is among the chief causes which obstruct the natural course of population. Concerning the articles of their diet there can be no doubt—native or imported vegetable food, with salted herrings for seasoning. It scarcely deserves to be mentioned as an exception, that sometimes a meal or two of butcher-meat are said to be given to them at Christmas.*

In respect to the hours of labour, likewise, we are at a loss to know whence our author has derived his information. If he were not utterly ignorant of West India economics, he would know, that during crop time, which lasts, with short intervals, for near half the year, the work is carried on all night, the slaves working

* One grand source of error, in estimating the state of treatment of the slaves in the West Indies is, that particular instances are supposed to be general rules. As this has sometimes operated against the West Indians, particular instances of cruelty having been converted into a general system of cruelty, so they also sometimes profit from it. For instance, that quantity of provisions which is granted to the slaves by liberal and affluent masters (for, ever observe affluence as well as liberality is requisite for the production of the effect) is always stated as the universal allowance of all masters, in all their several varieties. A curious detection of this sophistry was furnished by the papers contained in the Privy Council Report. The agent for the island of Jamaica, a truly respectable and well informed man, with some other equally respectable coadjutors, stated that the allowance of herrings made to the field slaves was from twenty to twenty-five barrels of herrings or other salt-fish, annually, to every hundred slaves. Now, taking an average of five years of peace immediately after a long war, from 1783 to 1787, the whole number of slaves in the island being estimated at about 230,000, and the field slaves, according to the usual calculation, seven eighths of the whole number, the barrels of herrings consumed ought to have been near 46,000 barrels. But the accounts of imports shew that the average quantity of *herrings and all other cured fish*, annually imported during the five years, not for the negroes alone, but for all the inhabitants of the island, amounted to not half the quantity,—to but 21,089 barrels. *Ex pede, &c.* If the West India gentlemen would suffer all their accounts to be inspected, how the secrets of the prison-house would be opened!

working by gangs at intervals. In Jamaica, in crop time, the ordinary working hours are never less than eighteen; and reckoning the average time for going and returning from the place of labour, in the morning and evening and mid-day, the *minimum* may be fairly called nineteen and a half. This, however, it must be observed, includes the time allowed for breakfast and dinner; and if half an hour be allowed for the negro to prepare and eat his supper, four hours only remain for sleep. A friend of ours who was some time in Jamaica in the situation of a book-keeper or overseer, assures us, that was the utmost he could ever obtain when engaged in the business of crop. Out of crop, the average hours of labour may be reckoned from five in the morning to seven at night.

So far as to the hours of labour; now to the nature of it. 'When they are actually at work they go on' (says our author) 'with activity and glee,' (p. 44.); and then, speaking of that part of their work wherein the most muscular strength is required, he says, 'there is no work which the negroes go through with more cheerfulness.' Now, this may call for the same explanation as was once required for the complete elucidation of an assertion, pretty similar, of a most respectable West India gentleman in his examination in the Committee of the House of Commons. He had been asked the ordinary weight of a basket of dung which the negroes were used to carry on their heads; to which he replied he did not know, but he was pretty sure that it could not be very heavy, because they always ran with it. He was, however, reminded of a little circumstance he had left out of his calculation, and which might contribute, as well as the lightness of the basket, to the pace at which it was carried—that a driver was at the negroes back with a long whip to urge him forward. The same cause may probably have had some share in producing the activity with which the negroes go through the hardest part of their labour.

In selecting the above instances of our author's misstatements of facts, we have been guided by the consideration of the brevity and clearness with which his assertions were capable of refutation. There are other instances, wherein more argument, more laying together of different passages, and consulting various authorities, would have been requisite. If to any of our readers we may appear to have dwelt too long on this division of our subject, and to have adduced more instances than were necessary of the degree in which our author has indulged his inventive powers, in defiance of his own authorities, we beg they will, in the first place consider, that in all controversies it is of extreme importance to ascertain the degree of credit due to

a writer ; and that it is peculiarly important, in the present instance, where the difference, though so great in effect, is almost entirely a difference as to facts, rather than to principles ; where the opposite conclusions to which the contending parties finally arrive, result altogether from the opposite statements to which they respectively give credit. ‘ The slave trade, in theory, is indefensible ; we continually hear this language from all its advocates, except some few who, from being connected with places where the slave trade is principally carried on, are allowed a certain liberty of thinking and speaking, and are understood to be uttering the sentiments of their constituents rather than their own.’ ‘ The slave trade,’ says its defenders, ‘ in speculation must be admitted to be unjust and cruel, directly contrary to the laws of God, and the rights and happiness of man. But, in practice, much may be said for it. The slave trade, instead of causing wars, lessens their number, and mitigates their cruelties. It prevents much misery in Africa. The slaves it carries away would be massacred or devoured if they were to stay at home ; whereas, by the most comfortable conveyance, they go to a country where they are admirably treated, and made as happy as heart can desire. Besides, it is added, the West Indian estates can be worked only by the continued importation of African *labourers* ; and therefore, if you discontinue the slave trade, you put an end to West Indian cultivation, and all those who live by the products of it ; the state also, which derives from that source an ample revenue and a vast income, must be utterly ruined.’ Such, in brief, are the chief assertions which are made by the advocates for the continuance of the slave trade ; and though, even if they were true, any man who has a true conception of the nature of justice, and of the line of conduct it prescribes, would find himself unable to assent to their conclusion, yet it would be with sensations very different from those with which he now condemns the traffic, when he knows, if he has accurately examined the subject, that every one of the above assertions is substantially false and groundless. It is therefore of extreme moment to obtain well grounded and accurate facts on this great question ; and after the specimens we have already given, we conceive it must be evident, that whatever other merit our author’s work may claim, facts at least are not to be expected from it. Indeed, after the extracts we have already given, it may perhaps appear superfluous to go any further. It may be thought that we have already said more than enough of a work of this description. But, in consideration of the extreme importance of the subject, and not from a regard to the manner in which it is treated, our readers will allow us to continue the discussion.

The

The work is in general executed with considerable ability, and is well calculated to produce an effect. It is clear, easy, and tolerably good humoured; and is just such a defence of the slave trade, in short, as being pronounced before an ignorant or a willing audience, would be heard with interest, and received with applause. But, after this first tribute of praise, we are bound to add, independently of the fundamental ground of objection we have already noticed so much at large, that we find nothing of novelty in our author's arguments, nothing which indicates research, nothing which shews that he is well acquainted with his subject, or that he is aware of what will be alleged, or can be proved, by his opponents. It is rather the first thoughts, the morning recreation of a gentleman, than the well laboured composition of a student, or the judicious argument of a counsel; it is rather what we might have expected when the abolition of the slave trade was first brought forward, than what satisfies us, now, when the whole subject has been so fully scrutinized.

Our author begins with some very just, but not equally new, remarks on the spirit of innovation, which has of late gone forth, and particularly condemns that doctrine of the equality of mankind which has proceeded from it. He then goes on to vindicate slavery; and slurring over the distinction between slavery and a regular traffic in slaves, he proceeds to justify the slave trade also, by an appeal to the writings of the wisest Heathens, and by a still bolder appeal to the Holy Scriptures, in order to prove that there is nothing in slavery, or the slave trade, contrary to virtue and Christianity, (p. 9.) He next contends, that the slave trade is peculiarly suited to the state of society in Africa, and to the character and qualities of its inhabitants (p. 10.—32, &c.); that it tends to rescue them from perishing by famine, or by the cruelty of their bloody tyrants; that, contrary to the assertion of abolitionists, the slave trade is by no means the cause of the wars in Africa (p. 16, &c.); that Mr Wilberforce's assertion, that the interior of Africa is more populous and civilized than the coast, is proved by Mr Parke to be utterly groundless, (p. 19, &c.) He then speaks of the middle passage, and acknowledges that Mr Wilberforce here deserves high praise, the discussion of the subject having led to the entire correction of many abuses, which prevailed till within these fifteen years; a concession which our author in substance, though not expressly, retracts in his appendix, (p. 87.) He next describes the situation of the slaves in the West Indies; and here also he acknowledges, that considerable severities have been inflicted upon the negroes in the plantations in former times; but these are all at an end, and now the Africans

Africans are contented and happy. It is triumphantly affirmed, and the importance of the argument is indicated by the magnitude of the type, that 'there never was an instance of one of them wishing to be sent back to Africa, although some have had the option, and have been offered the means of conveyance.' A detailed account is then given, of the mild treatment and happy state of the negroes, compared, not only in point of animal wants, but of social enjoyments also, with the wretched fare of the British peasantry.

This passage may serve as a specimen of our author's manner of writing. After stating what we have already quoted, as to the luxuries of their table, he goes, on—

'Indeed, a merrier set of beings than the African negroes in the West Indies are not to be found in the known world. Not sailors returned to harbour from a long voyage, have more of mirth and festivity, for a few weeks with their favourites and their fiddlers, than the British negro in the West Indies enjoys every evening of his life. Every night of the year they have as much enjoyment, as the lower class in England have at the season of Christmas gambols.'—'An African, by the continuance of the British slave trade, having such means of permanent good living and constant mirth and festivity, appears to me in a better situation, than if, from the abolition of the slave trade, he were to be in danger of perishing in his native land; from the pressure of often recurring famine, or of being butchered by ferocious conquerors, who would sacrifice him, because they had no temptation in their avarice to save his life. Let humanity view the negro in Africa, without the vent of a slave trade, starving or murdered; and view him by a slave trade in the West Indies, labouring moderately, well fed, clothed and lodged, acquiring property, and enjoying all the social comforts which he most highly appreciates. To which of the two situations would genuine and wise humanity, considering the capacities and habits of its objects, allot the negro? Suppose it entirely depended on Mr Wilberforce, whether blacks were to starve in the wilds of Africa, to have their heads posted on the palaces of Dahomy, or to work moderately; every day to eat, drink, and be merry, in the West Indies: would he be the more humane in abandoning them to the destiny that would follow abolition, or in conveying them to comfort and social enjoyment, though the continuance of the trade?'

After this contrast, our author may well conceive himself to have made good his grand position, that the slave trade is not contrary to humanity. He next urges the very common argument, that if we were to abolish the slave trade, other nations would take it up. He states that the Americans, who, at the first establishment of their republic, proscribed the slave trade,*

now

* It is perhaps needless to remind our readers, that there is not the smallest

now traffic in it to a very considerable extent, and that the French are well disposed to engage largely in the same commerce. The remainder of the work is occupied in vindicating it on grounds of policy and justice. In discussing the policy of the slave trade, he forgets entirely the distinct statements of Mr Wilberforce, and the still more decisive and celebrated calculations of Mr Pitt, in which it was demonstrated, that the continuance of the trade was not at all necessary for keeping up the present stock of slaves, or even for insuring their gradual multiplication. But our author, in forgetting all this, only furnishes a fresh proof of the position of our great moral poet, that, where the invention is so vigorous, the memory cannot be expected to be very correct—

‘Where beams of warm imagination play,
The memory’s soft figures melt away.’

Instead of admitting the grand position of the abolitionists, that the care which, in case of the abolition, the master’s direct and palpable interest would prompt him to take of his slaves, would tend throughout to meliorate their treatment, and gradually to raise them from their present degraded state, he dwells at great length on the fatal discontents and ultimate insurrections among the slaves now in the islands, which would be produced by stopping all farther importations. There is something ingenious and lively in his way of putting the argument. We will extract a specimen.

‘But, suppose the slave trade were abolished, how would a West Indian negro reason? In all moral probability as follows: “This Mr Wilberforce, from his benevolence towards our brethren in Africa, will allow no more of them to be slaves. We henceforth are to be the only slaves in the British dominions. Why are other Africans exempted from slavery, if so bad a state as Mr Wilberforce represents it; and we only to continue in that state? Slavery must be something much worse than we have found it; and we will suffer it no longer to be imposed upon us, than upon our brethren in Africa.”

We confess, that the deference which our author supposes the negroes to pay to Mr Wilberforce’s reasonings, is greater than we could have conceived; when he imagines, that they will judge of their state from his descriptions, rather than from their own experience.

smallest ground for this assertion; but that this law owes its origin entirely to the inventive powers of our author, which we have already had so many occasions to admire. The very contrary is so far true, that, by a fundamental law of the American constitution, the Congress was precluded from making any change in the condition of any of the inhabitants of America for twenty years.” This law, by forbidding emancipation, did in effect preclude any law for preventing the importation of slaves,

experience. Our author, however, at length consoles himself with the persuasion, that the effects of the rashness and folly of the House of Commons will be prevented by the reflection and wisdom of the House of Lords ; and he goes on to sate the immense amount of our West Indian imports, the vast revenue we derive from them, and their importance to our marine, maintaining that the slave trade is the main spring of all the rest, (p. 79.) Finally, he contends that parliament is bound, by obligations of justice to our West Indian proprietors and mortgagees, and to our African merchants, to continue the slave trade ; and concludes with a brief summary of the fatal effects of the abolition. An appendix is subjoined, qualifying or confirming some of the former statements, and containing some information concerning the amount of the imports from St Domingo prior to the French Revolution.

Such is the substance of our author's work ; and a great part of which is sufficiently confuted by stating it. As for justifying our continuance of the slave trade by the principles or practice of the most polished of the heathen nations, our author must be himself aware that his argument proves too much. It might be pleaded, in justification of crimes, justly held in such abhorrence in all Christian countries, as not even to be named, though they prevailed in the most refined ages, and among the best characters of Greece and Rome. It must be urged, with equal force, in vindication of another crime scarcely more natural, the exposure of infants, which, as it was styled by a great writer, himself a warm admirer of Paganism, was the incorrigible vice of all antiquity. As to the arguments in favour of the slave trade, deduced from the Holy Scriptures, we are not much disposed to enter into a discussion of them, because we own we can scarcely believe they are urged seriously. The mistaken scruples of a conscientious mind, every one will be disposed to treat with tenderness ; but the tone and style of this writer do not seem to entitle him to such an indulgence ; and he who can justify the slave trade from the practice of Joseph, might justify concubinage and capricious divorces from that of the patriarchs. With regard to the passages referred to in the New Testament, our blessed Saviour's grand practical rule, of doing to others as we would have them do to us, as it is the shortest, so is it perhaps the best refutation of all such laborious sophistry.

While we were settling the question of our author's credibility, we were naturally led to confute some of his arguments. It may be proper, however, to notice the chief of these more particularly. His assertion, that the slave trade is not the fomentor of wars in Africa, is it as a contradiction to the most
established

established principle of human nature, and contrary to all experience, so it is directly opposite to facts recorded by Mr Parke, the very writer to whom our author refers in proof of his assertion. The demand will always insure the supply ; and the maxim is most unhappily confirmed by our African experience ; where the increasing or decreasing demand for slaves too surely produces the increasing or decreasing supply of that commodity.—The manner of carrying on wars in Africa is clearly indicative of their motive. Throughout the whole of Mr Parke's work, we find that it is the grand object of both the contending nations, to carry each other into slavery ; and he particularly mentions a peculiar species of warfare, called *tegria* (plundering or stealing) which bears about it so plainly the lineaments of the slave trade, as to leave not the smallest doubt to what parent it is to be assigned. ' No immediate cause of hostility is assigned, or notice of attack given ; but the inhabitants of each nation watch every opportunity to plunder and distress the objects of their animosity by predatory excursions'.

But if, even in Mr Parke's work, we find abundant proofs of this important fact, it is still more clearly and unequivocally stated by other writers, many of them agents of the African Company, or factors engaged in the slave trade, whose works having fortunately been written and published before it became their interest to conceal or violate the truth, contain an invaluable body of evidence, from which the whole case of the abolitionists, so far as respects Africa, may be indubitably established. We shall venture upon a few short extracts. The first is *M. Brue*, director-general of the French Senegal Company in the century before last, who resided in Africa at different times eleven years : he says, ' The Europeans are far from desiring to act as peace-makers amongst them ; it would be too contrary to their interests ; for the only object of their war is to carry off slaves ; and as these make the principal part of their traffic, they would be apprehensive of drying up the source of it, were they to encourage these people to live well together.' Again, speaking of the country about Rio Grande, he says, ' According to the wars which these people have with each other, and their success, the slave trade here is better or worse.' Again : ' The neighbourhood of the Damel and Tin keep them perpetually at war, the benefit of which accrues to the Company, who buy all the prisoners made on either side ; and the more there are to sell, the greater is their profit ; for the only end of their armaments is to make slaves, to sell them to the white traders.' Again, *M. Brue*, when speaking of another African war, says, their ' campaigns are usually incursions of plunder and pillage ; and they have every

every thing they wish or aim at from their wars, when they are able to make captives from one another, because that is the best merchandize they have to trade with the Europeans.'—'Avarice, and the desire of making slaves in order to have wherewith to buy Europeans' commodities, are often the veritable motives for going to war.' Again, *Barbot* a Dutch factor tells us, 'that the country of Delmina, which was formerly very powerful and populous, was in his time so drained of its inhabitants by the intestine wars fomented by the Dutch, that there did not remain people sufficient to cultivate the land.' *Bosman*, also, another Dutch factor, is very full to the same effect. *Mr Moore*, a very intelligent English factor, whose work is of high authority, says, 'whenever the King of Banally wants goods or brandy, he sends a messenger to our governor at James Fort, to desire he would send a sloop there with a cargo. The governor sends accordingly. Against the arrival of the said sloop, the king goes and ransacks some of his enemies' towns, seizing the people, and selling them for such commodities as he is in want of. In case he is not at war with any neighbouring king, he falls on one of his own towns, and serves them in the same manner.'—We will only mention one more instance out of the multitude that might be adduced, from the evidence of a general officer General Rooke, who was formerly governor of Goree.* 'The king or daniel on the neighbouring continent sent to the chief of the villages in his dominions to send him a given number of slaves; but if they were not to be procured on this request, the king went to war till he got the number he wanted. The general heard that there had been two battles fought on the continent during his stay at Goree, for slaves, and was told it was not an uncommon practice to make war for that purpose.' Admiral Sir George Yonge† made much the same statement, as well as several other witnesses examined before the Privy Council. After so many plain and strong acknowledgments of the effects of the slave trade in producing a constant state of warfare and depredation, our readers will be less surprised to hear, that Mr B. Edwards himself, in the celebrated speech he made in the Assembly of Jamaica about the year 1790, the object of which was to refute the whole of Mr Wilberforce's charge against the slave trade, as it had been laid before the House of Commons of Great Britain, frankly confessed the same important fact. 'I am persuaded,' says he, 'that Mr Wilberforce has been very rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are generally

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* *Vide* Privy-Council Report, art. *Slaves*, part I.

† *Ibid.*

procured. The intelligence I have collected from my own negroes, abundantly confirms his account; and I have not the smallest doubt, that in Africa the effects of this trade are precisely such as he represents them to be. Sir, the whole, or the greatest part of that immense continent, is a field of warfare and desolation—a wilderness in which the inhabitants are wolves towards each other. That this scene of oppression, fraud, treachery and blood, *if not originally occasioned, is in part, I will not say wholly, upheld by the slave trade, I dare not dispute.* Every man in the sugar islands may be convinced that it is so, who will inquire of any African negroes, on their first arrival, concerning the circumstances of their captivity. The assertion, that a great many of these are criminals and convicts, is mockery and insult.’

Our author then repeats an argument which has been often before urged, that the slave trade rescues the wretched Africans from the tyranny of their bloody despots; and then we hear a long account of the king of Dahomy, and are told, that, but for the slave trade, every victorious prince in Africa would be a king of Dahomy, murdering his prisoners, and thatching his palace with their heads.

It is curious, that not only the conclusions which it is the object of this statement to establish, are utterly false, but that almost every particular of the statement itself contains some egregious falsehood. It has, however, some foundation. There is in Africa, a kingdom called Dahomy. There is also in Europe a kingdom called France. Dahomy has had the misfortune of being governed by a cruel tyrant, though his cruelties have been exaggerated to a degree scarcely to be conceived. France can far overmatch the Bossa Ahadie of Dahomy with her Robespierre. Now, to complete the parallel, suppose for a moment, that Europe, not Africa, were the source of supply to a slave trade, by which, from the extended line of our European sea coast, in about equal proportions, were carried off into perpetual slavery seventy or eighty thousand human beings, a part furnished by the maritime, a larger part by the interior districts, every kingdom almost of Europe being supposed to supply its share; what should we think of the logical dexterity of a writer, who should allege, as a decisive argument in favour of this extended traffic, that the Parisians, who would otherwise be left at home, would be left only to the cruel mercies of the guillotine?

The case is even stronger with regard to Dahomy; for it appears that the massacres were not in the least degree diminished by the greatest activity of the slave trade; and that the wars, by which the victims were supplied, owed their origin exclusively to that

that atrocious traffic. The argument for the continuance of the slave trade, grounded on the massacre which would otherwise take place of the slaves which had been brought down to the coast for sale, can scarcely be urged seriously; and even granting it to be well founded, it ought, in all fairness, to be charged to the account of the slave trade, which had created the demand for these wretched victims. At any rate, it would only happen once; for the slave-hunters would cease to catch and bring down for sale this species of game, when it was known there could be no longer any demand for it. But, in truth, the supposition, as it is utterly contrary to common sense, so is it abundantly contradicted by experience; for it clearly appears from Mr Parke, as well as from the testimony of other witnesses, that slaves, when brought down to the coast for sale, are set to work for their own maintenance or for their master's emolument, either when there is no demand for them, or when the price offered for them is deemed inadequate to their value.* Our author's humanity was surely also very willing to be reconciled to the slave trade, when it could admit, as a sufficient plea for its continuance, the occasional famines which take place in Africa, and the impossibility of procuring food, under which the poor natives would find themselves, when the only price they have to give for it, their own bodies, should no longer be accepted in payment. Our author here exults over Mr Wilberforce's short-sighted humanity, and pathetically exclaims, that if you abolish the slave trade, 'there will be no slave chain, no means for great numbers of human beings escaping the dreadful death of hunger.' We rather wonder that it did not occur to our author, first, that we are probably to ascribe to the slave trade that improvidence and want of industry, the sure effects of general insecurity of person and property, which in general are the occasion of the very famines that are here mentioned. In the next place, surely, it is owing to the slave trade that the savage possessors of food, of which, it is to be observed, our author's argument supposes them to have a supply, refuse to part with so much as is necessary to preserve the bare existence of their fellow-creatures, except at the dreadful price of their selling their wives or their children, or their own bodies, into perpetual slavery. Surely nothing but the slave trade could achieve so complete a conquest over the natural sympathies of the human heart, as, in this season of general distress, to prompt these men of practical humanity to turn the temporary wants of those around them into an expedient for embittering the whole duration of their future lives:

* Parke, p. 290. 356. Also *vide* Lieutenant Matthew's evidence in the Privy Council report, art. *Slaves*, Part I.

lives : and nothing, we may add, but the slave trade could so familiarize men with deeds of injustice and cruelty, could have so extinguished, or rather reversed, the natural feelings of the human heart, as to have enabled our author to mention such an act as this, without the utmost extreme of abhorrence and detestation.

Our author, in his selection of popular topics, has not forgotten to enlarge upon the doctrine of those who have maintained, that the incurable barbarism of the negroes showed that they were of a species inferior to our own, intended by the Almighty, or, as persons of this description more commonly express themselves, by *Nature*, to be the helots, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, to the human species. ‘ I am afraid,’ he pathetically exclaims, (how far sincerely, his readers must judge), ‘ I am afraid, the probability of civilizing the negro tribes is very inconsiderable.’ Some of the circumstances which have been already recited, seem not only to prove the falsity of this general position, but evidently to show, that we, the enlightened and more favoured inhabitants of a happier region, are the real authors of that inferiority,—we, who employ our superior powers in barring out from this benighted land the blessings of christianity and the comforts of civilization, and (to use Mr Pitt’s memorable language in the House of Commons) ‘ in keeping down this vast continent in a state of bondage, ignorance and blood.’

Our author has prefaced his account of the state of the slaves in our West Indian islands with a short discussion, wherein he very justly states, that, in estimating the happiness or misery of any class of men, we must consider their ways of thinking and feeling, their inclinations and habits of mind; otherwise we may form very erroneous conclusions, and even render men miserable by our very endeavours to make them happy. For these reasons, says our author, we are not to presume that the negroes in the West Indies are not a happy people; because we ourselves should be miserable in their situation. To them, a state of slavery is no evil. They are used to it at home, as well as to starvation and massacre. In the moderate and easy labour, and plentiful food of the plantations, they find an asylum from hunger and the sword. Such is the substance, nearly the very words, of our author’s statements. We have already shown, that some of the luxuries of the poor negroes’ tables owe their being to the creative powers of his imagination. Fully to discuss all the particulars into which this subject would lead us, would be too long a task. But some circumstances occur to our recollection, which induce us to suspect that his statement, in
genera

general, owes its chief existence to the same inventive faculty. First, it has been deemed, by general consent, to be a pretty fair test of the comfortable or wretched state of any people, that they increase or diminish in number. Now, it is remarkable, that whereas, in Africa, the negroes are represented as being a very prolific and very healthy people, and that, consequently, the negro nations, in general, have an overflowing population, we are told, that in the West Indies, a climate exactly similar to their own, they cannot even keep up their numbers without continual importations. Again, it is also singular that negro slaves, these well-fed, idle, merry beings, who find this state of slavery so congenial with their habits and feelings, whenever, by a long continued course of superior industry, parsimony, and good fortune, they are able to accumulate a sum of money which to them must appear immense wealth, are known to apply it all to the purchase of their freedom; or, when their own lives have been so far advanced as to be scarcely worth redeeming, they buy with it the freedom of a child, or a brother, or a sister. This is the more striking, because the word *freedom* conveys a very false notion of the state into which they pass. A more degraded, unprotected condition, can scarcely indeed be conceived, than that of the free negroes in the West Indies, as is abundantly manifested from the mere perusal of the laws of the several islands. We are therefore naturally led to the conclusion, that the negro slaves, in purchasing their liberty, are influenced, not so much by the anticipated sweets or eminence of the state to which they aspire, as by a sense of the evils of their former condition. This is also the more remarkable, because these slaves being of course men of superior industry and good conduct, of which their attainment of freedom, either by purchase or gift, is a sufficient proof, must naturally be supposed to be those who have smarted the least under the lash of the driver. But, what is more—this perverse misconception of their true happiness has been favoured by the practice of private masters, and even by the laws of the several islands, which remunerate any extraordinary instances of fidelity or good conduct in slaves, by giving them their freedom, as the most valuable recompense they could receive.

If this proof of the negro's estimate of a state of freedom and of slavery, respectively, be not sufficient, we have a *wholesale* argument to the same effect in the incidents of St Domingo. After what has passed so recently in that island, we scarcely could have expected any writer to maintain, that the negroes are so deeply enamoured with their condition of slavery.

As to their being in a state of slavery in their own country, we are often misled by the ambiguities of language; and seldom has there existed a more flagrant instance of this species of deception, than that which is here afforded us. It is true, many of our slaves in the West Indies have been slaves in their own country. But, how different from the West Indian slavery is the state of domestic slavery in Africa! There, they were not an inferior order of beings, marked by the very colour for a degraded race: there, they were members of their master's family; there, they were never worked under the whip: the very existence of a driver is unknown in Africa; 'the master and his slaves working,' as Parke and all other African travellers tell us, 'without any distinction of superiority.' There, the master has no right to sell them, but for a crime, and often not without the intervention of a jury. There is a little incident in Parke's book which throws great light on this subject. It is, where Parke's poor blacksmith, who had served him in the capacity of a domestic slave, is afraid of falling into the hands of the Moors, and, appealing to him for the fidelity of his own services, asks him, 'Have I not served you as if you had been to me a father and a master?' showing, by his use of these terms as synonymous, as clearly as by the most regular induction of reasoning, that, in the African's view, master and slave stand toward each other in a parental and filial relation. But our author, in order to prove that a negro is much happier in the West Indies than in his native land, refers, as to a test beyond all appeal, to an experiment which he says has been often tried (*credat Judeus*), 'that not one of them would return to Negro Land if they were permitted.' Where we are to find the unquestionable testimony by which this fact may be fully ascertained, our author has forgotten to inform us. They must be very ignorant, or very superficial, on whom this averment can have any effect. Even if the fact could be established in one or two individual cases, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the slave's refusal must have proceeded from this apprehension that he might once more become the victim of the slave trade; once more be dragged down in chains to the coast; once more be hurried on shipboard; once more be forced to endure, and what must often be equally effected by compulsion, be also forced to *survive* the horrors of the middle passage? The averment, indeed, requires no confutation; but it was impossible to read this part of our author's work; without calling to mind the testimony of a most respectable witness, Captain Wilson of the Navy, who stated in his evidence, that he had often witnessed the joy expressed by the negro slaves in the West Indies at their funerals, when they rejoiced,

joiced, from a persuasion that their deceased friend had escaped from slavery, and was returning to his native country.

We do not mean, however, by any means to affirm, that even West Indian slavery is often disgraced by gross and wanton acts of direct cruelty. That these occasionally occur, and that the principle of self-interest is an insufficient security against them, is but too true. A slave in the West Indies is of little more value than a horse in this country; and those who see how often a poor brute is here treated with cruelty by his more brutal master, will scarcely require any other proof, that acts, even of extreme barbarity, will but too commonly occur; and indeed, on this head, the evidence delivered in the Committee of the House of Commons, by witnesses of unexceptionable character, is a decisive proof. But this is not the grand evil; and it is to be regretted, that, by insisting so much upon these particular instances of cruelty, some less judicious opponents of the West Indian system have drawn off the eyes of men from the true and principal grievance, and have also incensed some of the better individuals among the planters, who have conceived themselves to be attacked by those who have stigmatized the whole West Indian body with indiscriminate severity. It would be well, however, for the mass of the slaves, if this were the only grievance to be complained of. The grand evils are those which respect the great mass of the negro population; their personal, civil, social, and domestic evils; their excessive labour and insufficient food; perhaps, above all, their being worked under the whip like cattle. The nature of this mode of working the slaves, has been so clearly explained in a passage we have formerly had occasion to quote,* that it is unnecessary to repeat it.

It is one of the great evils of a state of slavery, that the sufferings and privations of slaves are apt to be increased, and their labour aggravated, whenever the master's affairs happen to be embarrassed; and such of our readers as are at all acquainted with West Indian concerns, need scarcely be told that this is the situation of at least nine tenths of the proprietors in the West Indies. But the grand grievance of all, that which to a feeling mind will appear the sum and completion of all the rest, is, that they are sunk almost below the scale of rational creatures, and have become in every respect a base and a degraded race. Let it not be thought that we are specifying rather the feelings, which their situation naturally excites in a British beholder, than those which are suffered by their own minds. In common, we do not pity a fellow creature less for being insensible to his own misery.

P 4

‘ Moody

* Vol. I. p. 218. &c.

‘ Moody madness, laughing wild,
Amid severest woe,’

has been deemed no enviable condition ; and if it be one of the most debasing effects of slavery to render men insensible to the extremity of their own degradation, it is a new way of considering things, to regard this as an alleviation of their wretchedness. But, in truth, a thousand actual sufferings impress on them but too sensibly the miseries of their condition ;—their being unprotected by law, because their evidence against a white man is inadmissible ;—their being liable to daily and hourly injuries and insults. Every one who closely and particularly surveys the picture, will be affected by different circumstances, according to his particular temper and disposition of mind. To us, the most impressive of all its features is the utter contempt which is too generally shewn of their social and domestic feelings, and their being regarded as below instruction ; below the sphere of moral precepts and prohibitions ; below the necessity of observing towards others the ordinary decencies of life, or of having these decencies observed by others towards them. * In this respect, they are reduced almost to the level of brutes, of which their being worked under the whip like cattle (a circumstance ever to be borne in mind), is but one of the many proofs which might be adduced. In truth, the inability the planters allege of keeping up their numbers without importation, is itself a decisive proof of the existence of some evils of great and general operation.

Our author, like many others, acknowledges, that, fifteen or twenty years ago, many abuses prevailed in the West Indies ; but he contends these are now rectified. By the way, it is worthy of remark, that the most respectable of the witnesses who were produced by the West Indians to refute the charges of the abolitionists, asserted roundly, without distinction of time, that no abuses ever had prevailed. But as this assertion, that all the necessary improvements have already taken place, has been often made, it may be proper to notice it. That there are fewer individual instances of cruelty now than formerly, we believe to be true. It is alledged, we hope truly, that an improvement has taken place in the education and manners of the book-keepers or overseers, who are in immediate and continual contact with the slaves, and whose character and temper must therefore have a decisive operation

* *Vide* the evidence of Major-General Tottenham, delivered in the Committee of the House of Commons. *Vide* also the evidence of Captains Wilson, Lloyd, and Smith, of the Royal Navy ; and of the Rev. Mr Davies, Mr Stuart, and Mr Rees, and the Dean of Middleham.

operation one way or other on the treatment they received. The effect of these improvements is manifest on the population. But the *system* continues the same; and it is vain to expect that any thing but abolition can alter it. To expect that any thing material can be done here by acts of assembly, is to know little of the nature of man in general, and less of the state of law in the West Indies. You may prescribe by law some invariable *minimum* of clothes, of food, of labour, and of correction. But how can you enforce such laws, when, if the laws are broken, the evidence of the culprits themselves is the only proof that can be received of the infraction? How can you look into the domestic economy of every plantation?—But if the slave trade should once be abolished, a sense of inteaest, not remote or even doubtful, but direct and palpable, would inforce, under pain of speedy and utter ruin, the good treatment of slaves. This is a principle which would accommodate itself to all situations and circumstances, and change the grand object of attention from the production of sugar to the increase of slaves. And it clearly appears that our West India population is now in such a state as to be susceptible, without injury, of this capital improvement. This was proved by Mr Pitt beyond all possibility of cavil. Taking the very *data* transmitted from the islands themselves, he proved, that whereas the abuses and obstructions to the natural increase, which too generally prevail, would be sufficient to account for a rapidly decreasing population, and even lead you to expect it, the decrease, * which really was considerable a century ago, has been gradually diminishing, till at length there is good reason to believe it has entirely ceased, and that the population fully maintains itself; much more, it appeared, that the labouring strength of the islands could maintain itself; for that lavish use of human labour, which is always found to be attendant on a state of slavery, would render the same numbers capable of more economical distribution, and consequently of more efficient use. †

All

* Would it be believed that, on this most important branch of the subject, our author is either so utterly ignorant, or so thoughtless, that he talks of the importation of slaves correcting the disproportion of males and females, though it is obvious that it is only in the imported negroes that such disproportion can exist; the two sexes being born, in the West Indies as in all other countries in about equal numbers?

† See this subject ably discussed by Mr Canes, a West India planter of thirty years experience, in a pamphlet published by him about two years ago, in which he ably contends, that the slave trade is utterly unnecessary.

All this argument concerning the maintenance of the population, our author has passed over without any notice, although it is obvious that on it entirely depends the determination of the question which he professes to discuss, whether the cultivation of the West Indies can be carried on without continual importations? In this particular, however, he may plead a good precedent; for we remember that the gallant admirals who were brought to the Committee of the House of Commons, to overpower the abolitionists with the weight of their authority, while they positively declared that the abolition would be ruinous to the West Indies, frankly acknowledged that they could give no opinion whether or not it was practicable to keep up a stock of slaves by breeding, on which, however, the former question must evidently turn.

Carelessly as our author appears to have considered the subject of his pamphlet, we cannot suppose him to have absolutely overlooked the Parliamentary debates, which, however inaccurate as records of the speeches of particular individuals, must be presumed to contain the chief arguments which were urged on both sides of the question. In them he must have found Mr Pitt's decisive argument, to prove that the population could be maintained and increased without importations. His passing it by, therefore, utterly unnoticed, is probably not to be ascribed to inadvertency, but to his judicious observance of a direction given by the great master of oratory, in his most celebrated work, that where any argument of an opponent is so strong and unmanageable, as that it cannot be at all successfully refuted, it is best to pass it by in entire silence. Of this silence, however, the abolitionists have a right to claim the benefit, and to infer that the author was silent, only because he was conscious he had nothing in the least satisfactory to say.

In speaking of the value of our West Indian possessions, to which we are naturally led in discussing the policy of the abolition, we ought carefully to distinguish between the benefits we derive from those distant possessions as a maritime nation, and their value merely as affording a field for the profitable employment of national capital. In the former view, we readily allow that their value is extremely great. In the latter, it has been exceedingly overrated by many, whose incorrect and hasty views have led, as usual, to unjust conclusions.

It is not in general understood, that the cultivation of all our islands has been a lottery, wherein the whole has been far from a gainful concern, though great prizes have been obtained by some fortunate adventurers. They who have not examined this subject,

subject, will probably be surprised to hear that in Jamaica, taking the whole island together, the planters' capital, as was stated in 1789 to the Privy Council, by a Committee of the Council of the island, does not yield more than about 4 *per cent.*; and this, it is to be observed, is not obtained by all adventures in about an equal proportion; but as some derive great gains, others are proportional losers. It would be scarcely credible, if it were not decisively proved by the records of a public court, that, in twenty years, from 1760 to 1780, the executions on estates in the Sheriff's court, amounted in number to above eighty thousand, and were to the amount in value of thirty-two and a half millions currency, or about twenty-two and a half millions Sterling. Again, of all the sugar estates in the island at the beginning of the same period of twenty years, nearly one half were, at the end of it, either thrown up as not worth cultivating, or were in the hands of creditors, or mortgagees, or had been sold for their benefit. What temptation, then, prompts to undertakings which in the main, prove so unprofitable? The answer is obvious. Indeed the gambling principle in human nature, which Dr Adam Smith and other writers have so justly noticed, would alone be adequate to the production of the effect. But, in the present instance, there are two peculiar circumstances both of highly powerful operation. *First*, the British merchant's profit from consignments insures a constant disposition to assist adventurers in planting: and, *Secondly*, when, as often happens, there is a glut of slaves in the Jamaica market, as they are an expensive article while they remain unsold, the planter can buy them on a proportionably longer credit. He is tempted therefore to make the purchase, in the hope that, before the time of payment arrives, the slaves will have more than worked out their cost, by the sugars their labours will have brought to market. In like manner, the British merchant trusts, that, before the bills drawn on him become due, the sugars in his hands will meet them. Thus encouraged, the planter buys; often without having made the necessary previous preparations for the slaves, of food, and clothing, and lodging. Meanwhile the slaves must be set to work; and the same cause, the inadequate funds of their master, which curtails their food and abridges their other comforts, causes them to be worked the harder; they sicken and drop off, and perish in what is called *the seasoning*, a mode of death sufficiently important and notorious to have obtained this epithet; a somewhat singular one, considering that the climates of the West Indies and Africa are so much the same.

The picture which has been here drawn is not imaginary,
nor

nor is it new. It was particularly noticed by Mr Long, in his *History of Jamaica*; who forcibly enjoined on the absentee planters the good policy of being satisfied with more moderate crops, and of urging on their resident managers the care and good treatment of the slaves, rather than the utmost possible production of sugar. Farther, as the only effectual means of checking this improvident purchase of slaves, Mr Long recommended that all importations into Jamaica should be strictly prohibited for a few years; referring, in proof of the wisdom of this policy, to the example of an American colony, one of the Carolinas, which, from a state of great embarrassment and distress, had emerged, by means of it, into general prosperity.

It is by the powerful operation of the causes we have now been explaining, that so immense a share of our national capital has been sunk in our Transatlantic empire. For, to speak the truth, the West Indies have now chiefly become the property of the commercial body of the city of London. Our commercial accumulations have found their way to the land, according to Adam Smith's account of their natural tendency; but it is to land, some thousand miles removed from the mother country. Happy would it have been for Great Britain, if a part of the capital had been employed at home, which has thus preternaturally been drawn to the West Indies. Besides that the gain would have been greater in amount, it would have been held by a more secure tenure. Of West Indian riches it is more especially true, that they are apt to make themselves wings, and fly away. It never should be forgotten, that what is expended in the improvement of our own soil, is so much permanently added to the wealth, resources, and population of Great Britain;—it is well digested and well assimilated nutriment, and it adds proportionally to our muscular strength; it is inseparably a part of ourselves; it must share our fortunes; and, in all times and circumstances, contribute to our benefit. How differently circumstanced is that part of our national capital which is invested in the West Indies, where it is not only vulnerable by foreign enemies from without, but it is still more exposed from a fatal principle of weakness within!

Our author, however, has a very short method of discussing the policy of the slave trade. He sums up the value of all the exports and imports, and of all the revenue derived from these; of all the shipping and sailors they employ; and then jumps at once to his conclusion, that all these would be lost by the abolition. He seems utterly to forget that the abolitionists maintain at least the direct contrary; and allege, that while the abolition would produce a gradual increase of our exports to the West Indies, from the

the improving condition of the bulk of their population, our revenue, our imports, our marine dependent on them, would be fixed on a basis far more safe and durable than that on which they now rest. For it is ever to be kept in mind, in considering the question on the grounds of policy, that the alternative is not, whether or not we shall take a step, which some affirm to be big with mischief, while others only maintain that it will be productive of no injury ;—but it is, whether we shall take a step which may perhaps produce some slight inconvenience ; or subject ourselves, by refusing to take it, to great and inevitable calamities ?

The friends of the slave trade cannot be more positive that its termination will be injurious to their interests, than the abolitionists are, that its continuance is every moment threatening them with infallible ruin. The mischiefs, indeed, which they have reason to dread from this ill-omened traffic are innumerable, and especially to our older islands.

With regard to these possessions, there is one danger, in particular, which, if not of so violent a nature, and so abrupt in its operation as some others, is yet even more confidently to be expected ; and, though not so absolutely ruinous, is yet of most serious amount. We allude to the danger of their being ruined by the competition of newer and more prosperous settlements. If the slave trade continue, by far the greater part of it will be carried on, as for some years it has been, for the formation of new settlements on the southern continent of America, where the more fertile soil, the exemption from hurricanes, and the opportunity of feeding the slaves more plentifully, and at a cheaper rate, give the planter such a decided advantage over the proprietor in the old islands, that the latter, who has already suffered severely, will by degrees be all but ruined in the competition. This is a danger from which the abolition alone can deliver him. That measure will give to the present proprietors a sort of monopoly of the market ; and, without precluding all future improvements, or altogether stopping the opening of new lands, it will render those events dependent on the gradual increase of the stock of slaves by natural generation, and lay the foundation of a less rapid, but more wholesome and durable accession of strength.

But the grand danger of all, is that to be apprehended from insurrections ; a danger always formidable, but of which some late events have at once furnished the clearest evidence, and have also most fearfully aggravated both the probability and the amount.

The reality of this danger must, we conceive, be manifest to all eyes, except such as are more conversant with phantoms than realities. Indeed, the dangers to be apprehended from the
immense

immense disproportion between blacks and whites, has been long acknowledged by every considerate mind ; and it was confessed by the West Indians themselves, as long ago as in the beginning of the American war, when the number of the slaves in the West Indies, and consequently the disproportion between blacks and whites, was prodigiously less than it is at this day. It was also long ago declared by Mr Long, that the newly imported negroes were the most prone to insurrections.

What a scene, then, does St Domingo open to our view !—Almost within the visible horizon of our largest island, and in another quarter equally near to our leeward settlements, the negroes are taught but too intelligibly the fatal secret of their own strength. Here also the planters may learn, what our author still continues to deny, the negroes' love of liberty, and the price they are willing to pay for it. It is now too late to talk of negroes being an inferior race of beings. The instructive lesson is there taught us, that these beings who have been spoken of and treated as brutes, can not only feel, but think ; that they can conceive extensive designs, and adopt just means for their execution ; that they can combine their efforts ; that they can concert their measures with prudence, and carry them into act with vigour. The season is critical—not a moment is to be lost. The British Legislature should consider the present as a golden interval, in which an opportunity is yet providentially afforded them of dispelling the gathering storm. If they pause, it will be too late. Let it not be said, that the West Indians themselves can best judge of the reality of the danger, and that they do not greatly regard it. It is nothing new, that they who are most exposed to a great danger are the least aware of it ; that, like the short-sighted inhabitants of Puzzoli, or Terra del Grèco, they alone are insensible to the approaching lava which is about to desolate their dwellings. It happens in this, as in other instances, familiarity with the danger naturally generates insensibility to it ; and the very persons who are most exposed to its evils, are those who are most blind to their reality and magnitude. But the Legislature, as a provident guardian of the whole community, should exercise its watchful superintendence, and take that step which is the natural preliminary to all radical reform and effectual measures for the future safety of the islands.

After settling so clearly the points of the humanity and policy of the slave trade, it was less necessary to say much concerning its justice. On this head, therefore, our author is short, but decisive. He urges, as is usual with those who take the same side,

side, that we are bound, in *justice* to the planters, to their creditors, their mortgagees, and even to the African merchants, to continue the slave trade. That men who can persuade themselves that the slave trade is humane, should have very confused and false notions of the principles of justice, is perfectly natural. In the present instance, they forget, that granting (what however can only be granted for the sake of argument) that we were bound, in justice to the planters and mortgagees, &c. not to let them suffer from the abolition, which can only be even colourably alleged as to those losses which they could not avoid; yet, what principles of justice can prescribe that (to borrow a phrase which was excellently used by Mr Gisborne) we should pay British debts with African blood? Mr Pitt, with that manliness and integrity which belong to his character, distinctly declared, in one of the debates of the last session of Parliament, that if any fair case of unavoidable loss should be made out, he should not be averse to the consideration of it; but the truth is, that the abolition would be to the planters in general a source, not of loss, but of unspeakable gain,—the only measure, in truth, which can shield them from impending ruin.

But our author, towards the close of his work, tells the West Indians that they need not be uneasy. The imagination—that faculty which, throughout the whole of our author's piece, has been most busily at work—can seldom exert itself, except where the mind is at ease. And here, at length, we discover the true secret of our author's composure:—The cause is going down in the world;—neither Mr Pitt nor Mr Fox spoke, in the late debates, with their usual force and earnestness: And in the superior and well-tryed good sense of the House of Lords, the friends of the slave trade have a sure resource. We really imagined, that Mr Wilberforce having, for the first time, carried his bill triumphantly through the House of Commons, his cause was in a more flourishing state than ever; and, that Mr Pitt and Mr Fox were less eloquent than in former discussions, was very naturally accounted for, by the consideration, that the cause stood less in need of their assistance. They both have been a little too long in public life, to be disposed to throw away their eloquence. As to the House of Lords, how far their being less under popular influence, and their being of a more aristocratical spirit than the House of Commons, circumstances which, generally speaking, are productive of practical benefit in a constitutional view, are likewise beneficial in the present instance, is a point on which we will deliver no opinion. Happily, such questions as that of the abolition of the slave trade rarely occur. Legislatures are not constructed

constructed with a view to their determination ; and if the peculiar constitution and temper of the House of Lords should operate unfavourable on this great question, however we might regret the circumstance, we should be very slow in drawing any inferences concerning the general utility of that body. We are disposed, however, to hope, that the decision of the House of Lords will not be unfavourable. The abolition stands on grounds altogether new : it has now become more clearly, what it always should have been considered, a great political question : and even they who were enemies to it on the principles on which it was formerly rested, if they allow, what can scarcely be denied, the new and actually impending dangers which our islands have such just reasons to dread, not only may consistently, but must necessarily support it.

Such, without exaggeration or undue severity, is the work which, under the title of a Defence of the Slave Trade, has been lately circulated among the members of both Houses of Parliament, to inform their understandings, and decide their judgments on this important question. We hope the extreme importance of the subject will excuse to our readers the length at which we have examined this performance. That such a cause as the slave trade should be supported by fiction and misrepresentation, is perfectly suitable and becoming : It is a fair and natural alliance. But we must again admire the courage of the writer, who, even with such an unlimited license in the weapons he was to use, ventured, at this time of day, to engage in such a warfare ; or rather, to speak seriously, we wonder that they who conceive that their interest requires the continuance of the slave trade, should patronize a defence of it, grounded on such facts, and resting on such arguments, as we have now been considering. For we must again remind our readers, that, in Parliament, Mr Wilberforce's most determined opponents have not only conceded to him the injustice and cruelty of the slave trade, but have condemned and reprobated it in terms even stronger than his own. Our author is therefore at war with them, as much as with Mr Wilberforce himself. How is this to be accounted for ? Very easily. In the case of an anonymous writer, we have not that sort of security against mistatements, which we enjoy where any one pleads a cause *in propria persona*. An anonymous writer does not always consider himself as answerable for the accuracy of his allegations and facts ; not have the abolitionists now, for the first time, to complain that, against them, instruments and arts of warfare have been used, which the very same men who resort to them would not have openly employed. Thus, additional weight has been

been claimed for statements and reasonings, on the ground of their proceeding from 'an Old Member of Parliament,' though it afterwards appeared this was only the *nom de guerre* of an author sufficiently in repute for talents and information, but who, in this instance, had the discretion not to annex his name. No cause, however, can on the long-run prosper, which requires the aid of such auxiliaries as these. One author has brought a large body of them into the field; and the abolitionists are, in return, entitled to assume, that if better could have been had, a writer, who appears to be a man of some talents and education, would not have called in their aid. If solid arguments could have been urged against the cause of abolition, our author would have adduced them. We cannot but hope, that this is the last expiring effort of an Opposition which has too long successfully opposed the termination of a traffic, the continuance of which is the foulest blot that has ever stained the conscience and character of a Christian nation.

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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
JANUARY 1805.

No. X.

ART. I. *Travels in China, containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-min-yuen, and on a subsequent Journey through the Country from Peking to Canton; in which it is attempted to appreciate the Rank that this extraordinary Empire may be considered to hold in the Scale of Civilized Nations.* By John Barrow Esq. late private Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and one of his Suite as Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. Illustrated with several Engravings. 4to. London, Cadell & Davies. 1804. pp. 632.

THIS book appears to us to be the most candid and judicious, though not perhaps the most learned or elaborate, account of the Chinese nation that has yet been laid before the public. It is the result, indeed, of the same expedition of which Sir George Staunton has already favoured the world with a copious and intelligent account, and cannot be supposed, therefore, to contain much novelty in point of fact or direct information. But it is of no little consequence, in the case of a country so very remote and inaccessible, to have it in our power to compare the remarks and impressions of two independent and enlightened observers; and it seems to have been the object of Mr Barrow rather to systematise and appreciate the facts of which we were previously in possession, than to add materially to their number by a narrative of the occurrences of which he was himself a spectator. From the title-page, which is copied at the head of this article, it is sufficiently apparent, that Mr Barrow's book is rather to be considered as a moral and political estimate of the Chinese character, than an account of his travels or adventures in their territory; that he conceives the store of facts which has been already collected, to be nearly sufficient to settle our opinions upon those subjects; and that he proposes, now that the public curiosity has been gratified by

an ample narrative of all that has been observed in the country, to point out the conclusions to which these observations should conduct us, and to solve the problems, and reconcile the paradoxes, that have been maintained on the subject of this extraordinary people. With this view, he has allowed such a period to elapse as might serve to wear off the impressions of surprise, admiration, or disappointment, which the novelty of the spectacle was so likely to produce, and has not ventured to lay his speculations before the public, till they were sufficiently matured by reflection and inquiry.

Laudable, however, as all this caution and preparation on Mr Barrow's part unquestionably is, we entertain considerable doubts whether it be possible, even with their assistance, to execute the task he has undertaken in a decisive or satisfactory manner. It is still too soon, we suspect, to form any just estimate of the Chinese. Till we can travel among them without guards, retinue and attendance; till we can speak their language, and read their books; and, finally, till we can domesticate ourselves with a variety of individuals in different conditions of life, it does not seem likely that we shall ever attain any true notion of their character and genius, or be able to appreciate the place which they ought to occupy in the great scale of nations. When it is considered what partial and contradictory representations are daily made by travellers, of the national character and general condition even of those countries which lie in their immediate neighbourhood, and with how many deductions and allowances we must receive the accounts which are given by intelligent individuals, of societies that are accessible to all the world, it will be unnecessary to assign any particular reason for the distrust and suspicion with which we are inclined to view any report of the moral and intellectual condition of the Chinese. We seldom see foreign nations either fully or fairly; and scarcely ever consider what we do see without prejudice or partiality: novelty is sure either to magnify or diminish the objects with which it is associated; and the spectator of strange manners is almost irresistibly tempted either to despise them for differing from his own, or to admire them as something incomparably superior. It is scarcely possible to ascertain the amount of this refraction, or to rectify our first observations in any other way than by repeating them frequently, and by comparing our own conclusions with those of others upon whom the same causes of illusion have operated in an opposite direction. In the case of such a country as China, however, neither of these correctives can be conveniently applied; and all the accounts which we receive must be tinged with prejudices

prejudices which the traveller has no opportunity to remove. In this state of things, it appears to us that we have more need of facts than of reasoning and speculation to guide us in our opinion of this celebrated people; and that it will be necessary to lay a broader basis of knowledge and information, before we can erect any solid structure of philosophy. Judicious as many of Mr Barrow's remarks undoubtedly are, we do not know if they assist us so much in forming a judgment of the Chinese character, as the few original facts that are scattered throughout his performance; and feel assured that we shall receive infinitely more satisfaction from the perusal of that system of Chinese law, of which he gives us reason to expect a translation, than from all the diatribes which philosophers can publish on their present stock of materials.

But though these considerations compel us to receive with diffidence the greater part of Mr Barrow's general conclusions and positions, and to consider most of the points which he discusses as reserved for the determination of a better informed generation, we have great pleasure in saying, that we think the work, in so far as it goes, very sound, judicious, and candid, and that the author appears to have set the example of a sobriety and moderation which has been unaccountably deficient in all former publications on this interesting subject. The merit of the book, however, is rather to be ascribed to the sound good sense and unprejudiced views of the author, than to any extraordinary skill in the arrangement, or diligence in the preparation. The narrative of his adventures in the country is awkwardly interwoven with his general remarks upon the manners of the inhabitants; and almost all his conclusions are founded upon facts that fell under his personal observation, though they are of so general a nature as to require the support of every collateral authority. With whatever suspicion Mr Barrow may regard the accounts of the late Catholic missionaries, we are persuaded that he would have found in some of the earlier narratives a great number of particulars extremely deserving of his attention. We do not mean to object to the size of Mr Barrow's book, and are very far from considering it as tedious; but we do not think it quite fair to fill up so large a proportion of it with the repetition of those narratives which are given with sufficient amplitude in the publication of Sir George Staunton. and are somewhat teased to find a second edition of some very trivial descriptions occupying that space which Mr Barrow might easily have filled with more valuable matter. In a publication of this kind, there was perhaps no necessity for any narrative at all, and certainly no occasion for a detailed account of the

progress of the embassy, the negotiations about obeisances, and the anecdotes about packing furniture and changing lodgings, which are recorded with so much solemnity in the authentic volumes of the minister-plenipotentiary : upon all these important subjects the curiosity of the public was already fully gratified ; and Mr Barrow had nothing to do with the repetition of any statement from which he was not prepared to deduce some new inference.

Before proceeding to any analysis of the publication now before us, it is proper to premise, that Mr Barrow thinks rather meanly of the Chinese ; and that it is the tendency of his book, not only to correct the extravagant exaggerations contained in the writings of the missionaries, and adopted by some of the greatest philosophers of the Continent, but also to lower considerably the more moderate estimate which seems to have been formed of their character by the distinguished persons under whose patronage he himself accomplished this expedition. Upon this point, however, we are so far from quarrelling with Mr Barrow, that we are disposed to make a pretty large deduction even from the good qualities he is inclined to allow them. From all the credible statements, indeed, that have ever fallen under our observation, and from none more than that contained in this publication, we have always been disposed to consider this celebrated people as a mean and semi-barbarous race, distinguished by fewer virtues or accomplishments than most of their neighbours, and remarkable only for their numbers, and their patience and dexterity in the practice of certain mechanical professions. What else indeed do we know with certainty of the Chinese, but their abject submission to a despotism upheld by the sordid terrors of the lash—a government which sentences a first mandarin to be flogged for having given a second mandarin a stripe too few or too many—but the imprisonment and mutilation of their women—but their infanticide and unnatural vices—but their utter and unconquerable ignorance of all the exacter sciences, and all the branches of natural philosophy—but their total incapacity for the fine arts, and the great imperfection of their knowledge in those that are most necessary—but the stupid formalities which incumber their social intercourse—but the singular imperfection of their language, their cowardice, uncleanness, and inhumanity ? To make amends for all this, indeed, we are told of their pottery, their gardens and canals ; and, above all, of their vast multitudes, and the unremitting industry, by which they are precariously subsisted !—The value of all these things will appear, perhaps, in the course of our analysis of Mr Barrow's observations.

The

The first chapter of his book bears the very general title of ‘Preliminary Matter,’ and contains, besides an eulogium upon the work of Sir George Staunton, a kind of supplement to that ingenious author’s vindication of the embassy, and an exposition of the ignorance or unreasonableness of those who have reported its success to have been disproportionate to the cost and preparation. It accomplished, Mr Barrow assures us, all the objects which were in the view of those who projected it, and was received with more distinction than any other European mission that has lately entered that country. He seems to take particular pleasure in contrasting the respectful treatment which the British ambassador uniformly experienced, with the indignities that seem to have been put upon the legates of the Batavian government, who were deputed in the year 1796 to pay their respects to the Emperor, and who set out with the confident expectation of recommending themselves at court by a scrupulous attention to all those particulars in which they understood the English to have been deficient. Instead of gaining any distinction, however, by their unconditional compliance with all the forms of the court, they were treated throughout with the most insulting rudeness and neglect; they were lodged in a stable, and left without fire, and almost without provisions, for the greater part of their stay: they were compelled to prostrate themselves nine times on the earth at receiving the slightest message or present from the Emperor; and were finally dismissed, without being permitted to open their lips on any kind of business, or so much as to see any of the European missionaries, upon whose influence and advice they had relied for many advantages. Mr Barrow concludes this chapter with observing, that, by the rules of the Chinese court of ceremonies, forty days is the period prescribed for the residence of foreign ambassadors at that court; and that unless extraordinary occasions may sometimes cause it to be lengthened, the rule has been very generally adhered to. In proof of this assertion, he annexes a list of the different European embassies which have been sent to China; and observes, that ‘the residence of none of them extended to twice the term fixed by the court of ceremonies, and that two of them did not remain the period allowed.’ The latter part of this sentence is certainly confirmed by the list referred to; but it gives us rather an unfavourable impression of Mr Barrow’s accuracy, when we find, in contradiction to the former part of it, that out of the eight embassies enumerated, one resided ninety-one days, another one hundred and six, and a third no less than one hundred and fourteen. The fact, we think, is of very little consequence; but the contradiction has an awkward effect. The British embassy continued at Peking exactly forty seven days.

The

The next chapter contains the observations suggested to the author in his voyage from the entrance of the Yellow Sea to the mouth of the Pei-ho river in the neighbourhood of Pekin. In endeavouring to account for the exaggerated representations of the Jesuit missionaries, he is led to observe, that China, though by no means comparable to modern Europe, must yet have appeared to have the advantage, in many particulars, to those who visited it in the course of the sixteenth century. At that time Europe was torn to pieces with religious dissensions, and in China the most complete toleration and tranquillity were found to prevail.

‘The horrid massacre of the protestants in Paris had terrified all Europe. China knew nothing of internal commotions, but such as were sometimes occasioned by a partial scarcity of grain. The art of improving vegetables by particular modes of culture, was just beginning to be known in Europe. All China, at that time, was comparatively a garden. When the King of France introduced the luxury of silk stockings, which, about eighteen years afterwards, was adopted by Elizabeth of England, the peasantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in silks from head to foot. At this period, few or none of the little elegancies or conveniencies of life were known in Europe; the ladies’ toilet had few essences to gratify the sense of smell, or to beautify, for a time, the complexion; the scissors, needles, pen-knives, and other little appendages, were then unknown; and rude and ill-polished skewers usurped the place of pins. In China, the ladies had their needlework, their paint-boxes, their trinkets of ivory, of silver in fillagree, of mother-pearl, and of tortoise-shell. Even the calendar, at this time so defective in Europe that Pope Gregory was urged to the bold undertaking of leaping over, or annihilating, ten days, was found to be, in China, a national concern, and the particular care of government. Decimal arithmetic, a new and useful discovery of the seventeenth century in Europe, was the only system of arithmetic in use in China. In a word, when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow; and the man in office enjoyed his silken mattress. One cannot, therefore, be surprised if the impressions made upon these holy men were powerfully felt, or if their descriptions should seem to incline a little towards the marvellous.’ p. 29. 30.

There is some truth, unquestionably, in this passage; and we are no way desirous of taking away any apology which it may be thought to afford for the authors of the relations; but the view which it contains is certainly very partial, and gives an advantage to the Chinese in the comparison, to which they are by no means entitled. The contests that accompanied the Reformation, took their rise from a spirit of philosophy and free inquiry which has never yet dawned upon China. The silken garments

garments of the Chinese peasantry, are no more to be received as proofs of their civilization, than the golden ornaments of the natives of Hispaniola, or the fur covering of the savages about Nootka: and, without taking into account the exquisite productions of the poet and artists that adorned the golden days of Leo, we conceive that the toilette of a lady at the court of Francis or Elizabeth probably displayed as great a variety of luxuries as are yet to be found among their descendants. It would be an insult to the age which produced Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, to compare it with any æra of Chinese science; and it can scarcely be necessary to suggest, that the missionaries could not reasonably entertain any very profound admiration for the genius of that people who were obliged to employ them in correcting that calendar, on the regulation of which all the talents of the government had been previously expended.

In pursuing his course across the Yellow Sea, Mr Barrow is struck with the clumsy and inartificial construction of the Chinese vessels with which it is covered in almost every direction; and informs us, that such are the substantial defects of their naval architecture, that when a ship leaves Canton on a voyage to Batavia, 'it is considered as an equal chance that she will never return; and when the event proves favourable, a general rejoicing takes place among the friends of those who have escaped.' He adds, that ten or twelve thousand persons are reckoned to perish annually by shipwreck from this one port. A Chinese merchant, who, by many years observation, had at length been slowly convinced of the superiority of our vessels, began to construct one on the English model; but he was stopped by the *loope*, or collector of the customs, and severely fined for presuming to adopt the modes of a barbarous people! With such vessels, and such a capacity for improvement, Mr Barrow however thinks it probable, that the Chinese formerly navigated through all the Indian Ocean, and to the eastern coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. He is moreover of opinion, that the Hottentots are of Chinese original, and affirms that this is *unquestionably* the case with the whole natives of Ceylon.

At the port of Chu-san, Mr Barrow had the first specimen of the mild and paternal administration of the Chinese government. Pilots were wanted to conduct the vessel of the ambassador from that place to Tien-Sing; and for this purpose a number of soldiers were dispatched, who soon thrust into the hall a number of miserable looking wretches, who dropped upon their knees, and in that posture were examined as to their qualifications. The greater proportion of them had never set foot aboard of a vessel in their lives; and, out of the whole number, only two could be found

found who had ever made the voyage in question. These persons had quitted the sea for many years, and, being comfortably settled in trade, supplicated, on their knees, that they might not be appointed upon this occasion. It was altogether in vain, however, that they pleaded the ruin their affairs would suffer, and the distress in which their families would be involved. 'Their tears and intrcaties only served,' Mr Barrow assures us, 'to brighten up the countenance of the old governor;' and they were ordered to go aboard in the space of one hour.

At this place, the embassy was surrounded by a vast multitude of the natives, who flocked down in successive crowds to gaze at the strangers all day long.

'The want of curiosity,' says Mr Barrow, 'which has been supposed to form a part of the Chinese character, was not perceived in this instance; but it was that sort of curiosity, which appeared rather to be incited by the desire of looking narrowly at the persons of those *who were to have the honour of being presented to their Great Emperor*, than for the sake of gratifying the eye or the mind by the acquitment of information or new ideas. The vessel, although so very different from their own, was an object of little notice; and although eager to get a transient glance at the passengers, their curiosity was satisfied in a moment, and was generally accompanied with some vague exclamation, in which the words *Tu-whang-lee* occurred; and the main drift of which seemed to imply, "Is this person to appear before our Great Emperor?"' p. 60. 61.

In their run from Chu-san to the mouth of the Pei-ho, the vessels were repeatedly endangered by the obstinacy or ignorance of the Chinese pilots. The embassy was then embarked in barges, and proceeded up the river towards Peking.

'Nothing that could convey the idea of extraordinary wealth or comfort among the inhabitants, or of extraordinary abundance and fertility in the country, (unless in the copious supplies of our provisions), had yet occurred, either at Chu-fan or in the first three days sail up the Pei-ho towards the capital. The land on both sides was low and fiat, and instead of hedge-rows, trenches were dug to mark the boundaries of property. A small proportion only was under cultivation. The greater part appeared to be sour swampy ground, covered with coarse grass, with rushes, and the common reed. There were few trees, except near the villages, which were of mean appearance, the houses generally consisting of mud walls, one story in height, and thatched with straw or rushes. Here and there a solitary cottage intervened, but nothing that bore any resemblance to the residence of a gentleman, or that could even be called a comfortable farm-house. And although villages were numerous, no assemblage of houses were perceived, that properly could be classed under the name of a town, except that of Sec-loo, near the mouth of the river, and Ta-koo, a few miles higher, until we proceeded to the distance of about ninety miles, when we entered the suburbs of the large city of Tien-sing stretching, like London

don on the Thames, for several miles along each bank of the river Peiho. But neither the buildings nor the river would bear any comparison, even with those parts about Redriffe and Wapping. Every thing, in fact, that we had hitherto seen, wore an air of poverty and meanness.' p. 70. 71.

After taking notice of the barbarous practice of compressing and mutilating the feet of the women, and conjecturing that it may have been introduced within the period of a few centuries, Mr Barrow gives the following disgusting account of the personal economy of this refined people.

'The interior wrappers of the ladies' feet are said to be seldom changed, remaining, sometimes, until they can no longer hold together; a custom that conveys no very favourable idea of Chinese cleanliness. This, indeed, forms no part of their character; on the contrary they are what Swift would call a *frowzy* people. The constant change of clean linen, so frequent among the European and to the peasant. A sort of thin coarse silk supplies the place of cotton or linen next the skin, among the upper ranks; but the common people wear a coarse kind of grey cotton cloth. These vestments are more rarely removed for the purpose of washing than for that of being replaced with new ones; and the consequence of such neglect or economy is, as might naturally be supposed, an abundant increase of those vermin to whose production filthiness is found to be most favourable. The highest officers of state made no hesitation of calling their attendants in public to seek their necks for those troublesome animals, which, when caught, they very composedly put between their teeth. They carry no pocket handkerchiefs, but generally blow their noses into small square pieces of paper which some of their attendants have ready prepared for that purpose. Many are not so cleanly, but spit about the rooms, or against the walls, like the French, and they wipe their dirty hands in the sleeves of their gowns. They sleep at night in the same clothes they wear by day. Their bodies are as seldom washed as their articles of dress. They never make use of the bath, neither warm nor cold. Notwithstanding the vast number of rivers and canals, with which every part of the country is intersected, I do not remember to have seen a single group of boys bathing. The men, in the hottest day of summer, make use of warm water for washing the hands and face. They are unacquainted with the use of soap.' p. 76. 77.

The third chapter contains the journey to Peking, and to the palace of Yuen-min-yuen in the neighbourhood, together with a short description of the imperial gardens of Gehol in Tartary. The substance of the details which it includes is to be found in the publication of Sir George Staunton; and though we will not deny that Mr Barrow's narrative is more concise and judicious, we scarcely can admit those improvements as an apology for so extensive a repetition. The great road to the capital lies across
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an open country which appeared to be sandy and ill-cultivated; and the few houses on each side were of mean appearance, being commonly built with mud or half-burnt brick, up to the very gates of Pekin. This city is surrounded by a brick wall rather less than thirty feet in height, but extending round a circumference of nearly fourteen English miles. The buildings within are all so low as to be completely hidden by the wall. They are all constructed on the model of a tent, being supported by slight wooden pillars, and concealed by a dead brick wall to the street: their roofs alone appear above this enclosure, and, being arranged in straight lines throughout the whole city, give it very much the appearance of a vast encampment. On entering the gate, and opening the view of one of the wide streets which traverse the whole breadth of the place, a very busy and novel scene presented itself to the eyes of the strangers. Mr Barrow has given this very lively description of it.

'The multitude of moveable workshops, of tinkers and barbers, cobblers and blacksmiths; the tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables, were exposed for sale, with the wares and merchandise arrayed before the doors, had contracted this spacious street to a narrow road in the middle, just wide enough for two of our little vehicles to pass each other. The cavalcade of officers and soldiers that preceded the embassy, the processions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of strange insignia of their rank and station; different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpses to their graves, and, with squalling music, brides to their husbands; the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary, the wheel-barrow and hand-carts stuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle space in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embassy to pass. All was in motion. The sides of the street were filled with an immense concourse of people, buying and selling and bartering their different commodities. The buz and confused noises of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of those who were crying their wares; the wrangling of others, with every now and then a strange twanging noise like the jarring of a cracked Jew's harp, the barber's signal made by his tweezers, the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every group, could scarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotunda, or by the Jews and old women in Rosemary-Lane. Pedlars with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors, comedians and musicians, left no space unoccupied. The Tartar soldiers, with their whips, kept with difficulty a clear passage for the embassy to move slowly forwards; so slow indeed, that, although we entered the eastern gate at half past nine, it was near twelve before we arrived at the western.' p. 96. 97.

With the exception of the four great streets which lead to the gates, the rest of the city consists of very narrow lanes, and
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every part of it is entirely without pavement, and filled with sand or dust. There are no aqueducts ; and the well water is for the most part intolerably nauseous. There are no drains ; and the disgusting practice of preserving in every house a collection of all substances that may be used as manure, infects the whole precincts with an abominable odour, from which they are never entirely purified. There are no buildings of any considerable antiquity, and very few that rise above the humble level of the ordinary dwellings. These consist of the rice magazines at the angles of the walls, and a conical temple or two, in the style of those described by Colonel Symes in his account of the embassy to Ava.

At the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, where Mr Barrow remained while the ambassador proceeded to the imperial residence at Gehol, he was miserably lodged in the apartments of one of the chief courtiers, which seemed fitter for the habitation of hogs than of human beings ; and here he had the honour of receiving, among other illustrious visitants, the president and chief members of the tribunal of mathematics. These learned gentlemen could not be made to comprehend either the mechanism or the uses of a superb orrery which was among the presents ; and their chief, who was a European, took occasion, in a private interview, to explain the distress to which the heads of the tribunal had lately been subjected. Being entrusted with the construction of the national calendar, and understanding but little of astronomy, they had hitherto availed themselves of the *Connoissances des tems* of Paris, which had been regularly transmitted to them for that purpose from Europe ; but the French revolution having interrupted this intercourse, they found themselves at that moment in a state of deplorable perplexity. One of the gentlemen of the embassy presented them with a set of the London nautical almanacs up to 1800, which they accepted with transport as a most invaluable present.

The grounds of Yuen-min-yuen comprehend a circumference of upwards of ten English miles, and are laid out, so far as Mr Barrow could judge from the little he was permitted to inspect, in a very good taste, though they fall very far short, he observes, of the fanciful and exaggerated descriptions which Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardening. The buildings are all very slight, detached and irregular ; and the greater part of those included within the precincts of the palace are mere hovels, or very mean cottages.

‘ The very dwelling of the Emperor, and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when divested of the gilding and the gaudy colours with which they are daubed, are little superior, and much less solid,

than the barns of a substantial English farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their construction is void of every rule and principle which we are apt to consider as essential to architecture. The principal hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen stood upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the court. A row of large wooden columns surrounding the building supported the projecting roof; and a second row within the first, and corresponding with it (the interstices between the columns being filled up with brick-work to the height of about four feet) served for the walls of the room. The upper part of these walls was a kind of lattice work, covered over with large sheets of oiled paper, and was capable of being thrown entirely open on public occasions. The wooden columns had no capitals, and the only architrave was the horizontal beam that supported the rafters of the roof.' p. 124.

The chapter concludes with a florid description of the park at Gehol, extracted from the journal of Lord Macartney. The scene, according to his Lordship's representation of it, must be truly worthy of admiration; but his Lordship has all the zeal of a dilettante in the art of gardening, and seems to write habitually with a glow and eloquence of description that is very apt to betray the writer unconsciously into exaggeration. He admits, with Mr Barrow, that none of these gardens come up to the fanciful description which Sir William Chambers has obtruded upon us as realities. He admits, too, that 'artificial rocks, and ponds with gold and silver fishes, are perhaps too often introduced; and that the monstrous porcelain figures of lions and tygers usually placed before the pavilions, are displeasing to an European eye;' and he gives, in the following sentence, a general character of their taste and style of gardening, which we find it very difficult to reconcile with the praises he has bestowed on their actual performances.

'There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening and the Chinese; but our excellence seems to be rather in improving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the same effect. It is indifferent to a Chinese where he makes his garden, whether on a spot favoured, or abandoned, by the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them, or compels them to return. *His point is, to change every thing from what he found it, to explode the old fashion of the creation, and introduce novelty in every corner.* If there be a waste, he adorns it with trees; if a dry desert, he waters it with a river, or floats it with a lake. If there be a smooth flat, he varies it with all possible conversions. He undulates the surface, he raises it in hills, scoops it into vallies, and roughens it with rocks. He softens asperities, brings amenity into the wilderness, or animates the tameness of an expanse, by accompanying it with the majesty of a forest.' p. 134. 135.

The next chapter is more valuable. It contains a general sketch

sketch of the state of society in China, and of the manners' and customs of the people.

The first remarkable feature is the seclusion and neglect of the women; and from this one we may judge of the whole physiognomy. The women, in the higher ranks, and in the cities, never appear abroad, and neither eat at the same table, nor sit in the same apartment, with the male part of the family at home. Their time is chiefly spent in smoking tobacco, though some of them embroider brilliant silks into monstrous patterns. Every man buys his wife from her parents without seeing her, and may return her if he do not like her appearance, upon paying a certain forfeit: he may also buy as many as he thinks he can maintain, and may sell into slavery as many as he can convict of any infidelity. Women can inherit no property. Among the peasantry and the lower ranks, their tyranny takes another shape. There, all the heavy labour falls upon the women; and they may often be seen, with an infant on their back, *dragging* the plough and the harrow, while the husband indolently directs it, or idles away his time in gambling and smoking. With all this domestic rigour, they are entirely destitute of decency or purity. There are multitudes of public women in every town; and every family is familiar with vices still more detestable.

This stupid degradation of one sex precludes all domestic society, and cuts off the sources of family affection. The melancholy solemnity of their manners completes its extirpation.

'A cold and ceremonious conduct must be observed on all occasions between the members of the same family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and respect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furnish the conversation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-side, in our own country, are in China buried in silence. Boys, it is true, sometimes mix together in schools; but the stiff and ceremonious behaviour, which constitutes no inconsiderable part of their education, throws a restraint on all the little playful actions incident to their time of life, and completely subdues all spirit of activity and enterprize. A Chinese youth of the higher class is inanimate, formal, and inactive, constantly endeavouring to assume the gravity of years.' p. 142.

As they have no comfort at home, so they have no society abroad. They have not the remotest idea of meeting together for the sake of conversation or amusement. 'A Chinese,' says Mr Barrow, 'when he has finished his daily employment, retires to his solitary apartment.' The young people have no occasional assemblies for the purpose of dancing or other exercises, nor have they any fixed day for religious ceremonies, nor any public or congregational worship. The jealousy of the government
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has given their devotions the same solitary character with all the rest of their existence. They are generally extremely sober; though the higher ranks commonly stupify themselves with opium. On the first day of the new year, and a few succeeding days, indeed, a sort of general holiday is observed, and persons in office give feasts and entertainments.

‘ But even in those feasts (says Mr B.) there is nothing that bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four, sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for a Chinese of good breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should, from sickness or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasures of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains even of his dinner.’ p. 155. 156.

In this penury of all rational entertainments, we cannot be surprised to find the Chinese, like other half-civilized nations, addicted to games of chance. They are, in fact, most desperate gamblers, and are often said to stake their wives and children on the hazard of a die. They not only train cocks and quails to fight, as in Europe, but have discovered a warlike species of locust, with whose prowess in single combat they are prodigiously delighted.

The character of the Chinese, Mr Barrow conjectures to have been originally quiet, passive and timid: but the nature of the government has had the unfortunate effect of rendering them unfeeling and cruel. The degrading punishment of flogging with the bamboo is applied to every individual in the empire, and often with the greatest inhumanity and injustice. We shall quote but two instances from a multitude that might be copied from Mr Barrow.

‘ In our return down the *Pai-ho*, the water being considerably shallower than when we first sailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the vessel were busy until sunrise in the midst of the river, using their endeavours to get her off. The rest of the fleet had proceeded; and the patience of the superintending officer at length being exhausted, he ordered his soldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew; which was accordingly done in a most unmerciful manner; and this was their only reward for the use of the yacht, their time and labour for two days!’ p. 161.

‘ Of the number of persons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, several had posted themselves upon the high projecting stern of an old vessel, which unfortunately breaking down with the weight, the whole group tumbled with the wreck into the canal, just at the moment when the yachts of the embassy were passing. Although numbers of boats were sailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the assistance of those that were struggling in the water. They even seemed not to know that such an accident had happened, nor could the shrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was observed very busily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our vessel to heave to and send the boat to their assistance.’ p. 166-7.

Frequent mention is made of the cruelty shown to the peasants who were put in requisition to carry the baggage; and in the journey of the Dutch embassy, M. Van Braam assures us that eight of them actually expired under their burdens in the course of two nights. On the subject of inhumanity, however, it is sufficient merely to name the detestable practice of Infanticide, which seems to have prevailed from time immemorial in this empire. The Jesuits reckon that there are from two to three thousand infants exposed every year in the streets of Peking alone, besides those that are drowned in a vessel of warm water at the moment of birth, and those that are thrown into the rivers with a gourd tied round their necks to prolong for a short time the certainty of their torment, and the chance of their deliverance. Those that are thrown into the streets of the capital, are tossed into carts in the morning, and thrown all together, whether dead or alive, into a pit without the walls. The missionaries commonly attend at this horrible tomb, to baptise those that remain alive.

‘ I was assured by one of the Christian missionaries, with whom I had daily conversation during a residence of five weeks within the walls of the Emperor’s palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur sauver l’ame*, that such scenes were sometimes exhibited on these occasions as to make the feeling mind shudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and swine are let loose in all the narrow streets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will sometimes necessarily happen to the exposed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.’ p. 169.

No instance of inhumanity so atrocious, we believe, is to be found in the manners of any other people.

The spirit of the people appears to be completely broken by the sordid despotism to which they are subjected. They seldom quarrel, and scarcely ever proceed to blows. ‘ The act of drawing a sword, or presenting a pistol,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘ is
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sufficient to frighten a common Chinese into convulsions; and their warriors shew but few symptoms of bravery.' On the other hand, they have all the vices of a mean and abject character, without having to boast of any one rank or order in the community to whom a more elevated or upright disposition is familiar.

'A Chinese merchant will cheat, whenever an opportunity offers him the means, because he is considered to be incapable of acting honestly; a Chinese peasant will steal whenever he can do it without danger of being detected, because the punishment is only the bamboo, to which he is daily liable; and a Chinese prince, or a prime minister, will extort the property of the subject, and apply it to his private use, whenever he thinks he can do it with impunity. The only check upon the rapacity of men in power is the influence of fear, arising from the possibility of detection: the love of honour, the dread of shame, and a sense of justice, seem to be equally unfelt by the majority of men in office.' p. 179. 180.

These details, and the rest which Mr Barrow has furnished upon the general character and disposition of the people, are extremely interesting, and appear to be stated with the greatest candour; yet we cannot help regretting that he should not have made a little more use of the opportunities he seems to have enjoyed, of exhibiting a living picture of the Chinese taste, genius, and disposition, by a faithful detail of some of their *unofficial* conversations. With the two conductors of the embassy, in particular, he seems to have lived on a footing of considerable intimacy; and there is one private and confidential entertainment which he partook along with them, 'and passed,' as he expresses it, 'a most convivial evening, free from any reserve or restraint,' of which we should have been extremely glad to have contemplated a more extended picture. We should have learned more of their true disposition and manners, and formed a more intimate acquaintance, in short, with the Chinese character, from a short view of that night's conversation, than from all the general descriptions which Mr Barrow can digest, or all the stanzas and moral maxims he can translate.

The fifth chapter relates to the manners and amusements of the court, and to the personal character of the Emperor. It is filled with a long account of the ceremonies observed at the introduction of the ambassador, already very amply detailed by Sir George Staunton, enlarged by a narrative of the reception of the Dutch embassy in 1796; and concludes with a critique on the state of the Chinese stage, and the other entertainments of that polite people.

From this part of the work we can afford to make but few extracts. The following is Mr Barrow's account of the accommodations

modations of the first officers of state in this most superb of the Asiatic monarchies.

‘ The stone or clay floors are indeed sometimes covered with a carpet of English broad-cloth, and the walls papered ; but they have no glass in the windows, no stoves, fire-places, or fire-grates in the rooms ; no sofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glasses ; no book-cases, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor sheets to their beds ; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raised in an alcove, on which are mats or stuffed mattresses, hard pillows or cushions, according to the season of the year ; instead of doors they have usually skreens, made of the fibres of bamboo.

‘ When attending the court, on public occasions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his solitary cell on a small square table crowded with bowls of rice and various stews. Without table-linen or napkins—with-out knife, fork, or spoon ; a pair of small sticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only substitutes for these convenient articles ; placing the bowl under his chin, with these he throws the rice into his mouth, and takes up the pieces of meat in his soup or stews. Having finished his lonely meal, he generally lies down to sleep.’ p. 194—5.

As the Dutch embassy was treated with much less ceremony than the British, so the members of it had a better opportunity of observing that extraordinary combination of real meanness and barbarity, with an affectation of splendour and refinement, which Mr Barrow and Lord Macartney have both remarked as the characteristic of the Chinese court. From a manuscript journal of this other embassy, Mr Barrow has accordingly extracted a variety of passages which tend to place them in a very contemptible light. One great part of the Emperor’s amusement, was to be dragged about in a sort of sledge upon the ice by the hands of his great mandarins, who, in their state dresses, were yoked, some before, and some behind the vehicle, and to see the officers of his court tumble in heaps over each other as they approached the place where he was seated, on a kind of clumsy skate. An eclipse of the moon happening on the fourth of February,

—‘ the Emperor and his mandarins were engaged the whole day in devoutly praying the gods that the moon might not be eaten up by the great dragon that was hovering about her. Recovered from their apprehensions, an entertainment was given the following day, at which the ambassadors were required to be present. After a number of juggling tricks and infantine sports, a pantomime, intended to be an exhibition of the battle of the dragon and the moon, was represented before the full court. In this engagement two or three hundred priests, bearing lanterns suspended at the ends of long sticks, performed a variety of evolutions, dancing and capering about, sometimes over the plain, and then over chairs and tables, affording to his Imperial Majesty and to his courtiers the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.’ p. 216—17.

Their exhibitions of strength, dexterity, &c. are incomparably inferior to the most ordinary representations of the same sort in Europe ; and their drama is the most despicable and inelegant entertainment to which that epithet was ever applied. In one favourite piece, the chief interest depends upon the representation of a woman who has been flayed alive, and who whines about the stage in that elegant dishabille for very nearly half an hour, while a group of dæmons are deliberating on her future destiny. In the course of another tragedy, where a general is represented as setting out on a distant expedition, the spectators are wonderfully pleased to see him get astride upon a long stick, and run two or three times round the stage, till he is supposed to have reached the place of his destination. Their comic representations, Mr Barrow assures us, are so vulgarly indelicate and filthy, as not to be contemplated without the utmost disgust.

‘ In short, the greater part of the amusements of the Chinese are, at the present day, of a nature so very puerile, or so gross and vulgar, that the tricks and the puppet-shews which are occasionally exhibited in a common fair of one of the country towns of England, may be considered as comparatively polished, interesting, and rational. In slight-of-hand, in posture-making, rope-dancing, riding, and athletic exercises, they are much inferior to Europeans ; but in the variety of their fire-works they, perhaps, may carry the palm against the whole world. In every other respect, the amusements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature, neither suited to the affected gravity of the government, nor to the generally supposed state of civilization among the people.’ p. 224-5.

The sixth chapter treats of the Chinese language, literature and arts ; upon all of which, if Mr Barrow has not presented us with any very valuable novelty, he has at least exhibited what is known, in a very clear and masterly manner. His sketch of the *language* is peculiarly neat and luminous, though some of the facts which he confirms, to us appear to be most strange and unaccountable.

The written and the spoken language of China, our readers are probably aware, have no sort of connexion or relation to each other. Their visible characters represent things or ideas directly, without any reference to the sounds by which the same things may sometimes be expressed. Nay, they represent many things which the Chinese at least cannot express by sounds at all. It is a real character, in short, which has nothing to do with words, and might have been invented by a race of beings who were destitute of the faculty of speaking. The only novelty which Mr Barrow has introduced in his account of this extraordinary system, consists in the doubt he has thrown upon the hieroglyphical origin of the Chinese characters. He says that they appear to him to have been from the beginning a set of arbitrary or conventional marks,

marks, and that he has found it impossible to trace the smallest resemblance between any of the radical characters and the visible objects they are employed to represent. Those which have been copied by the Jesuits to illustrate the theory of their graphical origin, he affirms to have been very much distorted from their genuine form, and he exhibits a list of some of the simplest and most elementary characters, which certainly bear no kind of likeness to the objects they denote. Though it would not be difficult perhaps to trace the gradual metamorphosis of picture-writing into such a character as the Chinese actually employ, yet we are rather inclined, upon the whole, to adopt Mr Barrow's view of the subject in this particular case, and to hold, that the written system of this people has not been derived from that origin. We have been led to form this opinion chiefly by three considerations.

1. They have no record nor tradition among them of the use of picture-writing, though their annals make mention of the time when they made use of *quipos* or knotted cords, like the Peruvians, to preserve the memory of events.
2. There is no appearance of hieroglyphical writing on any of their oldest monuments.
- And,
3. The book called the *Ye-king*, admitted to be by far the most ancient relic in China, and indeed so antiquated as now to be perfectly unintelligible, consists altogether of straight lines, arranged in different parallel groups, and contains nothing in the least degree resembling the delineation of visible objects.

This, however, relates rather to the history, than to the actual condition of the Chinese written character. It is clearly and concisely described in the following passage by Mr Barrow.

‘ Certain signs, expressing simple objects or ideas, may be considered as the roots or primitives of this language. These are few in number, not exceeding two hundred and twelve, one of which, or its abbreviation, will be found to compose a part of every character in the language; and may, therefore, be considered as the *key* to the character into which it enters. The eye soon becomes accustomed to fix upon the particular key, or root, of the most complicated characters, in some of which are not fewer than sixty or seventy distinct lines and points. The right line, the curved line, and a point, are the rudiments of all the characters. These, variously combined with one another, have been extended from time to time, as occasion might require, to nearly eighty thousand different characters.

‘ To explain the manner in which their dictionaries are arranged, will serve to convey a correct notion of the nature of this extraordinary language. All the two hundred and twelve roots or keys are drawn fair and distinct on the head of the page, beginning with the most simple, or that which contains the fewest number of lines or points, and proceeding to the most complicated; and on the margins of the page are marked the numeral characters one, two, three, &c. which signify, that

the *root* or *key* at the top will be found to be combined on that page with one, two, three, &c. lines or points. Suppose, for example, a learner should meet with an unknown character, in which he perceives that the simple sign expressing *water* is the *key* or *root*, and that it contains besides this root *six* additional points and lines. He immediately turns over his dictionary to the place where the character *water* stands on the top of the page, and proceeding with his eye directed to the margin until the numeral character *six* occurs, he will soon perceive the one in question; for all the characters in the language belonging to the *root water*, and composed of *six* other lines and points, will follow successively in this place. The name or sound of the character is placed immediately after it, expressed in such others as are supposed to be most familiar; and, in the method made use of for conveying this information, the Chinese have discovered some faint and very imperfect idea of alphabetic writing, by splitting the monosyllabic sound into a dissyllable, and again compressing the dissyllable into a simple sound. One instance will serve to explain this method. Suppose the name of the character under consideration to be *ping*. If no single character be thought sufficiently simple to express the sound *ping*, immediately after it will be placed two well-known characters *pe* and *ing*; but, as every character in the language has a monosyllabic sound, it will readily be concluded, that *pe* and *ing*, when compressed into one syllable, must be pronounced *ping*. After these, the meaning or explanation follows in the clearest and most easy characters that can be employed.' p. 250.---252.

The system upon which these characters are compounded appears to be very ingenious and philosophical; but it is not adhered to, Mr Barrow assures us, with any tolerable degree of attention in the practice of the Chinese. The metaphorical combinations by which they think fit to express an obvious idea, are frequently so capricious and obscure, as to elude all comprehension; and very frequently a character is adopted, without any consideration of the separate significance of its elements, but purely from the supposed beauty of its form, or the facility of its formation.

Thus, says Mr Barrow, it may not be difficult to conceive how the union of the *sun* and *moon* should be employed to denote *brilliance*; but it does not occur so readily why the character for *happiness* should be compounded of the characters signifying a *demon*, the number *one* a *mouth*, and a piece of *cultivated ground*: and it would be still more difficult to explain the principle upon which the character denoting *rank*, or order, should be represented by that signifying *mouth* three times repeated—or why the same character four times repeated, with the addition of the sign of *greatness*, should denote an *instrument* or piece of mechanism.

In this language, Mr Barrow assures us, the chief beauty of composition consists, not so much in the novelty or importance of the meaning which is conveyed, as on the choice of the characters

ters or groups of metaphors which are employed to suggest it. When translated into another language, these metaphors are necessarily dropped; and a passage which delighted the eye of a learned Chinese, from the variety of pleasing and suitable images which the compound characters suggested to him, appears, when the naked meaning is stated in words, to be ridiculously obvious and trifling. This apology for the undeniable futility of all the Chinese compositions that have ever been translated into the European tongues, is certainly very creditable to the ingenuity of those by whom it was suggested; but to us, we will acknowledge it appears by no means satisfactory. In the first place, because, except in poetry or fine writing, a beauty of this kind, even if it were attainable, would be altogether misplaced; and chiefly, because it seems to us perfectly obvious, that if the characters are sufficiently familiar to the reader to enable him to understand them at first sight, he will necessarily overlook and disregard the metaphors or images which they may involve; in the same way as we are unconscious of the figurative origin of almost all the abstract and compounded words which occur in our common conversation. As a specimen of the substance and scope of their most admired compositions, we insert the following translation of a celebrated ode on Tea, composed by one of their most famous poets, and quoted upon almost all the tea-pots in the empire. The reader will judge whether any beauty of diction in the original would entitle it to be ranked with the lyrical compositions of Europe.

“On a slow fire set a tripod, whose colour and texture shew its long use; fill it with clear snow water, boil it as long as would be necessary to turn fish white, and crayfish red; throw it upon the delicate leaves of choice tea in a cup of *good* (a particular sort of porcelain). Let it remain as long as the vapour rises in a cloud, and leaves only a thin mist floating on the surface. At your ease, drink this precious liquor, which will chase away the five causes of trouble. We can taste and feel, but not describe, the state of repose produced by a liquor thus prepared.” p. 280. 281.

Singular, however, as the structure of the written language of this people must be allowed to be, it does not form by any means so extraordinary an object of consideration as their oral or spoken language. This language consists of no more than 341 indeclinable monosyllables, which, by aspirations, accentuations, and other precarious devices, may be increased by a native Chinese to about 1300. This pitiful number of words constitutes the whole vocabulary of this enlightened empire! and such is the wretched penury of significant sounds, that every one of these monosyllables is computed to have about sixty different significations, inasmuch that their discourses are always full of ambiguity, and they are reduced to the most awkward contrivances to avoid the equivocations.

equivocations to which they are continually liable. A Chinese, in his common speech, is often obliged to stop, and draw, in the air, the written character of the idea he wishes to express, and very frequently to annex to the ambiguous monosyllable some synonyme that may help to restrict its meaning.

There is no instance, we believe, on the face of the earth, of a language so extremely imperfect and inartificial; and it is difficult to conceive how any race of people could be so stupid, or so destitute of invention, as to leave it in such a state of poverty. They are said to have eighty thousand written characters, made up of different combinations of two hundred elementary signs; and yet, in their common speech, they are contented with about thirteen hundred ambiguous monosyllables, without ever thinking of increasing their number by composition, or by the invention of any new articulation. The structure of their written language shews that they are fully aware of the effects of combination; and yet they have in no one instance introduced a compound word into their spoken language, or ventured to combine two syllables into the symbol of a complex idea. By what particular infatuation they have been withheld from so obvious an improvement—by what bar they have been obstructed from compounding their words, as well as their written characters, we are utterly unable to comprehend, and no writer, we think, has attempted to explain. The fact, however, appears to be quite undeniable, that they have gone on for many thousand years *pittering* to each other in a jargon which resembles the chuckling of poultry more than the language of men, and have never yet had the sense to put their monosyllables together into articulate words.

A language of this description excludes, of course, all idea of oratory, and serves in part as an apology for the want of conversation. It explains, too, in a satisfactory manner, the reason why the Chinese have never adopted an alphabetical character. By the use of an alphabet we are enabled merely to write what we can speak; but the Chinese cannot speak one sixtieth part of what they can express in writing already, and would sustain a great loss, therefore, in exchanging their present character for one which should only express the few combinations of sound which compose their spoken language. The causes which lead to the improvement and extension of spoken language, appear to be so universal and certain in their operation, that any remarkable failure in the effect strikes us as something preternatural: the inducements, at least, to form a commodious vehicle for the communication of our sentiments in our ordinary intercourse, are obviously so much stronger, and the difficulties so much less, than those which must have occurred in the invention of a written character,

character, that the barren and rude state of speech among the Chinese must always appear as a most astonishing phenomenon, when contrasted with the copiousness and artifice of their written system.

Of the *sciences* and *arts* of the Chinese, it is unnecessary to say any thing. They have no science, and never seem to have had any; and all the arts they possess seem, though they have been practised for some thousands of years, to be still in their infancy. They know nothing of chemistry, mechanics, astronomy, geography, optics, or any branch of natural philosophy. As to the fine arts, Mr Barrow assures us, 'that there is not in the whole empire a statue, a hewn pillar, or a column, that deserves to be mentioned;' and that, with regard to painting, they have not the most distant idea of perspective or keeping; and that the king's draughtsman was utterly unable to make any tolerable representation of a naked human figure. Their architecture is in as miserable a state as their sculpture and painting. All their houses are built in the form of a tent, with a curved roof and wooden pillars. Their temples are constructed almost entirely on the same plan, with two or three roofs, one above another. They have no settled proportion between the length and the diameter of their pillars; and they cover them invariably with a coat of red paint. There does not appear to be a building in the whole empire that has stood 300 years.

Their great wall is a mound of earth, cased on the outside with brick; and remarkable for nothing, but its needless length, and the folly of its builders. Their canal is by far their greatest work: our readers will be glad to peruse Mr Barrow's distinct account of it.

'All the rivers of note in China fall from the high lands of Tartary, which lie to the northward of Thibet, crossing the plains of this empire in their descent to the sea from west to east. The inland navigation, being carried from north to south, cuts these rivers at right angles, the smaller streams of which terminating in it afford a constant supply of water; and the three great rivers, the Lu-ho to the north, the Yellow river towards the middle, and the Yang-tse-kiang to the south, intersecting the canal, carry off the superfluous water to the sea. The former, therefore, are the *feeders*, and the latter the *dischargers*, of the great trunk of the canal. A number of difficulties must have arisen in accommodating the general level of the canal to the several levels of the feeding streams; for, notwithstanding all the favourable circumstances of the face of the country, it has been found necessary in many places to cut down to the depth of sixty or seventy feet below the surface; and, in others, to raise mounds of earth upon lakes and swamps and marshy grounds, of such a length and magnitude, that nothing short of the absolute command over multitudes could have accomplished an undertaking,

dertaking, whose immensity is only exceeded by the great wall. These gigantic embankments are sometimes carried through lakes of several miles in diameter, between which the water is forced up to a height considerably above that of the lake; and in such situations we sometimes observed this enormous aqueduct gliding along at the rate of three miles an hour. Few parts of it are level: in some places it has little or no current; one day we had it setting to the southward at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour, the next to the northward, and frequently on the same day we found it stationary, and running in opposite directions. This balancing of the level was effected by flood-gates thrown across at certain distances to elevate or depress the height of the water a few inches, as might appear to be necessary; and these stoppages are simply planks sliding in grooves, that are cut into the sides of two stone abutments, which in these places contract the canal to the width of about thirty feet. There is not a lock, nor, except these, a single interruption to a continued navigation of six hundred miles.' p. 336. 337.

The excavation of the bed and the construction of the embankments must certainly have been effected with infinite labour; and labour expended for purposes of great utility is always a magnificent object of contemplation: but to us there appears to be little else at all worthy of admiration in this undertaking. There is no genius, we think, in the design, and little contrivance in the execution. In a flat country, intersected by a multitude of rivers running in one direction, it must have been a very obvious suggestion, to join two or three of the largest, by dividing the stream of the intermediate ones. Where there is such abundance of water, and a level so well adapted for navigation, the construction of a canal demands no great exertion of ingenuity. It is only necessary to obstruct the direct course of the streams by a bulwark, and to dig a lateral channel. What is called a canal in China, indeed, is but a river running in a new bed. By the contrivance of locks a great part of the labour bestowed in maintaining the level might have been saved: but it appears clearly from Sir George Staunton's remarks, that the Chinese are entirely ignorant of that useful invention.

Medicine, in China, is at as low an ebb as astronomy. They are utterly ignorant of anatomy, and never think of attempting bloodletting, amputation, or any considerable operation. The whole art of the physician consists in the knowledge of certain herbs, and in the faculty of discovering the nature of all diseases by the pulse; the common quackery of all the orientals. Mr Barrow terminates his observations upon their proficiency in the arts with this remarkable sentence—

‘ Indeed, in selecting the many valuable presents relating to science, their knowledge and learning had been greatly overrated. They had little

little esteem for what they could not comprehend, and specimens of art served only to excite their jealousy, and to wound their pride. Whenever a future embassy shall be sent to Peking, I should recommend articles of gold, silver, and steel, childrens' toys and trinkets, and perhaps a few specimens of Derbyshire spar, with the finest broad-cloth and kerseymeres, in preference to all others; for, in the present state, they are totally incapable of appreciating any thing great or excellent in the arts and sciences.' p. 343.

After this, we really do not see how he could consistently refuse to subscribe to the sentence passed upon them by Sir William Jones in the following passage :

" Their letters," says he, " if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments from which their origin can be traced, even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved." p. 350.

The next chapter is upon the government and the laws. The first is a pure despotism; and as to the second, Mr Barrow professes himself to be somewhat unprepared to give any very full information. To make amends, however, he gives us room to hope that the public will soon be favoured with a faithful translation of their latest and best digested code, of which a copy is now in this country. Meanly as we are disposed to think of the Chinese genius in general, we look forward to this publication with feelings of no common curiosity; and earnestly hope that the translator will meet with such encouragement, as may enable him soon to gratify us with this very curious and authentic document. Such a publication, accompanied with a very few explanatory notes, would give us a much more satisfactory idea of the character and situation of the people, than all the volumes which European genius can compose upon the subject.

In the mean time, we learn that all sentences of death must be ratified by a supreme tribunal at Peking; but that every mandarin may flog all of inferior dignity at discretion; that capital punishments are of rare occurrence; and that treason is punished by forfeiting the lives of all the criminal's descendants to the ninth generation. They do not employ imprisonment or coercive labour as means of reformation; all their punishments which are not capital are included in exile and flagellation. In civil cases, there is no appeal from a lower to a higher jurisdiction; and almost all the officers of justice are open to corruption. Torture is employed to extort confessions; and the governors of provinces are displaced at the pleasure of the Sovereign.

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Although they have famines every four or five years, they have few beggars, and no poor laws. The taxes are never altered or increased: they consist chiefly in a land-tax, and imposts on salt and foreign merchandise; and are supposed to amount in all to about sixty-six millions Sterling. The military establishment of the country amounting to nearly two millions of men, with the vessels of war, &c. is supposed to cost about fifty millions annually, and the civil establishments nearly two; so that about fourteen millions are left for the private expences and establishment of the Emperor. The army is chiefly composed of Tartars, who do not seem to be yet naturalised in the country, and assume, even at court, all those imperious airs of superiority which were natural perhaps at the æra of their original conquest.

The next chapter, with some unhappy pretensions to learning, and some endeavours at theory, contains scarcely any satisfactory information. It treats of the origin of the Chinese, and of their religious ceremonies. With regard to the former, we only learn, that, in Mr Barrow's opinion, the Emperor Ho-shee was Noah, and that the Chinese are of a Tartar breed, distinct from the Hindus or Egyptians. With regard to the latter, our information is still more indistinct and imperfect. There is no state religion; and no intelligible account is given of that which prevails among the populace. They worship heaven and earth; and, above all, the shades of their ancestors. Their worship consists chiefly in burning tapers and perfumed matches; and the sole object of their devotion appears to be to penetrate into the futurities of their present mortal existence: their condition in another world seems to occupy no part of their attention. There are implements of divination, however, in all the temples: if the event be favourable, the inquirer leaves a few pieces of copper on the altar;—if adverse, he reviles the Deity and his lottery with the most irreverent previsions.

The ninth chapter contains the greater part of the journey from Peking to Canton, with Mr Barrow's remarks on the agriculture and population of the empire.

The first part of the journey gave him but an indifferent opinion of either. The country was sandy and barren; and, being no longer crowded with those who had come from a distance to gaze at the strangers on their arrival, 'he was surprised,' he says, 'at the fewness of the inhabitants, as well as at the very ruinous and miserable condition of their cottages.' On the way to Nantchang-too, the canal was led through wastes of morass and uncultivated bog, extending, on both sides of it, beyond the reach of sight, for a course of more than 200 miles. So far from having any idea of draining or cultivating those vast unhealthy deserts, the

the Chinese habitually let out the waste water of the canal upon the swamps below ; and as this canal is in fact the bed of many rivers, it is not at all improbable that the marshes may have been formed in a great measure by this negligent and absurd practice. In the pools and marshes of this dreary country, a few wretched inhabitants subsist themselves by fishing.

Their agriculture, of which their admirers have spoken in terms of such unmeasured admiration, is almost in as low a state as the rest of their economics. Their plough is of a most wretched construction ; and as nine tenths of their cultivators have no cattle to drag it, they could derive no advantage from an improvement in that particular. Almost every spot is laboured with the spade and the hoe.

‘ As horticulturists,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘ they may perhaps be allowed a considerable share of merit ; but, on the great scale of agriculture, they are certainly not to be mentioned with many European nations. They have no knowledge of the modes of improvement practised in the various breeds of cattle ; no instruments for breaking up and preparing waste lands ; no system for draining and reclaiming swamps and morasses ; though that part of the country over which the grand communication is effected between the two extremities of the empire, abounds with lands of this nature, where population is excessive, and where the multitudes of shipping that pass and repass create a never-failing demand for grain and other vegetable products.’ p. 567.

The practice of terracing their mountains (which has long prevailed in Switzerland and other hilly countries) seems to be very rarely resorted to in China. ‘ Upon our route,’ says Mr Barrow, ‘ it occurred only twice, and then on so small a scale as scarcely to deserve notice.’ In their gardens they have no method of forcing by artificial heat or glass covers, and their whole merit consists in working the soil incessantly, and keeping it free from weeds.

‘ Upon the whole, if I might venture to offer an opinion with respect to the merit of the Chinese as agriculturists, I should not hesitate to say that, let as much ground be given to one of their peasants as he and his family can work with the spade, and he will turn that piece of ground to more advantage, and produce from it more sustenance for the use of man, than any European whatsoever would be able to do ; but, let fifty or one hundred acres of the best land in China be given to a farmer, at a mean rent, so far from making out of it the value of three rents, on which our farmers usually calculate, he would scarcely be able to support his family, after paying the expence of labour that would be required to work the farm.’ p. 569. 570.

There are no large farms accordingly, and scarcely any cultivation except in the immediate neighbourhood of the villages. Such is the state of police and morality in this vaunted country, that

no one will live on a detached farm for fear of being plundered by robbers, who prowls about in such formidable bands as sometimes to threaten their most populous cities.

With regard to the population of the country, Mr Barrow has recited the official statement which was delivered at the request of the ambassador, and printed in Sir George Staunton's publication. According to this table, the population of the fifteen old provinces amounts to no less than *three hundred and thirty-three millions* of souls. In order to assist the credibility of this statement, Mr Barrow makes a calculation of the number of square miles contained in these districts, and determines, that the preceding sum of population will allow exactly two hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants for every square mile, or very little more than twice as many as are found on the same space in Great Britain. He then reminds us, that in China no horses are kept for pleasure, and but few for labour; and that, in the southern provinces, two crops are always reaped in a year, while the people are satisfied with a very moderate sustenance, and scarcely ever consume any animal food; and concludes with observing, that, so far from having exceeded its natural limits, 'the population has not yet arrived at a level with the means which the country affords of subsistence.'

Upon a point of fact, where the evidence is confessedly defective, it is vain to dispute. A square mile of land is certainly capable of maintaining two hundred and fifty-six inhabitants; and it is *possible* that the miles which compose the Chinese empire may be peopled in this proportion; but the probabilities, we think, are all against such a supposition. The immense tracts of waste land that approach the capital, and extend along the great channel of communication to the south—the reports made by the earlier missionaries, of still more extensive deserts in the west—and the admitted fact, of the population being mostly accumulated in towns and villages, for fear of the banditti that infest the open country,—are all circumstances which appear to be irreconcilable with the statement exhibited by this author.

Mr Barrow, however, appears to us to have committed a more decided and inexcusable mistake, in representing the actual population of this country as in a state of progressive increase, and as not having yet attained to its natural and salutary limits. The *data* upon which this proposition is founded, are very curious. Father Amiot, he informs us, represents the population of China, as calculated from official documents in 1760, to have been somewhat under two hundred millions; an amount, Mr Barrow observes, which according to a moderate calculation in political arithmetic, would yield at least three hundred and thirty-three millions in 1794. We are afraid that the elements of political arithmetic are not very familiar

liar to Mr Barrow's understanding; otherwise we can scarcely conceive that he should have overlooked the glaring and indisputable symptoms of a redundant and excessive population which appear in almost every page of his own intelligent observations. We need only specify three, the existence of which is indisputable, and which were all as remarkable two hundred years ago as they are at this moment. 1. The miserable, starved, and beggarly condition of the great body of the people, evinced by what was observed of their insufficient diet, and the indiscriminating voracity with which they swallowed all the offal and trash which was thrown away by the travellers: 2. The universal practice of infanticide in all parts of the empire: 3. And, finally, The regular recurrence of desolating famines every three or four years. That a people in this situation should multiply so rapidly as to add one third to their numbers in the space of thirty-five years, may fairly be quoted as one of the most ignorant and absurd suppositions that has ever been hazarded upon subjects of this nature. It is still worse, we think, when Mr Barrow talks of this excessive and miserable population as an object of envy and admiration, and holds up, as a grand and instructive spectacle, this crowd of human creatures, degraded in their minds, and enfeebled in their bodies by the unwholesome compression of their numbers. We think the hold of a slaveship almost as magnificent a spectacle as the swarming provinces of China.

It would be curious to investigate the causes which have produced this wretched excess of population; but our limits will not now permit us to enter into such an inquiry. Two circumstances would obviously contribute to the general effect: 1. The established superstition, which leads them to consider every man as miserable who does not leave a son behind him to make offerings to his shade; and, 2. The permission of infanticide, which prevents poverty from acting as a restraint upon marriage, and yet is not always able to silence the voice of nature, which speaks in behalf of the offspring. The children are begotten with the view of murdering them, if their maintenance threatens to be burdensome; and they are spared by compassion, in spite of the miserable burdens they occasion.

There is nothing in the last chapter that we can recommend to the reader's particular attention. It contains the termination of the journey, and the proceedings at Canton. The maintenance and transportation of the embassy in the country is said to have cost the Emperor upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand pounds: the whole expence to our Government, including the presents, did not exceed eighty thousand.

The great merit of Mr Barrow's book, is the sound good sense and

and candour which distinguish most of his observations. He does not write with much accuracy or elegance, and seems more indebted to the natural strength of his understanding, than to any great labour that has been bestowed on its cultivation. The defects of his philosophical education, indeed, are so glaring, that there are few topics at all connected with those prejudices which can only be dispelled by general and comprehensive reasonings, upon which he does not betray a certain degree of illiberality, which accords ill with the acuteness and fairness of his general remarks. Independently of his strange doctrines about population, upon which he seems to set a very high value, we have several incidental remarks on the oppression and absurdity of poor laws, and on the combination of farmers and corn-dealers to raise the prices of grain. We might perhaps refer to the same principle the puerile and misplaced invectives on the atheism and wickedness of revolutionary France, with which he has chosen to enliven his estimate of the Chinese character. With all these blemishes, however, the work is unquestionably very valuable and interesting, and will contribute not a little to the growing reputation of the author.

ART. II. *The Modern History of Hindostan, comprehending that of the Greek Empire of Bactria, and other great Asiatic Kingdoms bordering on its Western Frontier, commencing at the Period of the death of Alexander, and intended to be brought down to the Close of the Eighteenth Century.* By Thomas Maurice, Author of the *Ancient History of Hindostan and Indian Antiquities*. Vol. I. In Two Parts. 508 pp. 4to. 1802.

THE extensive region of Asia, known at present by the Persian name of Hindûstân, presents so wide a field for inquiry, in every department of human knowledge, that we readily expect, in a literary country like Britain, many attempts to illustrate its ancient and modern history. Advantages which no other nation in Europe possess, render us in a manner responsible to the general commonwealth of letters, for the care which we shall bestow on a subject of such importance. Our conquests and treaties have now subjected to the British sceptre a very considerable part of those celebrated domains which the natives have viewed, from time immemorial, as a scene of the creation of man, and of every improvement, divine or human, which has spread its influence over the face of the earth. Whatever may be thought of the truth of these opinions, their antiquity *seems* to be confirmed by the testimony of ancient foreign writers,—the apparently unchangeable character

character of the Hindû religious system, and its resemblance to the tenets of the earliest nations whose history has descended to our own times. If India, in common with other Asiatic countries, aspires to an extravagant antiquity, it must not be forgotten that the evidence it produces in support of its claims, is far more plausible than that which is advanced by most of its rivals. Its religious doctrines; its mythology and science; its sacred language, nearly forgotten by the very order of men whose interest it is to remember it—necessarily refer us to a period of great antiquity: while its magnificent, but ruined temple, appear to be the work of no superstition more modern than that of Egypt or Assyria.

But, while the wishes of every inquirer are sufficiently excited towards Indian literature, it must still be regretted, that no very important steps have been taken to facilitate the study of it. To say that British industry has been equal at least to that which any other nation would have exerted in the same circumstances, is no compliment to the well-known powers we are acknowledged to possess, when suitable encouragement calls forth their exertion. Many disagreeable obstacles have opposed, and still continue to retard, our progress in Asiatic literature. Leaving out of consideration the peculiar views and qualifications of most of those who go to India, almost every student is subjected to the obvious disadvantage of leaving Europe without any knowledge of the Hindoo languages. If it require a long space of time to become master of Persic, how much more is required to make an ordinary proficiency in Bengalee, Hindostanee, and the other dialects in common use? All these must be acquired in India, as there is no seminary in Britain where they can be tolerably learned. But even these, when attained, are of very little advantage to an Indian antiquary or historian. The Sanscrit, the literary language of that country, the guardian of all its ancient knowledge, has never left the sacred spot beyond the precincts of which Bramins are forbidden to travel, nor made its appearance in Europe under the form of a grammar and dictionary. The dying hand of Sir William Jones has as yet pointed out in vain to his countrymen the labours of Pânini, and the thirty-two native vocabularies, which are probably destined to remain in the sacred original till some unfortunate individual shall translate them into English, and print them at his own expence, to be rewarded with the thanks of the public, and the ruin of his health and fortune.

Such being the state of Indian literature at this moment, it cannot be thought extraordinary to assert, that materials for a complete and finished history of Hindûstan are not in the possession of any writer in Europe. Whatever may be his taste, his know-
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ledge must be limited to the scanty information afforded by European books, compositions in modern Persic, and the few translations from the Sanscrit which have been transmitted from India. It would be less presumptuous for a mere English scholar to undertake to write the history of the Greek or Roman commonwealths, from the scanty abridgements which have been composed for the use of schools, than for the most learned European to write the general history of Hindûstan. Indeed, it must immediately strike every one to whom the comparison is suggested, how much less we know of India than might be collected from the meanest English publications on the subject of Greece and Rome.

The notices of India which may be gathered from the Greek and Latin writers, deserve the name of hints of its existence, rather than materials for its history. The oldest oriental book that mentions it, is that of Esther, written under the Persian empire, from which it probably received a considerable share of the religious and political institutions which have since been moulded into a system by the Boodhists and Bramins. The conquests of Alexander opened India to the Greeks; and the best ancient accounts of it are found in the works of his biographers. A few glimmering lights in the Arabic writers serve to reveal the names of many separate, but powerful states, which flourished in the peninsula, between the first downfall of the Roman empire and the Mahomedan invasion. If the modern history of India be begun at the death of Alexander the Great, the writer will have little else to build upon for the first ten centuries of his undertaking.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Mr Maurice has boldly ventured to give us both an ancient and modern history of Hindostan. Had it been possible for any writer on the western side of the Indus to have rendered these works correspondent with their titles, there is scarcely any present which the literary world ought to have received with greater satisfaction. The undertaking implies such profound knowledge in many languages, of which the names only have arrived in Britain, and such an acquaintance with Asiatic manners and science, that we fear it will be a long time indeed before we can hope to see it accomplished. At present we are rather inclined to commiserate, than to complain, of the failure of Mr Maurice's attempt; and to ascribe it, in a great measure, to the infant state of British knowledge concerning the nations he has chosen to illustrate. Our knowledge of Indian history may afford materials perhaps for some ingenious dissertations; but is still so imperfect, that *he* only can be said to deserve well of that subject who has collected and translated manuscript records, discovered new facts, or given additional information of
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one kind or other in some department of the sciences related to it. Mr Maurice disclaims all pretensions to a knowledge of Sanscrit literature ;—a heavy disqualification in a historian of India, for which the greatest abilities will scarcely compensate. His narratives are all necessarily drawn from the most common sources, and usually presented with little variation in the words of the writers he has consulted. We are led therefore to examine his performance, merely as a piece of composition, and to inquire whether he has arranged the few facts which we possess, in an elegant, judicious, and scientific manner. Such an arrangement is surely within the power of a British writer, and can lend a charm to the most meagre productions in point of fact, sufficient to recommend them to a numerous description of readers.

History, written on a classic model, consists of a relation of important actions and events delivered in language suitable to the subject, and interspersed with statements of the causes, as far as they are known, from which they arose ; the whole being arranged in a manner calculated to delight the mind, by unity of subject, skilful connexion of parts, and accuracy and depth in the occasional reflections and observations. If this description be erroneous or imperfect, we refer our readers to the sources from which the rules of historical composition have been derived,—to the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy ; or the compositions of Voltaire, Robertson, and Hume.

Mr Maurice begins this work at the death of Alexander the Great, because he had discussed the ancient history of Hindostan in a former production. This volume consists of three books ; the first of which contains, in six chapters, the history of India, from the death of Alexander till the commencement of the Mahometan æra ; the second continues the details on the same subject, in three chapters, from the birth of Mahommed to the death of Timûr Beg. The third book carries on the narrative, nearly to the close of the 13th century, making, in four chapters, the second part of the volume ; to both of which parts is affixed a particular preface.

The preface to the first part exhibits the reasons of the author for dating the commencement of the modern history of India at a period so remote as the death of Alexander. They consist altogether in a peculiar notion, that the mythology and legendary history of the Hindoos form by themselves the antient part ; and in the fact of his having treated them in a former work under that title. These reasons, however, are plainly unsatisfactory. The modern history of all nations can only begin at the time which Europeans have agreed upon as a general æra for that purpose ; and it would be as proper to date the modern history of Egypt

from the reign of Ptolemy I. as of India from the decease of Alexander. The first age of what may properly be called the modern history of Hindostan is sufficiently memorable in all respects. It begins with the conquest of Sindetic Hindûstan, by Mahmud of Ghizni, A. D. 1000.

We do not think, however, that it was at all necessary for the writer of this narrative to apologize for launching out into the affairs of Asia in general, as far at least as these are connected with India, though such a discussion can never be received as a substitute for the paucity of facts which are known in the internal history. Such comprehensive views of collateral nations are well known to belong to history as a matter of right, from which it derives a great portion of the intellectual light that beams like a shrine of glory around the relics of departed empires.

The first chapter of the work therefore begins very properly with a general view of the empire, and a brief survey of the character and manners of the people of Hindostan. Both of these are executed in a slight and general way, as the author had given them at large in his other performance. He justly rejects the pretensions to extreme antiquity advanced by the Hindoos, and repeats the first accounts of their brachmans, casts, and rich manufactures found in the Greek authors, who wrote after the fall of the Persian Empire. He seems to contradict the opinions of several learned men, who think that the Hindoos derived their religion from Egypt; and that 'the hieroglyphical representations of the gods of Egypt can be clearly traced in the monstrous figures and images of deity that are at present worshipped in the pagodas of India.' He thinks it far more probable, that — 'the Hindoos were always too proud to borrow any thing of the kind from their neighbours; and that the Egyptians have either appropriated to themselves the antient mythological rites and symbols of India, or (which is the author's favourite doctrine) that both have derived them from one primitive source of Cuthite profanation.' p. 4.

In ages of which no genuine history is preserved, there is perhaps no great harm in allowing ingenious men to place whatever imaginary events they find most agreeable to their fancy. Though it is not impossible, nor indeed, considering the communicative nature of superstition, very improbable, that India received a few general ideas on religion and morals from antient Egypt, yet no satisfactory evidence of either of the opinions stated by Mr Maurice has ever been produced to the world. If he is disposed to believe in the vague similarities and reasonings on these subjects exhibited in his own writings, we may admire his faith, but certainly cannot adopt it. On the topic of primeval Cuthite profanation we are exceedingly distrustful, the more so perhaps,

perhaps, because we recognize in it a well known hypothetical principle, fabricated from the genealogy in the 10th chapter of the first book of Moses, and from a few passages in the Greek poets. It is advanced, we believe, in the most extensive manner in Bryant's *Antient Mythology*; and we have found it in all the books, one or two excepted, which have been written on patriarchal history, for a number of years, on the other side of the Tweed. It is supported by a mass of false etymology from the Hebrew, Coptic, Persic, and sometimes Indian languages, of which the authors often know little more than a few words, and these, especially the Hebrew, in no very accurate shape, having passed through the Hutchinsonian media of Parkhurst and Bates.

Mr Maurice is not contented with a simple belief in the immediate descent of the Hindoos from the Patriarchs, because their country has been fixed on by the learned for the residence of Noah, Shem, Raamah, &c. after the deluge; but he adds the following most remarkable paragraph:

'Except in the single instance of the pure primeval religion of India, which descended from their patriarchal ancestors, having in some memorable instances degenerated into idolatry, no perceivable vicissitude has taken place among this celebrated people, from the commencement of their empire to the present day. Whatever is true of them at one period is equally true of them at another. The laws of the Medes and Persians were not more unalterable. From age to age, from father to son, through a hundred generations, the same uniformity of manners and cast of character prevail; inexterminable by the sword, incorruptible by the vices, and unalterable by the example of their conquerors.'

P. 5.

Whatever may be the other merits of this account, its historical veracity may certainly be disputed, both on the grounds of the well known mutability of all ignorant nations, and of the fact that the Hindoos have no monuments sufficiently ancient to support their fabulous pretensions. If, instead of cutting away a few millions of years from the Hindoo chronology to make it more conformable to the Jewish records, the author had examined the oldest treatise of Hindoo astronomy, or the account recently given of it by Mr Bentley; or if he had reflected that the superstition of Boodh is ten times more general in Asia than that of the modern Bramins, who are known to have expelled it from India at a late period, and to have *forged* many books to maintain the antiquity of their own sect; he would probably have changed the assertions made in this paragraph into something more consistent with reason and history. In the present scarcity of facts, it is improper to hazard any positive opinion upon such a subject. But if the Zend, the ancient language of Persia, be radically the same with the Sanscrit, as Sir William Jones has affirmed it to be; and

if the Sanscrit, according to the opinion of that illustrious philologist, be not the aboriginal language of India, but introduced by some invasion from the north-west, why may it not be supposed that the Medes, about the time they rushed down on the Assyrian empire, took entire possession of the Hindoo peninsula, and carried their language and religion along with them? The Hindoo superstition has a great resemblance to the Magian in its fundamental doctrines. The later additions of the Bramins, though neither few nor excellent, may be traced to circumstances in the country hinted at in the Sanscrit books. The sacred language is only an older form of the common language of the country, such as the Arabic of the Korân is of that of Arabia, and the Geez of that used in Abyssinia. Both these were vernacular, one in the days of Mahomet, A. D. 630, and the other in the year 330. The time when the Sanscrit became obsolete is probably not so remote. We do not say that those considerations should lead the historian to adopt any positive opinion on the points assumed by Mr Maurice; but they might certainly have induced him to suspend his judgement in a matter so liable to be controverted.

We cannot give Mr Maurice credit for the merit which he claims in 'having shewn the entire consonance between the oldest Indian records, respecting the creation, the deluge, and other important events, and the Mosaic, with this only difference, that the former are clothed in the veil of mythology, while the latter are radiant in the lustre of unadorned truth.' With the greatest veneration for that *truth*, we must positively assert, that any mass of fable may be reconciled with Scripture history by the vague and illogical plan of reasoning which Mr Maurice has generally used. It is remarkable indeed, that almost every writer who has made the attempt, seems to have bidden for a time a necessary adieu to all fixed principles, and sobriety of judgement. The exalted understanding of Sir Isaac Newton seems to have deserted him on such an occasion; and his chronology is a melancholy proof of the impossibility of reasoning on a series of ages which have descended to oblivion for ever.

In the last ten pages of this chapter, the author runs over, at considerable length, all the principal historical topics on which he is about to expatiate. As the exciting of a reader's curiosity is no contemptible object of a well written history, we consider this as a very judicious application of the liberty granted to historical writers, of proposing and laying down the plan of their subject, for the sake of method and suitable perspicuity. All the best ancient and modern historians of Europe do this in a few lines, or a short paragraph, with a simple but artful insinuation, of

of the important actions they are about to celebrate. The Asiatic historians indeed follow a different method, at least in the language of their *exordia*; but surely we may question the propriety of transferring the inflated style of the East into these ungenial regions of ours, after mature consideration of the bad effects it has always had on the simple page of truth. A celebrated Arab historian of Timûr begins his narrative with these words: 'Praise be to God, on the loom of whose will and power are woven the webs of historical events, and from the fountain of whose decree, to the abyss of whose might, flow the waves of times and ages.' The historical quill of Mr Maurice vies with the Mahomedan in exhibiting 'the mighty *Pourava*, the Porus of the classics, towering above the rival Princes of India, as well in the gigantic stature of his body, as the comprehensive faculties of his mind, with an army numerous as the locusts, issuing from his renowned capital to give unsuccessful battle to his too powerful antagonist.' (p. 7.) This, as far as any single sentence can give an idea of the style of a writer, is a specimen of the style of Mr Maurice, as displayed in this work. And we leave it, without further observation, to the judgement of his readers.

The second chapter relates the separation of the Indian provinces from the Macedonian empire after the death of Alexander. We are favoured with both the Greek and Indian accounts of Sandracottus or Chandra-gupta, who accomplished that dismemberment. Justin and Arrian are authorities in the one case, and Mr Wilford's translation, in his own words, is copied in the other. The author next proceeds to reconcile the Indian geography of Strabo and Arrian with Sanscrit topography. The expedition of Seleucus against Sandracottus, and their subsequent alliance, are then related; the chapter concluding with an account of the exertions of the Ptolemies to render Egypt the seat of Indian commerce.

On this chapter, which is the first specimen of the narrative, the preceding being devoted to the plan of the work, we are obliged to observe, that the author differs from us very materially in his ideas of historical composition. He considers a minute dissertation on any obscure topic relating to the country, *balancing* of authorities, long verbal quotations, and lumping together of opinions, as good historical writing. We can allow nothing to usurp that title but a series of facts, acknowledged as such, arranged in a perspicuous and elegant manner, related by the writer as the fruits of his own discovery, or of a skilful selection from proper and authentic evidence. If authorities must be quoted, we wish to find them at the foot of the page, or briefly mentioned in the text; and if topics occur requiring a dissertation, we look for it
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at the end of the volume. A series of sesquipedalian words on the immensity of Indian armies, elephants, pagodas, or cities, are a poor compensation for the fatigue and anxiety which we experience, when one authority is presented at variance with another, when a tedious legend is succeeded by a laborious dissertation, or the disordered plunder of some unfortunate antient is tossed at random into the historical heap. Mr Maurice indeed reduces the writers whom he consults to a state of absolute penury, by extorting the minutest trifles he can discover in their possession. As a proof of our assertion, we give the first paragraph of the third chapter entire, that our readers may judge for themselves, of the justice of our observation.

'Sensible of the sterling value of the friendship of Sandracottus, Seleucus appears, during the remainder of their respective lives, diligently to have cultivated, both by his ambassadors, and the mutual interchange of good offices, that pacific disposition which mutual prudence had dictated, and in some degree rendered necessary, to those sovereigns. The conjecture is extremely probable, though I own not absolutely justified, by any thing contained in the few historians of the period, that he continued, at intervals, to receive fresh supplies for his army, of those elephants in which he took so much delight; and that in fact a *tribute*, under the softened name of a present, for the undisturbed possession of the Indian throne, was annually transmitted to the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. Nor was it only by presents of a military nature that Sandracottus cultivated the friendship of Seleucus; for Phylarchus in Athenæus, reports, that he contributed towards the improvement of the voluptuous pleasures of his seraglio by sending him also certain drugs and roots of a nature tending *ad incendendam libidinem*, for thus Bayer, I conceive, justly translates the words *δυναμικὰ στυμνάς*; probably *gengeng*, or the more celebrated *eringo* root.'* p. 52.

Of the importance of this last fact, and the sedulous manner in which Mr Maurice states his authorities with regard to it, the reader may form his judgement at leisure.

Chapter III. contains a miscellaneous account of the reign of Seleucus, of Tagara and Pluthana, cities in the Deccan, of the Greek commerce with Asia, and their great mistakes about the Caspian Sea. It concludes with the deaths of Seleucus and Sandracottus, the son of which last, called by the Greeks Allitrochades, succeeded his father, after whom, excepting a few suspicious notices from Ferishtah, a modern Persic author, Mr Maurice has no knowledge of India for a long period. During the dark ages which precede the Mahommedan invasion, he is not however entirely idle. He hovers round the frontier, and collects, in
two

two industrious chapters, all that can be gleaned from the Greek writers, and from Bayer's history of the Greek sovereigns of Bactria, from Theodotus to Eucratides II., and of the Parthian monarchy from its foundation by Arsaces. Near the end of the fifth chapter, the author relates the fall of the kingdom of Bactria, by the inroads of the Scythians, whom he takes this opportunity of describing; but, in our opinion, with no originality of thought, nor depth of judgement. He draws his information chiefly from Abdulghazi Bahadur's geographical history of the Tatârs, and seems to consider the Tatârs, Calmucs and Mongûls, as three great branches of the same nation. But we are assured by competent authority, that the three Scythian nations of antiquity, the conquerors and founders of so many empires, are the Tatârs, Mongûls and *Mandshours*, each having a language radically distinct from those of its neighbours, and of the second of which the Calmucs are only a subordinate branch. It would have been greatly preferable to the uninteresting fables of Japhet, Yajui and Majuj, and Irghana Khan, had Mr Maurice favoured us with a dissertation on those separate tribes, after having studied the three languages above-mentioned in the various books which have been composed on the subject. Repulsive as the labour may seem, it could not be very formidable to an expert philologist, who would find in these volumes of words the only authentic monuments that remain of Scythian history. In addition to the indistinct outline which Mr Maurice draws of these savages, his colouring is often of the most unskilful kind imaginable. He garnishes his descriptions in general with a profusion of epithet and ornament, which cannot conceal the great scarcity of facts under which the narrative labours. This is most remarkable in the latter part of the sixth chapter, in which the embassies of Porus and Pandion to Augustus, the voluntary death of Zarmanochagas at Athens, the voyage of Jambulus, and a few other detached notices, are the only information we receive on the subject of this history, though a rhetorical contrast of the splendours and characters of Musicanus and Phraotes, two Indian kings, is placed in the vacuum in all the pomp of Asiatic diction. Much of this chapter is employed in reconciling the ancient and modern geography of India, and particularly of Ceylon. As the author can make no progress in this department by his own learning, he rests implicitly on the strength of the writers in the Asiatic Researches, or the opinions of Dr Vincent. It is in this unfortunate chapter that the weakness of European knowledge concerning India appears in the most humiliating form. It is here, likewise, that the judgement of Mr Maurice, in undertaking to write on a subject on which

which he had no information, stands most heavily impeached before the public. This chapter contains the *modern* history of Hindostan, from the century preceding the birth of our Saviour till the Mahommedan æra, A. D. 622; a period of 700 years, in which the author has scarcely been able to relate *seven* insulated facts in the annals of that nation, the name of which appears on his title-page.

This chapter concludes the first book. The first chapter of the second is entirely occupied with an enumeration of the eastern authors 'principally cited in this book, with some account of themselves and their respective works subjoined.' These are Abulfeda, Mirkhond, Al Makin, Ebn Abdollatif, Ulug Beg, Abulpharaj, Abulghazi Bahadur, Ebn Haukal, Al Edrisi, Sherifeddin and Arabshah. De la Croix's History of Gengis Khan, les Relations Anciennes of Renaudot, and Marco Polo's Travels, &c. give supplemental assistance. Mr Maurice presents his readers with the histories of these authors and their writings in the body of the work; a new proof of the scantiness of materials, and of his laxity of judgement, in reckoning the history of the books which treat of a country a part of the history of that country itself. Future historians of Hindostan would on this principle be obliged to insert in their works an account of the life and writings of the author of the Indian Antiquities. The author, however, of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire would not have admitted into his text a single section of Fabricius's Bibliotheca, whatever might have been the obligations he lay under to the writers mentioned in that useful compilation.

The second chapter of the second book begins with a long account of Mahommed and the Arabs, proceeds with their conquest of Persia, and the fall of Yezdegèrd, till they crossed the Oxus and subdued Mawaralnâhr. This country is then described geographically, and a concise history given of the Taherian, Sofarian, and Sammanian dynasties of kings, who reigned in it before the sultans of Gazna. Before commencing the history of the invasion of India by Mahmûd Ghizni, which took place A. D. 1000, the author inserts in his text a verbal translation of Renaudot's Relations Anciennes, or an account of the interior regions of India, by certain Mahommedan travellers, in the ninth century. This he follows up with an extract on the same subject, from the Golden Meadows of Masoudi, an Arabic MS. of the tenth century, supplied by M. de Guignes. These accounts, in the absolute want of native history, are unquestionably very valuable; but it is contrary to all the laws of taste, to place them in the body of the work. They represent India at that period as
divided

divided into many states. The kingdoms of Nehrwalla, Canouge, Rahmi, Haraz and Tafek, are probably only the names of a few of the most considerable Hindoo principalities. The title of Balhara, or king of kings, assumed by the rajah of Nehrwalla, is no proof that he was acknowledged as their superior by all the kings in the peninsula; nor is it probable that all Hindostan was ever subject to one prince, before the Mahommedan invasion.

Mr Maurice pursues his route, along with Mahmud of Gazna, through seas of blood, and over mountains of slain. The invasions of this conqueror were made in the spirit of the Korân and its first disciples, into a country rich beyond description, and entirely exposed to destruction. Our historian describes these successive inroads in his usual manner; that is, with great inequality of style, sometimes inflated, and at other times insufferably mean. He undertakes, in this place, to give the geography of Multan, Tatta, Lahore, Gaur, and other districts conquered by the Mahometans. Instead of doing this in a clear and appropriate manner, he loads the description with many extraneous and undignified circumstances, more resembling a statistical account than an historical sketch. In short, he copies the Ayeen Akbery, word for word. Of one of these districts he gives us, among other things, the following information —

‘In Tattah are various fine fruits, and the mangoes are remarkably good. A small kind of melon grows wild. Here are also a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much esteemed.’ p. 249.

In describing the hideous sack of Tannasar, in a moment of horror, when he has exhausted all his powers of description, he falls into the following indecorous sentence—

‘With respect to the great idol *Jug Soom* himself, in proportion to his pre-eminence he was treated with superior contempt and indignity; and, that not the smallest remnant of his venerated image might exist in Hindostan, to excite anew the flame of idolatrous devotion, he was sent captive to Gazna, where, after being publicly decapitated, his mutilated limbs were scattered through the streets and highways of that populous city, and trampled under the feet of devout Mussulmen.’ p. 260.

This chapter, which contains, besides these accounts, a very unseasonable dissertation on the site of Palibothra, and the Callin-gæ, Gangaridæ, &c. with a story about the poet Firdausi, ends with the death and character of Mahmud, A. D. 1030. Towards the end of the chapter, we have a specimen of the manner in which the historian of Hindustan delineates characters. He sums up that of Mahmud in these words:—

‘Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whose empire extended

tended from the shores of the Caspian to the mouths of the Indus, and from the Tigris to the Ganges.'

The last sentence declares the intention of the author.

—'to detect and expose the sordid baseness of avarice; to ensanguined ambition, to hold up the genuine mirror. This,' he asserts, 'is the duty of a historian at all times, but more particularly of a historian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may so term it, of ravaged Asia — the AGELDAMA of the earth.' p. 304.

The second part presents the reader with the only portion of Indian history in this volume which can justly be called modern. The first and second chapters give a detail of the reigns of the Gaznvide sultans, till the subversion of their throne by Mahommed of Gaur. The rise of the slave Cotbeddin, under the reign of Mahommed, and the extinction of the Gauride dynasty, follow it. The third chapter begins with the taking of Samarcand, by Gengis Khan, and proceeds with his dreadful invasions of India. Mr Maurice, with great *naïveté*, contests his right of describing this hero with the author of 'the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire.'

'It will not fail to be observed,' says he, 'that in one part of this work Mr Gibbon and myself tread nearly the same ground; but it will also be remembered, that the ground in question is properly *mine*, and that Mr Gibbon digressed, when his eloquent pen pourtrayed the martial character and heroic feats of the great Gengis Khan.'

he then explains his reasons for this assertion, and adds,

—'However, the field is immense; and though we meet we do not clash. Both our orbits are rather eccentric, but the grand object of inquiry is never forgotten' Pref. p. iii.

The rest of the third chapter contains the transactions of the family of Cuttub, or rather Cotbeddin, on the throne of Delhi, till its extinction by the Afghan dynasty of the tribe of Chilligi. The last chapter of the book and volume details the history of the Afghan emperors, to Mahmud II., whose throne was overturned by Timûr, in the fourteenth century. In the whole of this second part the materials are much more plentiful than in the first; yet, though it is actually the most interesting portion of the work, Mr Maurice has seldom taken any pains to improve the meagre details of his Asiatic chronicles, or rectify by order, regularity, and purity of language, his collections, to the form of European history.

Having entered so fully into the examination of this performance in the preceding pages, it seems scarcely necessary to make any general estimate of its merits. The 'History of Modern Hindostan' is evidently the work of a well-meaning, virtuous man, who would do every thing in his power to support the cause of truth and morality; but who, in the path he has chosen, can never

never be of any considerable service to either. He seems to be very deficient in the taste and judgment requisite in an historical writer. For a historian of India he is totally unqualified, both on account of the peculiar difficulties of the subject, and his ignorance of the Asiatic languages. If this sentence appear unjust and severe, we must refer our readers to the history itself, and need not fear the unbiassed result of their judgments. When Mr Maurice undertook this work, he ought to have seriously reflected, that he was not seated at his desk to write a history of ancient Greece, or of any other country, of which he had all the information before him, in a series of well printed volumes; but that of a distant region of the world, the history of which was either lost, or locked up in obscure and nearly forgotten languages, which, if he did not study, he could never attain the object of his wishes. The task which he has proposed to himself is not to be executed by a feeble hand; nor can it be thought inglorious to have failed in making the attempt. For before any writer shall favour the literary republic with a history of India worthy of its thanks and approbation, he must explore every scrap of information, in every language which Asia possesses, from the deserts of Tartary, the country of Gangis and Timûr, to the promontories of Malabar and Malacca. He must learn to forswear quotation, and must deliver his opinions in his own name and authority. To these qualifications he must add the taste and philosophy of a Hume or a Robertson. We do not at present discern any of the signs of such an historian; but, in the mean time, it is the business of the learned to collect MSS., form grammars and dictionaries, write dissertations, publish historical researches and records; and wait patiently for his appearance.

ART. III. *Observations on Dr Sturges's Pamphlet respecting Non-Residence of the Clergy.* In a Letter from T. B. Howell, Esq. to Mr Baron Maseres. Second Edition. London. Hatchard. 1803.

Reports of Residence, Residentiary Lectures, and other Matters in the Diocese of London, for the year 1804. By George Somers Clarke D. D. Vicar (constantly residing in the Vicarage) of Great Waltham in Essex, Curate of Black Chapel in the same Parish, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Chelmsford printed. Hurst, London, 1804.

THE practical question of enforcing the residence of the clergy upon their benefices, seems to resolve itself into two branches:

es: *1st*, What is just to the individuals who compose the present body of clergy? And, *2d*, Supposing their claims to be satisfied, what is in itself most expedient? In the discussions which have taken place upon the subject, the first question seems generally to have been overlooked. Residence has been assumed to be a moral duty; and the justice of accumulating new penalties upon those who neglect it, has been inferred with still more precipitation. Though residence may be a moral duty, the neglect of it can scarcely be considered as a crime; and though it may be proper to promote it by every sort of encouragement, we apprehend that it would be both unjust and inexpedient to enforce it by the terror of punishment.

Morality undoubtedly requires that every man should do as much good as is in his power, and that he should place himself in that situation in which he can most benefit society. Yet he would be an hardy politician who would institute a court of inquiry for the purpose of enforcing, by direct penalties, this strict and virtuous principle. In another world, indeed, we are taught to believe that rewards and punishments will be distributed by infallible wisdom, according to a strict computation of our merits or offences: but reward enters not into the code of human jurisprudence; and we hope never to see that day when we shall be forced to account, before an earthly tribunal, for not being quite so wise, so charitable, or so useful, as it was in our power to have been.

But let us illustrate the case in question by a parallel one; we mean, a more frequent residence on their estates by gentlemen of landed property. If the actual residence of the owners of the tithes be so important, what might not be expected, if the owners of the land were resident? We recommend it to those who have been so long in the habit of legislating for the clergy, to deliberate upon a bill of pains and penalties for obliging country gentlemen to live upon their estates. They cannot doubt the beneficial tendency of such an enactment: the improvement of their lands, the improvement of their tenantry in morals, in comfort, and in industry, would be its natural result. We suggest it to them, however, without fear of their being tempted, in their own case, to violate the liberty of individuals; we doubt not but they would consider such a bill to be, in the highest degree, impolitic and unjust.

It will be said that the cases of the landholder and of the clergyman are not similar; that the one occupies his estate on a free and unresisted tenure: that the other holds his benefice on a conditional one,—on the performance of certain duties which are attached to it. We admit that there is a material difference
between

between them, and shall consider it in its proper place. But, as far as the mere question of tenure is considered, the distinction is not great. The landholder has conditions to perform as well as the owner of the tithe. Of the leaseholder and copyholder, various peculiar compliances are required. The freeholder, too, holds his property upon conditions, on the submission to certain laws, the payment of certain taxes, and, indeed, on the personal execution, if required, of certain offices: conditions, the neglect of which may be punished, in some cases by distrain, in others by confiscation. Every individual in the kingdom holds his property on conditions; and the Legislature has a speculative right, limited no doubt, in its exertions by policy and justice, to alter, or to increase them. That right extends to impose conditions upon lay property, as well as upon ecclesiastical; and expediency and justice are as much to be considered by them in the one case as in the other. The clergy, it is said, are an order of men instituted and provided for by the public, for the sake of the public good. So are land-owners. Property itself is such an institution: and if personal residence upon such or such property be expedient, the Legislature has as much natural right to annex it as an obligation to one sort of property as to another.

It is possible, therefore, that, though parochial residence be generally beneficial, yet to enforce it by a bill of pains and penalties *may be* impolitic and unjust. That it would be so to enforce the residence of land-owners, is immediately perceived: and there is no natural difference between the two sorts of lay and of church property, which implies a restriction upon the one, which should not be extended to the other. The conditions of lay tenures may usually be executed by deputy; and in the nature of ecclesiastical property there is no original distinction, in consequence of which the same liberty may not be indulged to the proprietors. If personal service can be required of this class of persons, more justly than of other land owners, it cannot be from the particular nature of their property, but from some particular convention being ingrafted into the tenure on which they hold it; and this convention, even if it exist, ought not to be authenticated or continued, unless the public welfare demand its continuation.

It will be said, however, that such a convention has been made; that personal residence is the conditional tenure on which the clergy hold their benefices; and that, if the existing laws are insufficient to enforce the fulfilment of their engagements, new penalties may be justly levied for the purpose of compelling them. We are called upon, therefore, in the first place, to examine the fact—whether personal residence be, in reality,

a condition on which ecclesiastical property is held. A late act of Parliament has, indeed, greatly altered the terms which were before attached to property of that description; but, as the great body of the English beneficed clergy were possessed of their livings before the date of this statute, we must consider them as fairly bound only by the conditions annexed to their benefices at the time they took them; and that if, by an *ex post facto* law, they are fettered with new restrictions, it is a grievance which ought to be redressed.

When a man becomes possessed of property, he cannot justly be required by the laws to perform more conditions than the law has annexed to such property, or than he has voluntarily promised to observe. When so promised or undertaken, the law, indeed, may justly be employed to enforce the fulfilment of his voluntary contract; but where it has annexed a specific penalty to its violation, his obligation in fact becomes alternative, and he is bound either to submit to that penalty, or to do that, for the neglect of which it is exacted. Where the omission is not in itself of a criminal nature, this seems to be the limit of his responsibility; and if the terms of it have been considered as finally settled for a period of several centuries, there must be an additional hardship in any attempt to aggravate them.

The legal obligation then to residence, is secured by the legal penalty. That penalty, by the statute of Henry VIII., is 10*l.* per month for non-residence; and we are inclined to think, that if there be no obligation to residence beyond that which is contained in this statute, it is in the highest degree oppressive and unjust to inflict severer penalties than this, upon men who have entered into life, and chosen their profession, on the faith of the existing laws. The moral duty of residence is not here the question. Avarice is to the full as immoral as non-residence can be; yet it would be highly unfair to lay a partial tax upon the miser by a per-centage on his heap. It may be very immoral for a clergyman to draw a revenue of 700 or 800*l. per annum* from a country parish, and, without ever thinking of his parishioners, to spend it idly in London, at Tunbridge or at Bath. If, however, he was instituted to his benefice, under the sole restriction of a law which exposed him to a penalty of 120*l. per annum* for non-residence, it is equally unjust, by a new law, to extort from him a penalty of 500 or 600*l.*, as it would be to seize half or two thirds of a miser's capital for the benefit of his country. That constitution may possibly be a bad one, which permits such an alienation of ecclesiastical stipend for the fair purposes of an ecclesiastical establishment, and it may require to be altered or amended: but to preserve the public faith, is a greater object than
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to check partial abuses ; and no general arrangements should be permitted to bear hard upon an individual.

This, however, is not all. The penal statute had almost slept for ages. In its original meaning it was equally severe with the laws against the Papists not long ago abolished, and, like them, would have been considered as obsolete, and abolished also, but for peculiar circumstances attending it. A fine of 10l. per month in the reign of Henry VIII. was more than ten times the value of most benefices : its severity therefore was preposterous ; and it would have been long forgotten, had it not been occasionally, but very rarely, resorted to, in particular and flagrant instances ; sometimes by parishioners, who thought themselves aggrieved, and sometimes for the gratification of personal enmity. Viewed in this light by those who knew of its existence, the abuses of it, which had taken place, were in themselves so rare, its good effects in some few instances so presumable, and, perhaps, the check which it afforded upon an oppressive and negligent minister so expedient, that, modified as its severity was by the change in the value of money, it may have been regarded with indulgence, if not with favour.

Of late, this statute has been noticed by the tribe of informers, as affording a fit opportunity for the exercise of their calling, and has, consequently, been made the instrument of much and indiscriminate oppression. Many persons have suffered from it, who knew not of its existence, or knew not that they were exposed to its operation : many who, though conscious of some informality, which exposed them to its effect, yet presumed that the actual and conscientious performance of their real duties, as it exempted them from censure, would exempt them from punishment, though they were not actually resident in the cottage, or the shed, which was called a parsonage. Instances, indeed, of peculiar and affecting cruelty were every where to be seen, occasioned by the unexpected revival of penalties that were virtually obsolete, and hardships which called aloud for remedy.

The most obvious and natural mode of proceeding in an attempt to remedy the abuses of a law, is either to abolish the law itself, or so to modify it, as to prevent the opportunity of abuse. If the existence of occasional persecutions upon the statute of Henry VIII., usually by parties interested in promoting residence, had been productive of public good, as probably may have been the case, and the abuse complained of was the sudden advantage taken of it by informers, for the purposes of promiscuous and systematic prosecutions, the natural remedy was to shut out informers from the capacity of prosecuting, and, in other respects, to leave the parties in the same situation which they were in before.

It may be observed, however, that the statute of Henry VIII. was radically absurd, and entirely unequal in its operation: that it imposes the same fine upon non-residence on a large benefice, and on a small one,---a sum comparatively trifling, when compared with the revenues of the one,---while it amounts to nearly double the clear income of half the livings in the kingdom: that non-residence on a valuable benefice is thus made punishable only by a tax which it may very easily sustain, while on a small one it is in the power of any person to render it impracticable. All this is unquestionably true: and it is not denied that the fine for non-residence on small preferments ought to be reduced: but the importance of this reduction would be much lessened, if the power of prosecuting were confined to the persons interested in residence. From such we know from experience that they would rarely flow, except in flagrant cases: the adoption of such a plan, at least, would not be exposing any description of the clergy to a new injustice: and we cannot help considering it a *new injustice*, to permit the revival of an unjust law, which was generally understood to be obsolete.

The obligation to residence by the common law arises from the statute of Henry VIII. The original intention of that statute is of no consequence. The clergy, who are become possessed of benefices under its restriction, have nothing to say to the views of Henry in enacting it. They have submitted, indeed to its penalties; but they ought equitably to be considered as having submitted to other penalties than those to which, at the period of choosing their profession, the act was understood efficiently to extend. Now, its efficiency in practice was confined to occasional, but very rare prosecutions in peculiar instances; and those persons who knew that its powers extended farther, believed the exercise of those powers to be almost as unlikely, as those of the statutes against witchcraft or forestalling. So far as it has hitherto been usually acted upon, so far, and no farther, we contend that it might have justly been permitted to operate in future. We contend, therefore, not only that to increase the penalties of that act upon any description of non-resident clergy is partial and oppressive, but that the Legislature was bound to relieve them from the operation of the existing law, so far as common practice had induced a belief of its being antiquated: and this it was bound to do, we conceive, not as a measure of indulgence, but as an act of justice.

It will be said, that though the obligation of the common law extends no farther than to a fine of 10*l.* per month, yet that residence is prescribed by the canon law. Let the canon law take care of itself. Its injunctions in many points are obsolete, and,
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Heaven be praised, not likely to be revived. The obligations which it imposes can only be commensurate to its powers.

But the clergy make a specific promise of residence at the time that they are instituted to their livings ; and that promise they do not perform. The existing laws are insufficient to compel them to its performance ; and therefore a new law may justly be enacted for that purpose. Its object is not to impose new restrictions, but to compel the execution of old engagements, which arise, though not from the injunctions of the law, yet from the particular contract which has been entered into at institution. Undoubtedly, if such a contract be made, it is just that its execution should be enforced : but let us examine into its existence and its nature.

English benefices are chiefly divided into rectories and vicarages, Rectories are the most numerous, and usually the richest. With regard to these, *no promise whatever of residence is made at institution.* On admission to vicarages, indeed, previously to the act 43d Geo. III. cap. 84, an oath of residence was administered to the clerk, with the exception, '*unless dispensed with by the bishop.*' This is the only promise on the subject, which is, in any instance, required of a clergyman. The promise made by vicars cannot, in any degree, affect the rectors ; and thus we have more than half the clergy, and by far the most opulent part of them, at once set quite free from any promise of residence, from any engagement more precise or determinate than the law. Vicars, wherever the bishop calls upon them to reside in consequence of their oath, are, doubtless, bound to its observance ; and if the bishop be deficient in power to compel that observance, we do not object to the *justice* of strengthening his authority. Liberality, indeed, would rather suggest perhaps, that, since the severer discipline, to which one part of the clergy is subject, cannot be extended to their brethren without injustice, it ought to be relaxed even where justice might tolerate its exaction. The inequality between members of the same order would thus be lessened ; and the unreasonableness avoided, of subjecting to stricter observances those persons to whom that profession is the least lucrative. Such, very properly, seems to have been the sentiment of Parliament in the late act, by which this oath is abolished, and vicars placed precisely upon the same footing with rectors, as to the article of residence.

But, however this peculiar obligation may be considered, it is only indirectly the object of the law. It is directly cognizable by the bishop. Where he claims of a vicar the fulfilment of his oath, and meets with a refusal, it may be just to arm him with sufficient power for enforcing the demand. We cannot indeed

believe, that the obligations of an oath are lightly considered by the English clergy, or that such refusals can be so frequent as to constitute an adequate cause of legislative interference; but, at all events, the general question of residence, and the justice of compelling it, is not materially varied by this exception. Rectors are not influenced by it at all; nor yet the great majority of non-resident vicars, whose residence is dispensed with by the diocesan, either virtually or directly.

It has been objected indeed farther, that, at admission to their benefices, the clergy take upon them the cure of the souls of their parishioners; that this cure *implies* personal residence, without which it cannot be properly exerted; and that, therefore, as the cure is a condition of tenure, the residence which it implies must be a condition also.

Now, the cure of souls is undoubtedly a condition of ecclesiastical tenure; and we are not disposed to think lightly of the responsibility which it conveys. We believe also, that the pastoral cure will, in general, be best executed by that shepherd to whom the flock is most immediately committed. That residence, where circumstances permit it, is a moral duty, we neither deny nor doubt. No bread is more dishonourably eaten, than that of him who enters into the sacred order merely for the sake of its emoluments; who takes upon himself the high charge of contributing, so far as may be in his power, to the promotion of virtue and of religion, and thinks that he can fairly transfer to another the duties of this holy character, while he revels himself in idleness or in vice. But the morality of the thing, we must again repeat, is not the question; and laws cannot justly be made to punish a class of individuals for a breach of contract, unless the contract which they are supposed to have violated, be violated, not according to the nice and delicate standard of a scrupulous conscience, but according to the broad and obvious maxims which are followed in interpreting a penal statute.

What then does the law consider as a sufficient discharge of this important trust? Surely we may infer, from its authorizing and protecting the establishment of *curates*, who are merely deputies in their trust, that it cannot consistently be regarded as reprobating the system of deputation. It cannot justly say first to the incumbent—‘If you do not reside, you shall keep a sufficient curate:’ and say again, on receiving his assent to this condition—‘No, that will not do; your duties cannot be properly executed by deputy; you must reside yourself.’

It has been said also, that the beneficed clergyman is richer than the curate; and that the original intent of assigning to him his revenues being that he might use hospitality, this end, whatever
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may be the case as to the cure of souls, is not answered by the substitution of a poorer person in his room. To this we reply, that the original intent is in no degree the question, but only the present object and obligation of the law. When provisions were first settled on the clergy for this purpose, the kingdom was in an unsettled and semi-barbarous state. No regular inns or accommodations existed for travellers or for pilgrims; and their reception came therefore to be considered as, in a great degree, the province of the clergy. Since pilgrimages have ceased, and the increase of security and civilization has produced a more eligible system of accommodation for the use of travellers, the mode of payment, and the mode of appropriation of clerical revenues, has been changed also. To require of the clergy of the nineteenth century the hospitality of the eighth, would be to annihilate their parlours and their libraries, and to degrade their intelligence and manners. It would leave them, indeed, a spacious hearth, and a chimney similar to those of our ancient halls! Their yards would be well stored with wheat; their slaughter-houses with oxen; and their cellars might overflow with ale. Their parsonages, like the Spanish monasteries, by a happy consummation, might then become the resort of innumerable vagabonds, and the nest of incorrigible beggars; but the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants of our isle, would still drive, we believe, to the George, or to the Thistle.

It is expedient, doubtless, that the income drawn by clergymen from country parishes, should be expended by them in the country. They are usually men of education and of intelligence, and, in the present general dereliction of their estates by gentlemen of landed property, the expenditure of the income of a moderate living in a country parish, by a moral and judicious resident, may be of peculiar benefit. This, with other considerations, may have its weight in the future regulation of the clerical order. The residence of a rich rector is likely to be more useful than that of a poor curate. But if the non-resident on his own living perform elsewhere, as is usually the case, the duties of the clerical office (and perhaps the curate whom he employs is in a similar predicament), who sees not that, by a reciprocity of this description, the convenience of individuals is consulted; and that, though the clergyman's income be not expended precisely on the spot from which it is drawn, yet that it is expended elsewhere in a similar manner to what would have been practised there, varying in the individuals to whom it is paid, but as a national object not varying at all, either in the mode or the extent of its application?

We have stated what we think to be due of right to the exist-

ing body of the clergy. We shall now inquire what conduct, those rights being preserved, it is politically expedient to pursue towards the order? It is plain that the two questions are entirely distinct. The church revenues are assigned by the Legislature to the clergy for the performance of certain duties: and though men, who have adopted a profession, and become possessed of property under the existing laws, cannot justly be subjected to new obligations, yet such obligations may still, with sufficient justice, be imposed upon all persons who may hereafter enter into the same profession, with a knowledge of its increased restrictions; so that, provided all the rights and interests of individuals, and the privileges of its present members, be preserved, there is no restriction in legislating for the order, but that of political expediency.

Now, the revival of the statute of Henry is, we think, not only unjust for the present, but impolitic for the future. It has been seen that its pressure is extremely unequal. Its penalty amounts to only the eighth or tenth part of some livings: it is twice the value of half the benefices in the kingdom. If a statute of penalties must be enacted, it seems but fair that the greater proportional fine should be levied upon the benefice of greater value. But, before we speak of the means of enforcing residence, let us examine the possibility. Half the benefices in the kingdom are under 6*l.* *per annum*, many under 2*l.* What law can require a man upon such an income to provide even the necessaries of life for himself and family, and to maintain in any degree the appearance of a gentleman? What equitable law would drive such a man from a curacy, much superior perhaps in value to his living, or from a situation which, from habit or from circumstances, may be favourable to that rigid economy which is necessary to his subsistence? The cure of his living, meanwhile, may probably be administered, at the salary of half its income, by the rector, or the vicar, or the curate of an adjoining parish of equally trifling value, who, while he thus helps to improve the scanty revenue of his neighbour, derives equal benefit to his own. Such, we believe, is very generally the state of non-residence on livings of inconsiderable value; and, if it be not without its inconveniences, yet we see not how it can be ameliorated, unless the incomes of the inferior clergy be first increased.

If, in these circumstances, to compel residence would be inexpedient, the unrestricted revival of the statute of Henry VIII. must be given up. On very large livings, its revival might not prove compulsory; but the license which it would give here, is as objectionable as its indiscriminating severity is in other instances. There are few clergymen who would not rather reside, than submit to the regular defalcation of 12*l.* *per annum* to be paid to common informers. If any persons, however, should be willing,
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rather than reside, to subject themselves to this penalty, they are those whose benefices are the most lucrative: and surely, if non-residence is in any degree to be optional, it should be least so with those persons who derive the largest revenues from the church. In those livings, the profits of which may be considered as moderate, and as being fairly adequate to the proper support of an ecclesiastic, the penalty inflicted by this statute may in effect be considered equally compulsory as it is respecting smaller benefices. No clergyman of from 200*l.* to 500*l.* *per annum* can afford to give up so large a proportion of his income; and, if this statute be revived, he *must* reside: he would else sink a step or two in the gradation of society and his order; and this no man is willing to do, in any alternative whatever.

In considering the claims of the present body of the clergy, we have not attempted to deny the immorality of non-residence: we have even argued as if it were likely to be practised to a general and flagrant extent. We have so argued from the conviction, that if, even on that supposition, compulsory statutes concerning residence be unjust, they must be much more so wherever non-residence is morally excusable or unjustifiable. For the real state of the fact, we refer to the common situation of the English clergy. The great portion of benefices is in the patronage of the crown, of the bishops, of ecclesiastical dignitaries and corporations, and of opulent individuals. The candidates for these prizes are usually men, who from an early age have devoted themselves to the church as a profession, have entered it as curates, and risen to preferment by various interests and merits. As curates, they probably have resided in their native counties. Their lives are not particularly active; and habit strengthens in them, far more than in men who have been thrown into more varied situations, that predilection for their own home and neighbourhood, which is natural to all. Marriage, too, or attachments which have marriage for their object, add new links to the chain which binds them; and, occupied in this mode of life, and with these feelings, they are presented to their benefices. *Where* the benefice may be situated, is a matter of chance. A man who expects provision from the Crown, is equally likely to be preferred in Devonshire or in Cumberland. The private patron of a Warwickshire divine may possess advowsons in Lincolnshire or in Kent. Such being the case, loth to shake off those social attachments, and local partialities, which have bound themselves fast round him, he retains his former curacy in his native county, and provides, in person, for the due care of his living by a regular and legally authorised substitute. Such is but a fair picture of English non-residence. The absolute dereliction of the clerical office

is comparatively rare. When a man is not resident on his own living, he is commonly curate to another. We do not dispute, that, where other considerations are equal, it is better that a clergyman should execute the duties of his own parish, than that he should entrust them to another. He is connected with his parishioners by a more permanent interest; and, from the natural effect of human motives, is more likely to exert himself in promoting their various interests, than a man whose connexion with them is only temporary or precarious. Residence, therefore, we think, ought certainly to be encouraged by promoting the building or the maintenance of residence-houses, and by every indirect inducement which can be held out by public or private patronage. Farther than this it might possibly be injudicious to advance. The public would actually lose more by that violent eradication of the most amiable and useful feelings which bind a man to his native soil, than they could gain by the substitution of a resident incumbent in the place of a resident curate. The inducements to residence are already extremely powerful. There is a natural charm annexed to property of every kind, which generally prompts men to attach themselves to it even at manifest inconvenience. The superior consequence, too, which a man enjoys within the sphere and influence of his property, is always a strong tie to residence upon it; and, with regard to the clergy, whose receipts, in case of non-residence, are almost always greatly inadequate to the real value of their tithes, pecuniary motives to such residence are far from being wanting.

Such being the case, we suspect that there is no want of direct obligations to personal residence. Indirect encouragements may fairly and usefully be given. But, where these are not sufficient, we are inclined to think, that the partial evil which might result from harassing and disturbing the individual, might be more than enough to counterbalance the public good which his residence might produce.

It may be right to enact new regulations for the better care of parochial benefices. In very small livings, we do not indeed see how this can be effected; but, on large and competent ones, something may be done. Where the living is sufficient to make such a restriction just, it may be made a condition of non-residence to the incumbent, that, in the case of his own absence, a resident curate should be maintained. If it should be thought necessary to guard against the abuses which sometimes, though but rarely, occur, it might be added, as a farther restriction, that a man who did not execute clerical offices in his own parish, should still be obliged to execute them elsewhere. He might be permitted to be non-resident, though not permitted to be idle. With regard

regard to the rest, let adequate houses of residence be provided, and the miserable pittance, which is the portion of the inferior clergy, be increased by a consolidation of small livings; an object which, perhaps, might easily be accomplished by gradual operation; and then the clergy will reside in sufficient numbers, without the compulsion of penalties.

We are sorry to observe, that the opinion of the Legislature has been very different. By the act which was passed last year, prosecutions, by information, of non-residents are still permitted; but the fine is varied proportionally to the value of the living. Absence of the incumbent for three months, at one or several times during the same year, is permitted without his incurring any penalty. Where his absence exceeds three months, and is less than six, the fine to which the absentee is liable, is one third of the clear income of his living: absence for more than six months, and not exceeding eight, one half: for more than eight months, two thirds: for the whole year, three fourths of such annual income. A power of proceeding summarily is vested in the bishops, who, if their *monitions* to residence are neglected, have the right, after a certain period, of declaring the benefice to be absolutely void, and of calling upon the patron to present another clerk. Numerous exceptions, however, are made, of offices or employments, which exempt the beneficed clergy who exercise them, from the necessity of residence. Numerous other cases are particularized, in which a power of granting licenses for non-residence, to be in force for two years from the time of their being granted, is assigned to the diocesan. A right of appeal to the archbishop is also given, if, in case of a refusal, the applicant shall think himself aggrieved. As some instances, too, may naturally be supposed likely to occur, which may convey an equitable excuse for non-residence, but may be so delicately or particularly circumstanced, that they cannot be specified or provided for by written laws, an additional clause grants power to the bishop, in any case whatever, which shall seem worthy to him of such special interference, to give an extraordinary licence for non-residence; and with the reserve, that the licence thus granted shall be countersigned by the archbishop, and approved by the Privy-Council.

By this bill of unusual complexity, the penalties on non-resident incumbents of valuable benefices are increased in a very heavy degree. Our opinion of the justice of this measure may be collected from our former observations. The penalties are reduced to the non-residents on smaller livings, but are still so heavy; as absolutely to compel residence in all instances, except those where the parties may be exempted from them by the ex-
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press stipulation of the act, or the licence of the bishop. A measure is little likely to be expedient, into which so much complication must enter, to make it in any degree compatible with justice. In a bill relating to non-residence, a specific line must certainly be drawn, to distinguish precisely what time or degree of absence from a benefice, is, in the eye of the law, to be deemed non-residence. This line, by the late act, is fixed at three months; a period, *communibus annis*, perhaps fully adequate to the reasonable occasions which may induce a clergyman's absence from his parish. But cases, however, may be suggested, in which a man, whose usual absence from his benefice does not exceed half the time thus permitted, may reasonably wish that his liberty had been less confined. Business or literature may summon him to the metropolis: family connections, or the call of friendship, may urge him to visit a distant county. Business frequently cannot be interrupted; and the heavy expences of travelling ought not to be accumulated. If the bill must be compulsory, its object, we are to suppose, is to compel a *bona fide* residence, and to leave to individuals the utmost liberty that is consistent with the attainment of the object. This, we believe, would have been as well accomplished, if six months absence had been permitted, instead of three. The clergy are not so opulent, that they can afford to keep up a permanent establishment distinct from their parochial residence: they cannot systematically avail themselves, upon their moderate or scanty incomes, of the liberty which would thus be allowed them. Where they must reside one half of the year, in consequence of the residence bill, their circumstances would oblige them to reside the other; and if six months absence, instead of three months, had been permitted, we think that the permission would in general only have been acted upon, in instances which the liberal advocates for residence would have thought worthy of dispensation.

Restrictions, too, are laid on farming; from an apprehension, we presume, lest the sacerdotal character should be degraded: a compliment of a singular nature to the noblemen and opulent landholders of our age, who have distinguished themselves by their patronage of agriculture! But the elevated rank and ample fortunes of these liberal agriculturists secure them from the mean and sordid manners of those who are merely farmers. And do the clergy deserve the imputation of being sunk below their level, by an illiberal attention to similar objects? Individuals among them may be rustic, or may be sordid: as a body, no assertion can be more groundless: and those among them who may pay too exclusive an attention to the plough, will not be likely to improve in their manners, or to benefit their country
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by more useful avocations, if they are restricted from engrafting this simple and not illiberal employment on the immediate duties of their office. But the clergy, who exercise the sacred function, are not the only persons who are subjected to these restrictions. For certain actions, which relate to the detail of agriculture, the penalties of the statute of Henry VIII. are authenticated and revived, touching all persons, whether curates or without cure, whether beneficed or not beneficed, who have once experienced the mystic die of ordination. The character of the order may certainly be, in some degree, affected by the conduct of all its members, supernumeraries, or in actual service; but we need only refer to the strange opinions not long ago avowed in an honourable assembly, on the subject of sacerdotal indelibility, to be convinced that it has been greatly influenced by the same singular persuasion, in its latter deliberations upon other claims, and extinction of other franchises belonging to the same body. *

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* The supposed indelibility of the sacred character, which seems to have had so much influence of late upon the fortunes of the English clergy, is entirely a relic of Popish superstition. It is rather hard, that an imposition, practised upon the public by the priests of the dark ages, for the purpose of acquiring power which was inconsistent with just liberty, should be visited upon the clergy of the present age by a deprivation of their natural and constitutional rights. A paper singularly adapted to illustrate the Popish complexion of the doctrine of indelibility, appeared in the public prints soon after the act was passed excluding the English clergy from a seat in Parliament. The paper which we allude to purported to be a reply from one of the French ex-bishops to the letter of the Pope, which enjoined a compliance with the *Concordatum*. The conjuncture was singular. It will be remembered, that at the time when a British Parliament was voting the indelibility of the clergy, the Pope, at the instance of Bonaparte, had requested the ex-bishops to resign all claims upon their late dioceses, and with those claims, of course, the duties and responsibility of the office by which they were entitled to them. The above mentioned answer to this modest request assured his holiness, that the writer, who had fallen on evil times, and was sufficiently wearied with the toils of life, had long ceased to be charmed with ecclesiastical dignity, or to be influenced by worldly cares: That no expectation of a return of the old *regime*, no value which he affixed to the vain consciousness of rights which he expected not ever to resume, prevented him from paying an instant and implicit obedience to the signification of the pontiff's will: That his conscience, however, would not permit him to make that voluntary resignation of his claims, which otherwise he would gladly offer: That he

We must not omit mentioning, that by an act of Henry VIII. of a date subsequent to that which we have already mentioned, all persons who actually resided in the universities, for the purposes of study, under the age of forty, were exempted from the penalties of the first. This age by the new bill is limited to thirty. If any thing could increase our surprise at so gratuitous an attack on literature and science, it would be, that the mover of the bill should have been member for the University of Oxford.

It may possibly be said, that though the residence-act, without modification or exception, might be very unequal and unjust, yet that the ill consequences which might result from it in such cases as have been enumerated may be obviated by the bishop's power to grant dispensation. There is indeed a partial remedy provided for some of the inequalities of the bill ; but a remedy clogged with numerous difficulties in most of the cases which have been above enumerated. Where the case is so specific as to have been pointed out by the act as one in which the bishop may grant a simple license, the measure is comparatively easy ; but, in very many instances, such license cannot be valid without farther process. It must first be submitted to the archbishop, and countersigned by him ; a measure which the bishops themselves will not, in general, be forward to countenance. It must afterwards be laid before the Privy Council. A succession of formidable gradations, which will almost universally prevent the applications which it seems to sanction. Even though this remedy were more accessible, and however ready the bishops might be to facilitate those steps which depend on them, we are not partial to the dispensing system. To enact harsh laws, and then to make provision for alleviating the oppression they may produce, is not like the legislation of an enlightened age. We do not at all question the respectability of the

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he could not forget the indelible character which had been impressed by the hands which staraped him with episcopacy ; and that the gift of the Holy Ghost was only to be rendered up with life : That the bond thus entered into was entirely indissoluble, none, he added, could doubt, who duly considered the nature of the sacrament of ordination ; and that even in the church of that country in which he resided, heretical as it was, and completely estranged from the apostolic father of true believers, yet that from the last degree of impiety it was still free, the renunciation of clerical indelibility ; and that this important and fundamental article of faith had, in a recent instance, been solemnly recognised by the English Legislature. So far the French bishop of 1802, if we may trust the authenticity of the performance which we quote, but it appeared in so malicious a *contretems*, that we can hardly believe it to be genuine.

Reverend Bench, nor would we willingly convey the slightest insinuation to their prejudice. We believe the power that is assigned them not to be of their own seeking, and that they are disposed to use it with impartiality and discretion. But we are not fond of discretionary powers. If a man have an equitable title to assert any thing as a right, he ought not to be obliged to ask it as a favour. If the health of an incumbent require his removal to Harrowgate or to Bath; if he be an assistant master in a school at London or in York, and the Legislature judge that to be a sufficient plea for his non-residence upon a living in Lancashire, he ought not to be compelled to solicit the consent of his diocesan. He should be made free, and have an original title conferred upon him to vindicate his freedom. If the parsonage be unfit for him to live in, he ought not to be obliged to ask leave to take up his residence in another house. If the glebe be not large enough for the proper supply and convenience of his household, he should have a *right* to rent a few acres in addition. It has been said that the clergy should be subject to their bishop, as the officers of an army are subject to their general. They ought not: unless there be the same necessity for subjection. Military analogies can never be applied, with justice, to the offices of civil life. According to the system of the residence act, it is necessary that a dispensing power should be lodged somewhere; and it could be lodged nowhere with so much propriety as with the ecclesiastical superior; but this necessity shows rather the harsh principle of the bill, than the propriety of the dispensation.

In this discussion of the residence question, it has been our object to shew the general grounds on which it would have been right and politic to act, rather than to enter into an apologetical detail of particular hardships, or an appeal to humanity in favour of the suffering clergy. To these points, the pamphlet of Dr Sturges, which we formerly noticed with approbation, is principally directed; and we need not be long detained either with Mr Howell's observations, or the reports and observations of Dr Clarke. The first is affected, ignorant, and superficial; the other we do not understand. The author seems to have intended the greater part of it to be very witty, eloquent and ironical; but it appears to us to be as pitifully dull as any thing that has lately fallen under our observation. The reports are addressed, evidently without permission, to the Bishop of London; and the work seems intended, in the sequel, to gratify personal malignity, under the pretence of zeal for clerical regularity. We are inclined to hope, that the reception of this first number will be such as to protect us from the appearance of a second.

ART. IV. *De la Generation des Connoissances Humaines.* Par J. M. Degerando, Professeur de Philosophie Morale de l'Institut National, &c. 8vo. pp. 304. A Berlin, 1803.

THE question regarding the origin of ideas is, when properly viewed, one of the most interesting in the philosophy of the mind. It arose indeed from a hypothesis, now completely overturned; but this circumstance is by no means decisive of its fate; nor is it to be dismissed as frivolous or useless, because originally connected with an illegitimate philosophy. It is not a speculation of mere curiosity; it forms a necessary part of the science of mind; for it is surely one of the objects of that science, to connect the conceptions by which our faculties are exercised, with those intellectual operations to which we are indebted for their existence. It forms a problem, too, that cannot be resolved without a good deal of application, and leads to a view of the connexions and dependencies of our various faculties, which might not be otherwise very easily obtained.

This question has, since the publication of Locke's Essay, been frequently discussed. The writings of Condulac made it a favourite theme of speculation upon the Continent: and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin having been pleased to propose it as the subject of a prize essay, we are indebted to that circumstance for the performance now under our consideration. The question, as proposed by this learned body, is extremely formidable. 'Démontrer, d'une manière incontestable, l'origine de toutes nos connoissances; soit en présentant des argumens non employés encore, soit en présentant des argumens déjà employés; mais en les présentant d'une manière nouvelle, et d'une force victorieuse de toute objection.' The Professor, however, was not at all intimidated; for he tells us, that having only got notice of the proposed competition seventeen days before the period when the essays were to be produced, he nevertheless arranged and composed his book within that short space. In spite of this disadvantage he was successful in the competition, and gained a second victory over all his philosophical antagonists, having, on a former occasion, obtained the prize of the National Institute for a very able work upon the 'Influence of Words on the Formation of Ideas.' We shall endeavour to present our readers with a general view of the work before us, and to indicate the leading features of the author's system, without troubling them with an irksome analysis of its subordinate parts.

The book is divided into two parts.

The first, says M. Degerando, 'contains a review of the various systems which have hitherto appeared regarding the origin of ideas.' The

The second is dedicated to the explanation of a new system, which comprehends the truths, whilst it corrects the errors and supplies the defects, of those which have been already proposed.

‘The first exhibits an accurate analysis of what others have done: the second is an attempt to execute what they have failed to perform.

The first establishes the principle, “that all our ideas are founded on experience,” as well by strengthening the arguments of those who maintain, as by refuting the objections of those who deny, that principle. In the second part, this principle is explained in all its results, and the manner of its application fully developed.’ p. 5. 6.

The author employs some preliminary chapters to point out the uses of the inquiry, to establish the principles upon which it ought to be conducted, and to explain the meaning of some important but ambiguous words which necessarily enter into the discussion. This is all very judicious; but we cannot say the same of his historical review, which does not compensate its unnecessary intrusion by any profundity of remark or novelty of illustration. Among the ancients, he observes, that Pythagoras and Plato adopted the doctrine of innate ideas, and that Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Zeno, asserted, on the contrary, that *sensation* furnishes the materials of all knowledge; a principle which has been commonly expressed in the celebrated maxim, *nihil est in intellectu quin prius fuerit in sensu*. These ancients, however, allowed this principle to remain extremely inactive in their respective systems; and it was not till the time of Hobbes that philosophers began to perceive ‘its full value and extensive application.’ After him, it was more fully developed in the writings of Gassendi, Locke, Condillac, and Bonnet; by all of whom it has been variously modified, and differently applied. The hypothesis of innate ideas, on the other hand, assumed a new aspect in the works of Descartes, and it has likewise appeared in different shapes in those of Malebranche, Leibnitz, and Wolfe.

This absurd hypothesis, M. Degerando, after all that has been said upon it, still thinks it his duty to demolish; and he accordingly attacks it with a multitude of arguments, zealously collected from every hostile corner. As he is pleased to consider this as a fundamental problem in the philosophy of the mind, we shall, out of respect to his opinion, present our readers with a brief outline of his refutation. 1. The difference which the mind readily perceives between sensible and abstract or general ideas, produced the belief that the latter are innate. 2. But this is merely supposition; for, as no one can recollect what ideas were impressed upon his mind from its first existence, it is consequently impossible to prove that any existed there previous to the exercise of the senses. And as it is admitted that many of these ideas
remain

remain long unobserved, and that they are not, when recognized, accompanied with any recollection of their former existence in the intellect, it is therefore plainly absurd to affirm that they must have existed there, though neither perceived or remembered.

3. Experience also contradicts the supposition; for the ideas that are held to be innate, are precisely those which appear most obscure and indistinct among mankind in general, and particularly among those who approach nearest to the simplicity of nature, and who ought of course to exhibit those original impressions in their most perfect state. 4. Besides, it is in many cases easy to develop those processes of thought by which abstract or general ideas are formed in the mind. And as it is impossible to conceive any one of them without the intervention of some idea of sensation, it is altogether incongruous to suppose them independent of those sensible impressions which render them objects of thought. 5. That we have an innate idea of the Deity, for instance, has been zealously asserted by the most distinguished partizans of this doctrine. But how, upon this supposition, is it possible to account for the monstrous and contradictory conceptions of mankind regarding the Divinity, his nature and attributes?

‘ We read in the *Cours d’Instruction d’un Sourd-Muet*, par L’Abbe Sicard, that when he had brought his pupil Massieu to conceive the idea of an Author of the universe, he cried, “let me go to my father and mother to inform them of this happy news.” This interesting young man concluded that his parents were ignorant of this truth, because he had till then been ignorant of it. He thought the idea as new to all mankind as it was to himself. Massieu has written the history of his life, which he intends to publish. He has there developed the series of thoughts which occupied his mind previous to his instruction; he will himself inform us, that every kind of abstract or intellectual notion was, till then, unknown to him. Will the partizans of innate ideas resist the force of this striking testimony?” p. 131.

After this tedious examination of a doctrine, which has no other merit but that of being connected, like many other absurd doctrines, with some celebrated names, the author proceeds, in the second part of his book, to explain in what manner we become possessed of all our ideas by means of the senses. Among the philosophers, he observes, who have adopted this principle, a considerable diversity of opinion has prevailed regarding the way in which the mind obtains those secondary ideas, which are not immediately produced by external impressions. In order to simplify the process, they have in general excluded all complex agency of the intellectual faculties, and hence the formation of that class of ideas has been ascribed exclusively to one or two of these faculties, whereas it is in fact a common property of all.

‘ It

‘ It is obvious that *attention* is necessary to the formation of ideas ; for what we do not observe we cannot know. *Reflection* is equally necessary ; for we must examine our thoughts to know what passes within us. *Memory* is often necessary ; for there are many ideas which we can only form by comparing the present with the past. *Imagination* is often necessary ; for by means of it, we form ideas of a vast number of objects that we never saw, which we suppose beyond our reach, or simply possible. *Judgement* furnishes a great supply : How many ideas of relations have we not ? It is only by this faculty that we can compare objects and discover their relations. The *reasoning* faculty also serves to enrich us with ideas ; for there are many relations so complicated or remote, that one act of judgement is not sufficient to discover them ; a series of judgements, or a process of reasoning, is therefore necessary.’ p. 187-8.

The necessary co-operation of all the intellectual powers towards the formation of ideas, is therefore the distinguishing principle of our author’s system. In a separate examination, appropriated to each faculty, he points out the ideas, or classes of ideas, that respectively belong to them, and he thus makes it appear that all human knowledge may be ultimately resolved either into the primitive ideas of sensation, or into those secondary ideas that are produced by the exercise of our various powers upon the objects of sense. Having thus endeavoured to lay before our readers the leading principles of M. Degerando’s system, we shall now make a few general observations.

1. In the general views which he takes of the subject, in his preliminary chapter, it appears to us that he is deficient not only in originality of thought, but in lucid and convincing argument. He has added nothing to what Condillac had already written upon the importance of investigating the origin of ideas, and he has failed to state his arguments with that degree of precision and connexion which is necessary to produce a definite and lasting impression upon an unpractised mind. He attempts an explanation of some of those ambiguous, but important words, which have long perplexed metaphysical discussions ; but his elucidations have left them in all their original obscurity. The comment upon the word *idea* is particularly brief and unsatisfactory ; so that, in a treatise upon the origin of ideas, we are left in some doubt about the real object of inquiry. He adopts the definition of Locke ; by which, *idea* is made to denote ‘ whatever is the object of the understanding when we think.’ Now this definition, as understood by Locke, involves the whole of the exploded doctrines of the ideal system. Is M. Degerando ignorant of all this, or does he still adhere to the tenets of the ideal creed ? It was certainly incumbent upon him to have been explicit on a point of so much importance,

importance, and not to have left his readers to conjecture whether or not he connects the definition which he has borrowed with the relative doctrines which are known to have been held by its author. The work itself does not effectually remove every doubt upon the subject; for the author sometimes speaks in the appropriate language of the ideal school. In fact, it does not appear to us that any of the French philosophers have made great progress towards a detection of the manifold errors which the doctrine of ideas has engrafted upon the science of mind. In what they have written, they have by no means gone to the bottom of the matter; and they have accordingly formed very inadequate conceptions of the advantages resulting from a total rejection of the principles, and even the language, of the ideal philosophy.

2. The author has, in our apprehension, given himself a great deal of unnecessary trouble, by dedicating half a volume to the refutation of innate ideas. The triumphant reasonings of Gassendi and Locke had long ago overturned every argument in support of that chimerical doctrine: And, so far from retaining any prejudice in its favour, the Continental philosophers seem decidedly partial to that system which, in the most unqualified manner, refers every idea of the mind to external impressions. As, therefore, the prevailing philosophy is completely hostile to the Cartesian hypothesis, the author might have safely confined himself to an explanation of his own system, without expatiating at such length upon this unpopular doctrine. Besides, the second part of his book itself proves (if it prove any thing), that the greater part of the first is altogether superfluous. It is the object of that part of the work to prove, that the senses, either immediately or mediately, furnish all the materials of our knowledge. Now, if this is established by well supported reasoning, it was surely altogether useless to bestow so much attention upon the *direct* refutation of a hypothesis which the author was about to overturn *indirectly*. In fact, it is no more necessary for a metaphysician to enter upon a direct refutation of the hypothesis of innate ideas, when he intends to prove that all ideas arise from experience, than it would be for an astronomer, who is about to demonstrate the true theory of the planetary system upon the principles of gravitation, to expose, at full length, the erroneous disposition of that system in the cycles and epicycles of Eudoxus and Ptolemy. But, independently of these considerations, it must be recollected that innate ideas can only be a subject of controversy among those who, by the word *idea*, mean not merely a notion or conception, but an image, or some other indefinable object of thought immediately present to and existing in the mind. Now, as it has been demonstrated

demonstrated that ideas, in this latter sense, are mere antiquated fictions, it is consequently absurd to inquire whether or not any of them are innate. No one who has attentively studied the works of Dr Reid can entertain any doubt upon this subject: but the French philosophers seem but superficially acquainted with the principles of his philosophy; and therefore we find them engaged in discussions which that philosophy has completely superseded.

3. The author, in speaking of his own system, has frequently adopted a language that can only be applied with propriety to the celebrated system which makes *sensation* the only source of ideas. The maxim, *nil est in intellectu quod non prius fuit in sensu*, commonly, but erroneously, ascribed to Aristotle, is generally quoted by those who embrace that system, as descriptive of their peculiar tenets. The author gives this maxim the same meaning which these philosophers affix to it; * the only meaning indeed of which it appears capable; and yet, with great inconsistency, he frequently refers to it as equally applicable to the doctrines which he teaches. But, as the system to which we have alluded is, upon his principles, altogether incompetent to account for the production of ideas, we are at a loss to perceive the propriety of his unqualified repetition of its fundamental principle. It was surely a very possible matter to find terms expressive of his rejection of innate ideas, without recurring to those which involve conclusions at variance with his own. It certainly is not the object of his work to deduce all knowledge from *sensation*: its object, if we can understand him, is to prove that our sensations furnish the occasions upon which all our ideas are, by the intervention of certain intellectual operations, suggested to the mind. As this is obviously his meaning in contending that the formation of ideas is the joint work of all the intellectual faculties, it is extremely clear that the terms in which he so frequently expresses himself by no means harmonize with the import of his reasonings. It will not be contended, surely, that the primary instrumentality of sensation towards the production of all our ideas, is a sufficient justification of that mode of speaking to which we object; for, as sensation is equally instrumental to the development of every mode of human thought, it would, upon that principle, be as just to ascribe to it the whole of those intellectual powers which constitute the inherent and distinctive attributes of mind. Condillac, indeed, who refers all knowledge to *sensation*, frequently expresses himself as if he also thought that all these faculties are enveloped in it. But as this author inculcates a

* Il n'y a rien dans l'entendement qui n'ait été dans la sensation.

very different doctrine, he is evidently guilty of great inaccuracy of language, in combining principles and conclusions reciprocally subversive of each other.

4. We have looked in vain, in the work before us, for that 'new system' of which the author gives such confident promise. His claim to originality is founded upon his illustration of the principle, 'that all the intellectual powers contribute to the formation of ideas.' But this principle is by no means peculiar to him; nor does it owe its evidence entirely to the force of his reasoning. That principle forms the ground-work of those valuable speculations in which Dr Reid has so successfully exposed the insufficiency of Locke's theory of the origin of knowledge. The discoveries of Reid gave a new light to the whole of this question; and it is in fact in his writings, and in those of his disciples, that we are to look for the most satisfactory information upon that branch of the philosophy of mind which regards the origin of ideas. It is somewhat surprising that M. Degerando takes no notice of the best authorities upon the question which he has ventured to investigate; and that he should have taken to himself the merit of a principle which, he must be satisfied, if he knows any thing at all of the Scottish metaphysical school, did not originate with him. But we do not, after all, intend to depreciate our author's labours merely because he has been anticipated in his fundamental principle. It was still left to him to produce a systematic account of the origin of all our ideas, founded upon principles thus powerfully supported. In this respect, we admit he has considerable merit; and his work may be of use, in putting his countrymen in the way of obtaining more correct notions upon this subject than they have hitherto attained. It would not be difficult, were we to enter into a minute examination, to point out errors in his account of the generation of particular ideas. But the discussion would be more prolix than profitable; and we are unwilling to deal very rigorously with a work composed under circumstances so peculiar. The author is, upon the whole, sound and correct in his conceptions of the nature and objects of metaphysical research; and he never teases his readers with any of those useless subtilties with which some thoughtless writers of his country are given to torture the brains of those who think slowly. We cannot, however, say much for his style; it is vague, figurative, and declamatory, and has little of that precision and unambitious simplicity so indispensably requisite in all metaphysical inquiries.

ART. V. *Mathematical Papers in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. VIII. & IX. 1804.*

On the Orbits in which Bodies revolve, being acted upon by a Centripetal Force varying as any Function of the Distance, when those orbits have two Apsides. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

IN the 9th section of the first book of the Principia, the illustrious author treats of moveable orbits, and of the motion of the apsides; a part of his subject not a little intricate, and which it has required all the power of the modern calculus fully to develop. The method of Newton is confined to orbits very nearly circular, and indeed only gives the limit of the motion of the apsides which would ultimately take place, when the real orbit, by becoming less and less eccentric, coincides with a circle.

The paper of Mr Brinkley may be considered as a comment on this part of the Principia. It gives a method of determining the orbit, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as any function of the distance. The method of solution is general, and applies to eccentric orbits; and it is therefore preferable to that of Newton, which is only applicable to orbits very nearly circular.

The paper contains three propositions. In the first it is shewn that an orbit, having two apsides, and described by a centripetal force varying in the inverse proportion of the square of the distance, is an ellipse. In the second the case of the 2d Cor. to the 45th Prop. of the first book of the Principia is considered, viz. when the centripetal force consists of two parts, one varying in the inverse ratio of the square of the distance, and the other in the simple ratio of the distance. In the third proposition, the orbit is determined, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as an indefinite power of the distance.

Of these propositions, the second is certainly the most important, on account of its application to the lunar orbit. The result obtained by Mr Brinkley agrees with the limit assigned by Newton; and both bring out the motion of the apogee of the Moon just the half of what it really amounts to by observation. It is well known that Clairaut, D'Alembert, and Euler, in their first attempts to resolve the problem of the three bodies, were usually led to the same conclusion as Newton respecting the motion of the lunar apogee. Such a coincidence in result cannot be the effect of chance; and accordingly it will be found, that the determination of those celebrated mathematicians, as well as the limit assigned

signed by Newton, depends only on the mean quantity of the disturbing force of the Sun, or rather on that part of the disturbing force which is independent of the angular distance of the Sun and Moon. The *data* actually employed being in effect the same, it is not surprising that the same result should be obtained, although different methods of solution are employed.

On the other hand, some mathematicians, and in particular Mr Walmsley, have conceived Newton's conclusion to be erroneous; and, from the very same *data*, have brought out a motion of the apogee agreeing with observation. But it must be confessed, that no dependence can be placed on the solution of Mr Walmsley; because it is hypothetical, and part of the Sun's disturbing force is neglected, without any sufficient reason assigned. On this head, our sentiments are consonant to those of Mr Brinkley.

' In the lunar orbit referred to the ecliptic, the perturbing force in the direction of the radius vector is expressed by a function of that radius vector, and of the angular distance of the Moon from the Sun; and the perturbing force in a direction perpendicular to the radius vector, is expressed by another function of the same quantities. The former force, in its mean quantity, is expressed by a function of the radius vector only. The mean quantity of the latter = 0. It has therefore been often imagined, that the mean motion of the lunar apogee might be investigated, by considering the Moon acted upon by a centripetal force, expressed by a function of the distance only. The arguments for this opinion are certainly plausible, but have by no means the weight of demonstration. The result shows, that such an opinion rests upon no solid foundation. It does not appear to be possible to investigate the mean motion of the lunar apsides, except from the general expressions of the forces in the direction of the radius vector, and in the direction perpendicular thereto.' Vol. VIII. p. 225.

On Determining Innumerable Portions of a Sphere, the Solidities and Spherical Superficies of which Portions are at the same time algebraically assignable. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

The famous problem proposed by Viviani in 1692 has lately been revived. In the second mathematical volume of the French National Institute, M. Bossut has announced a new theorem, asserting, that the construction of the Florentine problem determines a portion of the solidity of a sphere that may be exactly cubed, as well as a portion of its surface that may be exactly squared. M. Bossut has contented himself with announcing his theorem, and has reserved his investigation for the present.

Problems

Problems of this sort, although they are certainly to be reckoned more curious than useful, yet they serve to sharpen the ingenuity of mathematicians, and may lead to the invention of new methods of investigation, or to the improvement and generalization of such as are already known. They are, for the most part, indeterminate, admitting many answers; and on this account they are the more difficult. The methods of solution employed may be referred to two classes. Those mathematicians who delight in the general methods of the modern analysis, deduce the solution of problems concerning surfaces that may be squared, and solids that may be cubed, by means of double and triple integrals. The reader who is fond of speculations of this kind will find an ingenious specimen in a paper of Mr Woodhouse, published in the Philosophical Transactions of London for 1801, where the new theorem of Bossut is demonstrated. Other mathematicians, who prefer the simple and elegant, though prolix methods of geometry, to the more abstruse and general deductions of modern analysis, seek to investigate such problems by reasonings drawn from the geometrical properties of the figure under consideration. In this latter class we reckon Mr Brinkley: and to such of our readers as have a taste congenial to his own, we recommend his paper as containing an ingenious and skilful application of geometry to a problem of some difficulty.

On Dr Halley's Series for the Calculation of Logarithms. By The Rev. Richard Murray, D. D. late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

We are informed in a note, that this essay was found among the papers of Dr Murray after his death. He had drawn it up, shortly after his appointment in 1763 to the Professorship of Mathematics, for the instruction of his pupils; and much of it, therefore, is employed in explanations, which, had he designed it for publication, he would have retrenched. This notice sufficiently explains the nature of the present paper.

An Examination of various Solutions of Kepler's Problem, and a Short Practical Solution of that Problem pointed out. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. M. R. I. A. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

This is a very long paper, consisting of no less than forty eight pages. Almost all the solutions of Kepler's problem that have

been proposed, are examined with minuteness, and the degrees of exactness in the results pointed out. The practical astronomer, to whom is devolved the labour of computing tables of the motions of the planets, will here find much useful information to guide him in the choice of the methods of calculation.

In perusing this paper, we could not help regretting that the learned author did not adopt a more scientific arrangement in treating of his subject. Most of the practical methods of Kelper's problem resolve themselves into two parts; viz. a rule for finding a first approximation to the eccentric anomaly, and a method of correcting the first result to the degree of exactness required. An attentive examination will easily discover, that the ulterior corrections, in almost all the solutions, are in effect the same; depending on the variation of one quantity in a certain function, corresponding to a given variation of another quantity in the same function. Thus the value of the several methods, as well as their degree of convergency, depends on the accuracy of the first approximation. In the arrangement of Mr Brinkley, each solution is separately examined, without much reference to principles previously laid down; and the reader is repeatedly obliged to go over the same ground.

Mr Brinkley highly extols Newton's first practical method, (*Princ. Math. lib. 1. sect. 6. Schol.*); yet that method is nothing more than a series of corrections deduced by successive substitutions in the formula that expresses the relation of the small variations of the mean and eccentric anomalies. The rate of convergency, measured by a scale of the powers of the eccentricity, is indeed very great; but, when the ellipse is evanescent, the rapidity of the approximations cannot be estimated by such a scale; and the success of the method depends entirely on the first assumption, for which no rule is given.

Mr Brinkley has illustrated his own practical rule by examples in orbits of all degrees of eccentricity. He has also added the method of deriving the place of a comet moving in an eccentric ellipse from the place in a parabola of the same perihelion distance.

We cannot dismiss this paper without expressing our disapprobation of the very inelegant, and even uncouth, manner in which it is printed. This observation applies to all the mathematical papers in the Transactions of the Academy that we have seen. We have likewise to recommend it to Mr Brinkley, in his future speculations, to adopt the ordinary method of notation, when he has occasion to introduce the arithmetic of sines.

A Theorem for finding the Surface of an Oblique Cylinder, with its Geometrical Demonstration. Also, an Appendix, containing some Observations on the Methods of Finding the Circumference of a very Eccentric Ellipse; including a Geometrical Demonstration of the remarkable Property of Elliptic Arts, discovered by Count Fagnani. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. M. R. I. A. and Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

THE theorem contained in this paper is thus enunciated: 'The surface of an oblique cylinder is equal to a rectangle under the diameter of its base and the circumference of an ellipse, the axes of which are the length and perpendicular height of the cylinder. This theorem is very easily investigated by the method of fluxions; but it is demonstrated by Mr Brinkley, after the manner of the ancient geometers, by the method of exhaustions.

In the Appendix, the lovers of the ancient geometrical method will find a very neat demonstration of the theorem of Count Fagnani. This theorem is introduced here on account of its use in computing the peripheries of ellipses of great eccentricity; a subject which the reader will find discussed by Mr Wallace in the fifth volume of the Edinburgh Transactions, and more fully by Mr Woodhouse, in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions of London, just published.

To the Appendix is added a dissertation in vindication of the method of prime and ultimate ratios.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence, of Sir William Jones.* By Lord Teignmouth. 4to. pp. 530. Hatchard, London 1804.

THOUGH this book is less interesting, on the whole, than the titles of it had led us to expect, and though it contain but little original information of any great importance, we believe it will be read with very general satisfaction, and feel that it cannot be judged of but with indulgence and respect. It is written with considerable elegance, and very great modesty, by Lord Teignmouth; and its prolixity—for it is sometimes prolix—seems evidently to proceed from an unfeigned and affectionate partiality to the memory of the friend whose history it professes to record.

The work, indeed, is indebted for its chief attraction to the interesting and engaging character of its subject. The name of Sir William Jones is associated, not only with the splendour of a
great

great reputation, but with almost all the amiable and exemplary virtues ; and the gentler affections, which were a little chilled by the aspect of his vast literary attainments, are won sweetly back, and rest with delight upon the view, which is here exhibited, of the purity, the integrity, and the mildness, of his private manners. His life, indeed, seems, from his earliest youth, not only to have been undefiled by those coarser blemishes of excess and debauchery, which are generally excluded by an addiction to letters, but to have been distinguished for all that manly exertion, and varied activity, which so rarely escapes unimpaired from the languor of an academical retirement ; while it was adorned by the polished manners and elegant accomplishments which are still more frequently neglected by the man of business and the scholar.

The most remarkable features in his character, indeed, seem to have resulted from the union of this gentleness and modesty of disposition, with a very lofty conception of his own capability and destination. Without ever appearing to presume upon the force of his genius or the vigour of his understanding, he seems to have thought nothing beyond the reach of his industry and perseverance. From the very commencement of his career, accordingly, he appears to have tasked himself very highly ; and having, in his early youth, set before his eyes the standard of a noble and accomplished character in every department of excellence, he seems never to have lost sight of this object of emulation, and never to have remitted his exertions to elevate and conform himself to it in every particular. Though born in a condition very remote from affluence, he very soon determined to give himself the education of a finished gentleman, and not only to cultivate all the elegance and refinement that is implied in that appellation, but to carry into the practice of an honourable profession all the lights and ornaments of philosophy and learning, and, extending his ambition beyond the attainment of mere literary or professional eminence, to qualify himself for the management of public affairs, and to look forward to the higher rewards of patriotic virtue and political skill.

The perseverance and exemplary industry with which he laboured in the prosecution of this magnificent plan, and the distinguished success which attended the accomplishment of all that part of it which the shortness of his life permitted him to execute, afford an instructive lesson to all who may be inclined, by equal diligence, to deserve an equal reward. The more that we learn, indeed, of the early history of those who have left a great name to posterity, we shall probably be the more firmly persuaded, that no substantial or permanent excellence can ever be attained without much pains, labour, and preparation, and that extra-ordinary

ordinary talents are less necessary to the most brilliant success than perseverance and application. Great as Sir William Jones's attainments unquestionably were, they may be contemplated without despair by any one who is not frightened at his industry.

In expressing this sentiment, we have perhaps already insinuated pretty clearly the opinion which we have been led to form of the genius of this exemplary student, and the limits which we are inclined to assign to our admiration of his intellectual attainments. A consummate scholar, an accomplished philologist, an elegant critic, a candid and perspicuous reasoner, he was undoubtedly; and it is impossible to read either his works or his history, without feeling that, in all these capacities, he was entitled to the very highest distinction; but we do not feel quite so well assured of the extent of his *philosophical* capacity, of the original strength of his understanding, or of his familiarity with those general principles which lead to great and simple discoveries, and bind together, into one useful whole, the particulars of our miscellaneous knowledge. His studies and pursuits were principally directed to particulars; and in all his researches and inquiries, it seems to have been his object rather to follow out assumed and admitted principles to more extensive or precise conclusions, than to investigate the authority of the principles themselves, or to settle the truth of the conclusion on a solid basis of philosophy, independent of the aid of postulates, or the supports of authority.

We are sufficiently sensible that we expose ourselves both to the imputation, and to the vengeance, of national partiality, when we venture to suggest, that the labour which Sir William Jones bestowed to acquire the reputation of a great scholar in the southern part of the island, has rather obstructed than assisted his pretensions to that of a philosophical writer in the North. Our Scottish prejudices lead us irresistibly to believe, that he was a little spoiled by the classical and metrical discipline of English schools and universities; and we cannot help fancying, that his understanding would have been more vigorous, and his judgment more decisive, if he had not imbibed so deeply that affection for Greek and prosody, and classical and mythological allusions, which characterises so decidedly the seminaries in which he was bred. These things are the proper boast and ornament of a schoolboy, but will not long go far in procuring glory to a man. The fame of Sir William Jones rests indeed upon a firmer basis; but it has rather been restrained than extended, we conceive, by the effects of this early partiality. Though his language be in general pure, polished and harmonious, it is not entirely free from a certain air of pedantry; and many of his best compositions are rendered languid and insipid by those classical affectations which
may

may still be permitted to adorn an academical declamation. We can excuse him at fourteen for talking to his sister of Solon and Croesus; but we have less toleration for a barrister, who professes to write a treatise of English law in imitation of the analytic method of Aristotle, or a politician who compares the balance of the British constitution to the harmony produced by the flute of Aristoxenus, or the lyre of Timotheus. The mythological digressions of Pindar have also been too carefully copied in his poetical addresses to the divinities of the East; and, indeed, by far the greater part of his poetry is so learned and elaborate, that the perusal of it is rather a labour than a relaxation.

This volume consists of a narrative and observations from the pen of Lord Teignmouth, interspersed with a great variety of letters from Sir William Jones, and a few from some of his correspondents. We shall first lay before our readers a short abstract of the biography, and afterwards subjoin a few extracts from the correspondence, which fills up the largest part of the book.

Sir William Jones was born in London in the year 1746. His father, who was a teacher of mathematics, died when his son was only three years of age, and left him, with a very small fortune, to the care of a mother of unusual accomplishments and merit. Under her tuition, he imbibed a passion for reading and inquiry, that had already manifested itself in a very decided manner when he was sent to Harrow school in the seventh year of his age. At this seminary he made such a remarkable proficiency under the direction of Dr Thackeray and Dr Sumner, that he was often flattered, by the inquiries of strangers, under the title of the Great Scholar, and drew, from the former of these intelligent preceptors, an opinion, that 'Jones was a boy of so active a mind, that if he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheless find the road to fame and fortune.' In the year 1764, he entered at University College, Oxford. To the very extraordinary share of classical erudition which he carried with him to that seminary, he here added a knowledge of Arabic, which he acquired by the assistance of a native of Aleppo, whom his zeal for the study induced him to maintain at college for several months, at an expence which his finances could ill afford. By the help of Meninski and Gentius, he made at the same time a considerable progress in the Persic.

His vacations were passed in London, where he daily attended the schools of Angelo, for the purpose of acquiring the elegant accomplishments of riding and fencing. He was always a strenuous advocate for the practice of bodily exercises, as no less useful to invigorate his frame, than as a necessary qualification for any active exertions to which he might eventually be called. At home, his attention was directed to the

the modern languages ; and he read the best authors in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, following in all respects the plan of education recommended by Milton, which he had by heart ; and thus, to transcribe an observation of his own, with the fortune of a peasant giving himself the education of a prince.' p. 33-4.

In 1765 he accepted the situation of private tutor in the family of Lord Spencer, and in the year following was appointed to a fellowship in the University. In the family where he had now fixed his residence, he not only pursued his classical studies with unremitting eagerness, but indulged his ambition for universal accomplishment, by taking private lessons in dancing from the celebrated Gallini, and practising the broadsword with an old pensioner at Chelsea. In 1767 he attended the noble family in a short visit to the Continent, and dedicated a considerable part of the three weeks he remained at Spa ' to the lessons of Janson of Aix-la-Chapelle, a most incomparable dancing-master.' In 1768 he was applied to, on the part of the King of Denmark, to translate into French a Persian manuscript, containing the life of Nadir Shah, a proposal which he at first declined ; but finding that no other person was disposed to undertake it, and unwilling that his royal employer should be obliged to go to France for the performance of any literary task, he was at length prevailed on to engage in it, and finished it in the course of a single year. About this period he formed an intimate acquaintance with Count Revicski, afterwards the imperial minister at Warsaw, and ambassador at the Court of England, but distinguished and recommended at this time chiefly by his literary accomplishments, and his proficiency in the oriental languages. Lord Teignmouth has inserted a pretty extensive series of letters between him and the subject of his biography. The winter of 1769 was spent by Mr Jones and his pupil at Nice ; in spring they travelled through a considerable part of France, passed the summer at Spa, and returned to England in August 1770. During this tour he seems to have composed a tragedy called Solyman, which he afterwards destroyed, and a treatise on education, of which nothing but the plan or argument has been preserved.

Soon after his return to England he left the family of Lord Spencer, and finally dedicated himself to the study of the law as a profession. In 1772 he seems to have entertained some expectation of being appointed ambassador to the Sublime Porte, though we are rather at a loss to conceive through what interest he could then pretend to so exalted a situation. He continued his professional studies with great diligence, though he found leisure, in the intervals, to write his celebrated letter to Anquetil

til de Perron and to project an epic poem and a history of the Turks, neither of which were ever completed. In 1774 he published his commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, and in the end of the same year was called to the Bar. His practice was not very extensive; but his reputation for learning, diligence, and independence of character, was continually rising. In 1778 he published a translation of the Speeches of Isæus, and in 1780 proposed himself as a candidate for representing the University of Oxford in Parliament; but, after receiving the most flattering marks of respect from many of the members of that learned body, he found it expedient to decline the contest, and withdrew from the competition. In the end of that year he published a translation of the seven famous Arabic poems, and in the course of the two following years his *Essay on the Law of Bailments*, and several odes and pamphlets, of a temporary and political nature.

In spring 1783 he was gratified by an appointment to the situation of a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal—an office to which his hopes and wishes had been directed from his first entrance into life, and which appeared to give him all the opportunities, both of study and beneficence, which he had long earnestly desired. Immediately upon his nomination he married Miss Shipley, daughter of the bishop of St Asaph, to whom he had been long and tenderly attached, and embarked in April for that country, from which he was never to return.

His employments in India are pretty well known to all who have any acquaintance with his writings. He was regular and indefatigable in his attendance on the duties of his office, and, besides the extensive and diversified inquiries into the literature and philosophy of Asia, which have given him so distinguished a place in the annals of oriental learning, he seems to have made no mean proficiency in botany and natural history. In the midst of these refined and diversified employments, his health, which had been considerably weakened by repeated attacks of the fever of the country, was assailed at last by an inflammation of the liver, and, after a very short illness, he expired in the month of April 1794.

Such, in a few words, is the outline of the life of Sir William Jones; a life diversified with a greater variety of events than usually occur in the history of a man of letters; but chiefly remarkable for its unblemished purity, and for the unexampled industry, which was able to crowd into so short a period so many and so difficult acquisitions.

The correspondence, which occupies rather more than one half of the present publication, has, upon the whole, disappointed

pointed us. The greater part of the letters written before the author's departure to India are addressed to Count Reviczki and to Mr Schultens, and consists almost entirely of critical remarks on Asiatic literature, and communications with regard to the reading and studies of the parties. They have nothing of that intimacy, familiarity, or freedom, therefore, which forms the great charm of epistolary writing, and neither amuse us by the gaiety of anecdote, nor interest us by the traits which they disclose of the feelings and characters of the writers. In a dissertation on the merits of Hafez, we cannot reasonably expect either scandal or pleasantry; and a man is not led to exhibit any of the finer features of his mind, in giving an account of the keys of the Chinese language. This part of the correspondence, therefore, bears but little resemblance to a collection of modern letters, and puts us more in mind of the *Epistole eruditiorum virorum*, or the prolusions of some German academicians. To make the parallel more complete, the greater part of them are written in Latin, and are exhibited in that form in the Appendix, though the noble biographer has inserted a translation in the body of the work.

From this collection it would not be easy to extract much that would suit the taste of the general reader. To justify, in some measure, the censure we have ventured to pass upon the classical affectation of Sir William Jones, and the general description we have given of this part of his letters, we shall quote the following passage from an epistle to Schultens, the subject of which certainly did not naturally suggest so many Greek and Roman recollections.

‘ The constitution of England is in no respect inferior to that of Rome or Athens; this is my fixed opinion, which I formed in my earliest years, and shall ever retain. Although I sincerely acknowledge the charms of polite literature, I must at the same time adopt the sentiment of Neoptolemus in the tragedy, that we can philosophise with a few only; and no less the axiom of Hippocrates, that life is short, art long, and time swift. But I will also maintain the excellence and the delight of other studies. What, shall we deny that there is pleasure in mathematics, when we recollect Archimedes, the prince of geometricians, who was so intensely absorbed in the demonstration of a problem, that he did not discover Syracuse was taken? Can we conceive any study more important, than the single one of the laws of our own country? Let me recal to your recollection the observations of L. Crassus and Q. Scævola on this subject, in the treatise of Cicero de Oratore. What! do you imagine the goddess of eloquence to possess less attractions than Thalia or Polyhymnia? or have you forgotten the epithets which Ennius bestows on Cethegus, the quintessence of eloquence, and the flower of the people? Is there a man existing who
would

would not rather resemble Cicero, whom I wish absolutely to make my model, both in the course of his life and studies, than be like Varro, however learned, or Lucretius, however ingenious as a poet? If the study of the law were really unpleasant and disgusting, which is far from the truth, the example of the wisest of the ancients, and of Minerva herself, the goddess of wisdom, would justify me in preferring the useful olive to the barren laurel.' p. 123.

It is not easy to conceive that a grown man of thirty years of age, with some pretensions to the character of a philosopher, should have addressed an epistle of this kind to a foreigner, who would infallibly shew it to all his associates. The style of Sir William Jones, in his complimentary addresses to foreign literati, appears to us to be equally pedantic and unnatural. The infant Don Gabriel it seems (or rather we may presume his tutor) translated the history of Sallust into Spanish, and a loyal Doctor of Madrid transmitted a copy of the regal version to Sir William Jones, who makes his acknowledgements in the following strain of scholastic panegyric.

'I really was at a loss to decide, whether I should begin my letter by congratulating you on having so excellent a translator, or by thanking you for this agreeable proof of your remembrance. I look forward to the increasing splendour, which the arts and sciences must attain in a country, where the son of the king possesses genius and erudition capable of translating and illustrating, with learned notes, the first of the Roman historians: How few youths amongst the nobility in other countries possess the requisite ability or inclination for such a task! The history of Sallust is a performance of great depth, wisdom, and dignity; to understand it well is no small praise, to explain it properly is still more commendable, but to translate it elegantly excites admiration. If all this had been accomplished by a private individual, he would have merited applause, if by a youth he would have had a claim to literary honours, but when to the title of youth that of prince is added, we cannot too highly extol, or too loudly applaud, his distinguished merit.' p. 129.

These passages are certainly more in the taste of a Greek rhetorician than of an English gentleman. But Sir William Jones does not always write so affectedly. There are one or two letters in the collection that are remarkably easy, good-humoured, and flowing, though it can scarcely be said for any of the correspondence, that it is playful, brilliant, or witty. The following passage from a letter to Lady Spencer is certainly in a very pleasing style.

'While Mrs Poyntz staid at Lyons, I made an excursion to Geneva, in hopes of seeing Voltaire, but was disappointed. I sent him a note with a few verses, implying that the muse of tragedy had left her ancient seat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake, &c. He returned this answer: "The worst of French poets
and

and philosophers is almost dying; age and sickness have brought him to his last day; he can converse with nobody, and entreats Mr Jones to excuse and pity him. He presents him with his humble respects." But he was not so ill as he imagined; for he had been walking in his court, and went into his house just as I came to it. The servants shewed me somebody at a window, who they said was he; but I had scarce a glimpse of him. I am inclined to think that Voltaire begins to be rather serious, when he finds himself upon the brink of eternity; and that he refuses to see company, because he cannot display his former wit and sprightliness. I find my book is published; * I am not at all solicitous about its success; as I did not choose the subject myself, I am not answerable for the wild extravagance of the style, nor for the faults of the original; but if your ladyship takes the trouble to read the dissertation at the end, you may perhaps find some new and pleasing images. The work has one advantage, it is certainly authentic. Lady Georgiana is so good as to inquire how Soliman goes on; pray tell her he is in great affliction, as he begins to suspect the innocence of Mustafa, who is just slain. To be serious, my tragedy is just finished; and I hope to shew it to your Ladyship in a short time.

'De la Fontaine is with us; he seems very well, but is still weak and complaining. I must add a little stroke of French courage, which I have just heard. In the midst of all the disasters of the fire-works, the Mareschal de Richlieu was in such a panic, that he got out of his carriage, and screamed out, *Est-ce qu'on veut laisser perir un Mareschal de France? N'y a-t-il personne pour secourir un Mareschal de France?* ---- This will be an eternal joke against him! ----' p. 78. 79.

We add also the following account of the author's excursion to a country residence of Milton, both for the sake of the information it contains, and for the unassuming elegance of the description.

'The necessary trouble of correcting the first printed sheets of my history, prevented me to-day from paying a proper respect to the memory of Shakespeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was resolved to do all the honour in my power to so great a poet, and set out in the morning, in company with a friend, to visit a place where Milton spent some part of his life, and where, in all probability, he composed several of his earliest productions. It is a small village, situated on a pleasant hill, about three miles from Oxford, and called Forest Hill, because it formerly lay contiguous to a forest, which has since been cut down. The poet chose this place of retirement after his first marriage; and he describes the beauties of his retreat in that fine passage of his *L'Allegro*:

Strait mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
Whilst the landscape round it measures:
Russet lawns, and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;

Mountains,

* Translation of the *Life of Nadir Shah.*

Mountains on whose barren breast,
 The lab'ring clouds do often rest;
 Meadows trim, with daisies pied,
 Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
 Towers and battlements it sees,
 Bosom'd high in tufted trees.

* * * * *

Hard by a cottage chimney smokes,
 From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

' It was neither the proper season of the year nor time of the day to hear all the rural sounds, and see all the objects mentioned in this description; but, by a pleasing concurrence of circumstances, we were saluted, upon our approach to the village, with the music of the mower and his scythe; we saw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

' As we ascended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable stillness and natural simplicity of the whole scene, gave us the highest pleasure. We at length reached the spot whence Milton undoubtedly took most of his images: it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a most extensive prospect on all sides: the distant mountains that seemed to support the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly shaded with trees of the finest verdure, and partly raised above the groves that surrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyish colour, where the sheep were feeding at large; in short, the view of the streams and rivers—convinced us that there was not a single useless or idle word in the above-mentioned description, but that it was a most exact and lively representation of nature. Thus will this fine passage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactness. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthusiasm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

' The poet's house is close to the church; the greatest part of it has been pulled down, and what remains belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that several papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was last in possession of the estate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them showed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleased with another, who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of *The Poet*.

' It must not be omitted that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales which are so elegantly described in the *Penseroso*. Most of the cottage windows are overgrown with sweetbriars, vines, and honeysuckles; and that Milton's habitation had the same rustic ornament, we may conclude from his description of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Thro' the sweetbriar, or the vine,

Or the twisted eglantine:

for it is evident that he meant a sort of honeysuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly used for the sweetbriar, which he could not mention twice in the same couplet.' p. 67---69.

As an additional proof of the occasional gaiety and pleasantry of this profound student, we annex two stanzas of a light and airy song, composed by him almost *ex tempore*, to enliven a sort of fête champêtre given by the barristers on a circuit, on the banks of the Wye---

' Fair Tivy, how sweet are thy waves gently flowing,
Thy wild oaken woods, and green eglantine bowers,
Thy banks with the blush rose and amaranth glowing,
While friendship and mirth claim these laborless hours !
Yet weak is our vaunt, while something we want,
More sweet than the pleasure which *prospects* can give ;
Come, smile, damsels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it blissful to live.'

' How gay is the circle of friends round a table,
Where stately Kilgarra * o'erhangs the brown dale,
Where none are unwilling, and few are unable,
To sing a wild song, or repeat a wild tale !
Yet weak is our vaunt, while something we want,
More sweet than the pleasure that *friendship* can give :
Come, smile, damsels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it blissful to live.' p. 200.

The following letter, addressed to his former pupil Lord Althorpe a short time after his marriage, is amiable and easy :

' *O la bella cosa de far niente !* This was my exclamation, my dear Lord, on the 12th of last month, when I found myself, as I thought, at liberty to be a rambler, or an idler, or any thing I pleased : but my *mal di golo* took ample revenge for my abuse and contempt of it when I wrote to you, by confining me twelve days with a fever and quinsy ; and I am now so cramped by the approaching session at Oxford, that I cannot make any long excursion. Pray present the enclosed, in my name, to Lady Althorpe. I hope that I shall in a short time be able to think of you, when I read these charming lines of Catullus.

' Torquatus volu parvulus,
Matris e gremio suæ
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem,
Semi-hiante labello.

' What a beautiful picture ! Can Dominichino equal it ? How weak are all arts in comparison of poetry and rhetoric ! Instead, however, of *Torquatus*, I would read *Spencerus*. Do you not think that I have discovered the true use of the fine arts, namely, in relaxing the mind after toil ? Man was born for *labour* ; his configuration, his passions, his restlessness, all prove it ; but labour would wear him out, and the purpose of it be defeated, if he had not intervals of *pleasure* ; and un-

less that pleasure be *innocent*, both he and society must suffer. Now what pleasures are more harmless, if they be nothing else, than those afforded by polite arts and polite literature? Love was given us by the Author of our being as the reward of virtue, and the solace of care; but the base and sordid forms of *artificial* society in which we live, have encircled that heavenly rose with so many thorns, that the wealthy alone can gather it with prudence. On the other hand, mere pleasure, to which the idle are not justly entitled, soon satiates, and leaves a vacuity in the mind more unpleasant than actual pain. A just mixture, or interchange of labour and pleasures, appears alone conducive to such happiness as this life affords. Farewell, I have no room to add my useless name, and still more useless professions of friendship.¹ p. 206, 207.

Sir William Jones's politics were those of a decided Whig; and they make a considerable figure in some parts of his correspondence. It does not appear to us, however, that there are any passages of this description that deserve to be particularly noticed. Indeed, the deficiency of his philosophical genius is more apparent, in our apprehension, upon these subjects, than upon any other. His ideas upon the theory and abstract principles of government, appear to be very crude and superficial; and his zeal in the cause of liberty seems rather to have arisen from the warmth of his own benevolent heart, and from an habitual admiration of the classic republics of Greece and Italy, than from any profound study or just apprehension of the constitution of modern society. There is some prejudice, and a good deal of imprudence, in some of his political effusions: but the purity of his motives, and the incorruptible and unaffected independence of his principles, entitle him to no vulgar station in the list of practical politicians. The following extract from a letter to Lord Spencer, written at the time when his appointment to India was in suspense, shews, in a striking manner, the extent of his honourable ambition, and the steadiness of his independent spirit:

‘ I cannot legally be appointed till January, or next month at soonest, because I am not a barrister of five years standing till that time: now many believe that they keep the place open for me till I am qualified. I certainly wish to have it, because I wish to have twenty thousand pounds in my pocket before I am eight-and-thirty years old, and then I might contribute in some little degree towards the service of my country in Parliament, as well as at the Bar, without selling my liberty to a patron, as too many of my profession are not ashamed of doing; and I might be a Speaker in the House of Commons in the full vigour and maturity of my age; whereas, in the slow career of Westminster-Hall, I should not, perhaps, even with the best success, acquire the same independent station till the age at which Cicero was killed. But be assured, my dear lord, that if the minister be offended at the style in which

which I have spoken, do speak, and will speak, of public affairs, and on that account should refuse to give me the judgeship, I shall not be at all mortified, having already a very decent competence, without a debt, or a care of any kind.' p. 163.

The same pleasing sentiments recur in a letter to Sir John McPherson, relating to the publication of the first volume of the *Asiatic Transactions*.--

' Always excepting my own imperfect essays, I may venture to foretell, that the learned in Europe will not be disappointed by our first volume. But my great object, at which I have long been labouring, is to give our country a complete digest of Hindu and Mussulman law. I have enabled myself by excessive care to read the oldest Sanscrit law books, with the help of a loose Persian paraphrase; and I have begun a translation of Menu into English; the best Arabic law-tract, I translated last year. What I can possibly perform alone, I will by God's blessing perform; and I would write on the subject to the Minister, Chancellor, the Board of Controll, and the Directors, if I were not apprehensive that they who know the world, but do not fully know me, would think that I expected some advantage either of fame or patronage, by proposing to be made the Justinian of India; whereas I am conscious of desiring no advantage, but the pleasure of doing general good. I shall consequently proceed in the work by my own strength, and will print my digest by degrees at my own expence, giving copies of it where I know they will be useful. One point I have already attained; I have made the pundit of our court read and correct a copy of Halhed's * book in the original Sanscrit, and I then obliged him to attest it as good law, so that he never now can give corrupt opinions, without certain detection.' p. 276. 277.

From the correspondence of Sir William Jones in India, we are not tempted to make many extracts. It relates chiefly to the business of his official situation, and to those researches of which he has himself given the results to the world, in his different publications on the philosophy and literature of the Asiatic nations. It is not, upon the whole, we think, exceedingly interesting, nor was it perhaps very necessary to make it public; but it shews the astonishing industry and unremitting activity of this exemplary scholar, and affords a pleasing evidence, both of the mild cheerfulness of his disposition, and of the harmony in which he lived with all the respectable members of the settlement. As a specimen of the happy and amiable temper of mind in which he continued to the end, we shall content ourselves with transcribing the last letter which the author of this volume received from him not many months before his death. The last paragraph is written with a great deal of unaffected gentleness and dignity.

' A

* A translation by N. B. Halhed, Esq. of the code compiled by Pundits, by the direction of Mr Hastings.

' A few days after I troubled you about the yacht, I felt a severe pang on hearing of your domestic misfortune ; and I felt more for you than I should for most men, on so melancholy an occasion, because I well know the sensibility of your heart. The only topic of consolation happily presented itself to you : reason perhaps might convince us, that the death of a created being never happens without the will of the Creator, who governs this world by a special interposition of his providential care ; but as this is a truth which revelation expressly teaches us, our only true comfort in affliction must be derived from Christian philosophy, which is so far from encouraging us to stifle our natural feelings, that even the divine author of it wept on the death of a friend. This doctrine, though superfluous to you, is always present to my mind ; and I shall have occasion in a few years, by the course of nature, to press it on the mind of Lady Jones, the great age of whose mother is one of my reasons for hoping most anxiously that nothing may prevent her returning to England this season. * * * *

I will follow her as soon as I can, possibly at the beginning of 1795, but probably not till the season after that ; for although I shall have more than enough to supply all the wants of a man, who would rather have been Cincinnatus with his plough, than Lucullus with all his wealth, yet I wish to complete the system of Indian laws while I remain in India, because I wish to perform whatever I promise with the least possible imperfection ; and in so difficult a work doubts might arise, which the pundits alone could remove. You continue, I hope, to find the gardens healthy ; nothing can be more pleasant than the house in which we live : but it might justly be called the temple of the winds, especially as it has an octagonal form, like that erected at Athens to those boisterous divinities. I cannot get rid of the rheumatism which their keen breath has given me, and submit with reluctance to the necessity of wrapping myself in shawls and flannel. We continue to be charmed with the perspicuity, moderation, and eloquence, of Filangieri.

' Of European politics I think as little as possible, not because they do not interest my heart, but because they give me too much pain. I have ' good will towards men, and wish peace on earth ; ' but I see chiefly under the sun, the two classes of men whom Solomon describes, the oppressor and the oppressed. I have no fear in England of open despotism, nor of anarchy. I shall cultivate my fields and gardens, and think as little as possible of monarchs or oligarchs.' p. 354-55-56.

We add the sincere and affectionate reflections annexed by the noble biographer to the letter we have now copied.

' It would not be easy to give expression to the feelings excited by the perusal of this letter, nine years after the date of it. In recalling the memory of domestic misfortunes, which time had nearly obliterated, it revives with new force the recollection of that friend, whose sympathy endeavoured to sooth the sorrows of a father for the loss of his children. The transition by Sir William Jones to the circumstance of his own situation is natural, and the conjugal bosom may perhaps sympathise with

with a fond husband, anticipating the affliction of the wife of his affection, and his own efforts to console her. That wife however still survives to lament her irreparable loss in the death of Sir William Jones himself, and has had for some years the happiness to console, by the tenderest assiduities, the increasing infirmities of an aged mother.' p. 356.

Lord Teignmouth, in several parts of his work, has manifested a laudable, but apparently a very unnecessary, anxiety to prove, that Sir William Jones was a sincere believer in the pure doctrines of Christianity. We are not aware that his orthodoxy was ever called in question, and do not perceive, indeed, how it could easily have been so in the face of his own express and repeated declarations to the contrary, in so many parts of his writings. The most distinct, perhaps, is that which occurs in a discourse addressed to the Asiatic Society in 1791.

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject. But I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the *Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected, within the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance, in form or style, to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning. The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine compositions, and consequently inspired. But, if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others." p. 365. 366.

To those and to other public testimonies of Sir William Jones's pious acquiescence in the pure faith of his country, Lord Teignmouth has now added the evidence of several prayers and devout reflections, found among his private manuscripts after his death.

We should have great pleasure in laying before our readers the whole of the eloquent and affectionate representation which Lord Teignmouth has given, in the concluding pages of these memoirs, of the character of his departed friend. Our limits, however, will not admit of more than the following extracts.

'In the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and pro-

found, and entitled him to a high rank in the first class of scholars, while, as a philologist, he could boast an universality in which he had no rival. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on Oriental subjects displayed a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who have preceded him in these tracts of literature. The language of Constantinople was also familiar to him; and of the Chinese characters and tongue, he had learned enough to enable him to translate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, he was thoroughly conversant, and had perused the most admired writers in those languages. I might extend the list by specifying other dialects which he understood, but which he had less perfectly studied.

By his knowledge of the Sanscrit and Arabic, he was eminently qualified to promote the administration of justice in the Supreme Court, by detecting misrepresentations of the Hindu or Mahommedan laws, and by correcting impositions in the form of administering oaths to the followers of Brabma and Mahommed. If no other benefit had resulted from his study of these languages, than the compilation of the Digest, and the translation of Menu, and of two Mahommedan law tracts, this application of his talents to promote objects of the first importance to India and Europe, would have entitled him to the acknowledgements of both countries. Of his studies in general it may be observed, that the end which he always had in view, was practical utility; that knowledge was not accumulated by him as a source of mere intellectual recreation, or to gratify an idle curiosity, or for the idler purpose of ostentatiously displaying his acquisitions. To render himself useful to his country and mankind, and to promote the prosperity of both, were the primary and permanent motives of his indefatigable exertions in acquiring knowledge.

The inflexible integrity with which he discharged the solemn duty of this station, will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and natives. So cautious was he to guard the independence of his character from any possibility of violation or imputation, that no solicitation could prevail upon him to use his personal influence with the members of administration in India, to advance the private interests of friends whom he esteemed, and which he would have been happy to promote. He knew the dignity, and felt the importance of his office; and convinced that none could afford him more ample scope for exerting his talents to the benefit of mankind, his ambition never extended beyond it. No circumstance occasioned his death to be more lamented by the public, than the loss of his abilities as judge, of which they had had the enjoyment of eleven years.

Of his private and social virtues it still remains to speak; and I could with pleasure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

‘ Could

" Could the figure, (I quote with pleasure his own words) instincts, and qualities, of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles; and fish; be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction, or more exquisite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated; or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit.

Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

" This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the *cocila*, whose wild native woodnotes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden, for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging *mayana*, which " bids us good-morrow" at our windows, and expects, as its rewards, little more than security: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them."

" His intercourse with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extensive: he liberally rewarded those by whom he was served and assisted, and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster, whom he retained in his pay, and whose death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I resist the impulse which I feel, to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demise: the pundits, who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at a public *darbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed." p. 400.

The Appendix contains the originals of the Latin letters, of which Lord Teignmouth has given a translation in the text, and which appear to be written with great elegance and purity;—the plan, and some very inconsiderable fragments of the epic poem which we formerly mentioned as having occupied the attention of Sir William Jones in 1770, and of which we are inclined to think the abandonment more judicious than the undertaking;—a prefatory discourse to his projected History of the Turks, written in

a very pleasing and lively style, but rather diffuse and feeble for the introduction to a philosophical history ;—and, finally, a short collection of occasional poems, which might have been permitted, without injury to the author's reputation, to have remained in his portfolio. We are tempted, however, as a curiosity, to transcribe the following translation of an ode of Jami, which, in the form, rhyme, and measure, is an exact pattern of the original Persian.

<p>How sweet the gale of morning breathes ! News, that the rose will soon approach Soon will a thousand parted souls Since tidings, which in every heart Late near my charmer's flowing robe Thence, odour to the rose bud's veil, Painful is, absence, and that pain Thou know'st, dear maid ! when to thine ear Why should I trace love's mazy path, Black destiny ! my lot is woe, In vain, a friend his mind disturbs, When sage physician to the couch A roving stranger in thy town 'Till this his name, and rambling lay</p>	<p>Sweet news of my <i>delight</i> he brings ; the tuneful bird of <i>night</i>, he brings. be led, his captives, through the sky, must ardent flames <i>excite</i>, he brings. he pass'd, and kiss'd the fragrant hem ; and jasmine's mantle <i>white</i>, he brings. to some base rival oft is ow'd ; false tales, contriv'd in <i>spite</i>, he brings. since destiny my bliss forbids ? to me no ray of <i>light</i> he brings. in vain a childish trouble gives, of heartsick love lorn <i>weight</i>, he brings. no guidance can sad JAMI find' to thine all piercing <i>sight</i> he brings.</p>
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p. 519.

We now take our leave of this publication with sentiments of the utmost veneration for the virtuous and learned person whose history it contains, and with feelings of no common gratitude to his noble biographer. The rank to which he belongs affords many temptations to idleness, and has sometimes been considered as an apology for some degree of licentiousness. There is more than usual merit, therefore, in every instance which it presents, either of literary activity, or of zeal for morality and religion ; and as examples and lessons of this kind come with most effect from those whose station enables them to influence a larger circle of observers, Lord Teignmouth must be held to have deserved well of society, by the publication of a work so friendly to the interests of learning and of virtue. Independently of these considerations, however, this book is entitled to praise. The elegance of the composition, and the zeal and knowledge in literature which it displays, would do credit to the most practised author ; while the uniform candour and liberality of the sentiments it contains, lay claim to a far higher commendation.

ART. VII. *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, and the adjoining Countries, from the latter part of the Reign of Edward II. to the Coronation of Henry IV.* Newly Translated from the best French Editions, with Variations and Additions from many celebrated Manuscripts, by Thomas Johnes. 4to. pp. 835. At the Hafod Press. By James Henderson.

IT has long been, and we fear will long remain a reproach to the literary character of Britain, that so very little has been done for the preservation of her early historians. An uniform edition of our chronicles corrected from the best manuscripts, and elucidated by suitable notes and references, might surely be expected from our colleges; and a wealthy and patriotic public would encourage and reward the undertaking. Since, however, it is the fate of so many of our historians to slumber in manuscript and black letter, we ought to view, with indulgent gratitude, the exertions of an individual, who has drawn from obscurity the most fascinating of this venerable band. Whoever has taken up the chronicle of Froissart, must have been dull indeed if he did not find himself transported back to the days of Cressy and Poitiers. In truth, his history has less the air of a narrative than of a dramatic representation. The figures live and move before us; we not only know what they did, but learn the mode and process of the action, and the very words with which it was accompanied. This sort of colloquial history is of all others the most interesting. The simple fact, that a great battle was won or lost, makes little impression on our mind, as it occurs in the dry pages of an annalist, while our imagination and attention are alike excited by the detailed description of a much more trifling event. In Froissart, we hear the gallant knights, of whom he wrote, arrange the terms of combat and the manner of the onset; we hear their soldiers cry their war-cries; we see them strike their horses with the spur; and the liveliness of the narration hurries us along with them into the whirlwind of battle. We have no hesitation to say, that a skirmish before a petty fortress, thus told, interests us more than the general information that twenty thousand Frenchmen bled on the field of Cressy. This must ever be the case, while we prefer a knowledge of mankind to a mere acquaintance with their actions; and so long also must we account Froissart the most entertaining, and perhaps the most valuable, historian of the middle ages. Till now, his chronicles have only existed in three black letter editions printed at Paris, all we believe very rare; in that which was published by Denys Sauvage about 1560, and reprinted in 1574; and finally, in an English translation

translation, by Bouchier Lord Berners, which we believe sells for about twenty guineas, and is hardly ever to be met with. Under these circumstances, we are bound to receive with gratitude every attempt to give more general access to the treasures of Froissart, especially as the size of his chronicles prohibits the idea of an edition undertaken with the usual views of profit. Mr Johnes, the present translator, we understand to be a gentleman of fortune, whose hours of leisure and retirement are dedicated to literary research, and who sends the present volume forth from his private press at Hafod. Like his predecessor Lord Berners, he is probably pricked on to his undertaking 'by the love and honour which he bears to our most puissant sovereign, and to do pleasure to his subjects both nobles and commons,' and, like that good baron, he 'prays them that shall default find, to consider the greatness of the historie and his good will that asks nothing else of them for his great labour, but of their curtesye to amende where nede shall be, and yet for their so doing prays to God finally to send them the bliss of heavea.' If, therefore, in the course of our present investigation, we find it necessary to descend into the lists with so gentle a knight, he may rest assured that the arms we employ shall only be those of courtesy.

The present translation of Froissart will consist, when finished, of four large quarto volumes. The best authorities have been resorted to for various readings, and large additions are in many places made from manuscripts in the translator's library.

It appears to us an omission of some consequence, that nothing is told the English reader of the history of Froissart himself, the mode which he took to acquire the knowledge of the events he narrates, the distribution of his history into books, and the arrangement of his chronology. We are the more disappointed in this respect, because the translator could be no stranger to three Memoires on these subjects published in the Transactions of the Academie Royale, vol. 10. 13. 14. by Mons. de la Curne de Ste. Palaye. We are tempted in some degree to supply this defect, by giving, chiefly from these authorities, a short sketch of the life and character of this venerable historian.

Jean Froissart, priest, canon, and treasurer, of the collegiate church of Chimay, was born at Valenciennes about 1337. He was the son, as is conjectured from a passage in his poems, of Thomas Froissart a herald painter, no inconsiderable profession in those days, and which required a good deal of such knowledge as was then in fashion. The youth of Froissart, from 12 years upwards, as in his poems he has frequently informed us, was spent in every species of elegant indulgence. 'Well I loved,'

loved,' says he, 'to see dances and carolling, well to hear minstrelsy and tales of glee, well to attach myself to those who loved hounds and hawks, well to toy with my fair companions at school, and methought I had the art well to win their grace.' In a similar allusion to this joyous period, he gives the following account of the luxuries in which he delighted to revel. 'My ears quickened at the sound of uncorking the wine flask, for I took great pleasure in drinking, and in fair array, and in delicate and fresh cates. I love to see (as is reason) the early violets and the white and red roses, and also chambers fairly lighted; justs, dances, and late vigils, and fair beds for refreshment; and, for my better repose, a night draught of claret or Rochelle wine mingled with spice.' This merry mode of life promised but a slender progress in divinity. Accordingly Froissart in his history (meaning, we believe, Judas Machabæus), calls Nebuchadnezzar * 'the prince and leader of God's chivalry;' and tells us, without comment on their ignorance, that the western chivalry who attended the Duke of Bourbon upon his African expedition, justified their invasion of the Moors, because these paynin Saracens had put to death the Saviour of the world. But the Mahometans, better instructed, only laughed at the charge, which they transferred to the Jews. In the midst of his dissipation, however, Froissart early discovered the ardent and inquisitive spirit to which we owe so much; and even at the age of twenty, at the command of his 'dear Lord and Master Sir Robert of Namur, Lord of Beaufort,' he began to write the history of the French wars. The period from 1326 to 1356, was chiefly filled up from the chronicles of Jean le Bel, canon of Liege, a confidant of John of Hainault, and celebrated by Froissart for his diligence and accuracy. It is reasonable to believe that this work was interrupted during a journey to England, in the train of Philippa of Hainault, the heroic wife of Edward III. and mother of the Black Prince. Froissart was for three or four years secretary or clerk of her chamber; a situation which he would probably have retained, but for an ill-fated and deep-rooted passion for a lady of Flanders, which induced him to return to that country; a circumstance equally favourable to the history of the Continent, and unfortunate for that of Britain. During his residence in England, he visited our Scottish mountains, which he traversed on a palfrey carrying his own portmanteau, and attended only by a greyhound.

Notwithstanding

* This, however, may be a mistake, for any thing we know, of the worshipful Lord Berners. We are uncertain if it occurs in Everard's edition of Froissart.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of his equipment and retinue, his character of a poet and historian introduced him to the court of David II. and to the hardly less honourable distinction of fifteen days abode at the castle of Dalkeith with William Earl of Douglas, where he learned personally to know that race of heroes whose deeds he has repeatedly celebrated. After this he attended the Black Prince, then bound on his Spanish expedition against Henry the Bastard; in which he would not, however, permit Froissart to accompany him, but sent him back to attend his mother Queen Philippa.

In the year 1368, Froissart was present at the splendid nuptials of Lionel Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., with Yolande of Milan. In his return he attended Lionel at the court of the Duke of Savoy, who gave our historian a splendid garment worth twenty florins. He boasts in his poems of similar favours from the king of Cyprus, and of having seen an emperor at the papal court.* While thus travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle, his train was gradually augmented by an attendant and hackney. The death of Philippa removed Froissart's desire to return to England; but he still kept up a friendly intercourse with that court, and had prepared to send to King Edward a splendid copy of his Chronicle, when it was arrested by the Duke of Anjou as destined to the enemy of France. At this time he had become curate of Lestines in the diocese of Liege, where he says that the vintners had 500 francs of his money during a very short time. It may be conjectured from this circumstance, that *they* were more obliged to his attention than any of his other parishioners. He was probably soon convinced that it was better to drink at free cost; for, previous to 1384, he became an attendant on the court of the Duke of Brabant, whom he assisted in composing a sort of poetical romance, called *Meliador*, or the Knight of the Golden Sun; and, after the death of that prince, he attached himself to the Earl of Blois, who engaged him to resume his historical labours. Accordingly, he seems now to have commenced the second volume of his Chronicle, which was finished about 1388, three years after the peace betwixt the Duke of Burgundy and the Citizens of Ghent, which is one of the last events recorded in that performance. About the same year, this active and inquisitive historian made his celebrated visit to Gaston Earl of Foix, travelling in company with a gallant knight of that court called *Espaing de Lyon*. He then narrated the history of this journey with great *naïveté* and liveliness. The intestine wars of France had raged in every

* Perhaps the Grecian Emperor Paleologus, who visited Rome in 1369 to crave assistance against Mahomet.

every corner of the territories they were to traverse: scarce a stream, a hill, or a pass, but had been the distinguished scene of obstinate and bloody conflict. Froissart's curiosity was every moment awakened by some memorial of deeds of chivalry; and his courteous and communicative companion readily detailed events with which he was well acquainted, and many of which he had witnessed. In consideration of these lively narratives, the good natured reader will easily pardon the minute information, that the two travellers lodged and took their ease at the sign of the star, and that they were visited by the Chastellan of Malvoisin, who brought with him four flaggons of the best wine our historian ever drank in his life. At length they arrived at the Earl of Foix's court of Ortez, where Froissart was courteously received and admitted as a member of his household: 'I know you well,' said the earl, 'although we have never seen each other. This courteous prince not only deigned to accept a copy of the Romance of Meliador, containing the songs, ballads, roundeaux, and virelays, compiled and made by the gentle Duke of Brabant in his time, but he indulged Froissart in reading his compositions aloud: 'and every night after supper I read thereon to him, *and while I read there was none durst speak any word*, because he would that I should be well understood, wherein he took great solace.' The great virtue and nobleness of the Earl of Foix, the course of valiant chivalry from every scene of glory who crowded his court, the long discourses of arms and amours amongst the noble dames, knights, pages, and damsels, the tidings which daily arrived from every seat of war, and perhaps the patient audience afforded by the earl to our historian's recitations, induced him to prefer Ortez to every court he had seen, whether of king, duke, earl, or great ladye. In truth the daily orisons and almsgiving of that worthy prince, his bounty in gifts to heralds and minstrels, his love of hounds, hawks and hunting, his easy and amorous conversation, his delight in arms, chivalry, and lady's love, were far more than enough, in Froissart's estimation, to counterbalance the count's treacherous murder of his cousin, and his cutting with his own hands the throat of his only son who had most unreasonably refused to eat his dinner.*

After

* Froissart expresses this last incident very delicately: 'And so in great displeasure he thrust his hand to his son's throat; and the point of the knife a little entered into his throat, into a certain vein; and the earl said, "Ah, traitor, why doest not thou eat thy meat?" and therewith the earl departed, without any more doing or saying, and went

After a long sojourn at the court of Ortez he returned to Flanders by the route of Avignon. We learn from a poem referred to by Mons de Ste Palaye, that on this occasion the historian, always in quest of adventures, met a personal one with which he could have dispensed, being robbed of all the ready money which his travels had left him. We may hope this was no great sum; for besides the expence of transcribing his history, for which he anticipates his claim on the gratitude of posterity, he had spent above 2000 francs among the tavern-keepers of Lestines, as well as in his frequent journies, in which he takes care to tell us he was always handsomely dressed and well mounted, and above all made admirable cheer. After this sad event, we find Froissart following the annunciation of every feast, bridal, or tournament, from Avignon to Paris, from Paris to Hainault, to Holland, to Picardie, to Languedoc, to Valenciennes, &c. &c. &c. About the year 1390, having collected what appeared to him sufficient materials, he settled in Flanders, and recommenced his history. Here, however, an interruption occurred highly evincing his zealous and impartial search after truth. He bethought him, that, in narrating the wars of Spain, upon the sole authority of the Spanish and Gascon warriors, whom he had seen at Ortez, he could only give the statement of the one party, contrary to his constant practice and indispensable duty. It happened that a Portuguese nobleman had just arrived in Zealand. Froissart instantly took shipping, joined him at Middleburg, insinuated himself into the acquaintance of the stranger with an art that never failed him, and obtained from him a full account of the affairs of Portugal. After this interview he is believed to have again visited Rome, perhaps in search of preferment; for we find him shortly afterwards designing himself canon and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, and expectant canon of Lisle. This last dignity he never attained.

In 1395, Froissart revisited England; and at the shrine of Canterbury he saw Richard II, grandson of his early patroness Philippa of Hainault. Edmond of York, brother to the Black Prince, received our historian graciously; and, patronized by that Prince, and by Thomas Percy, he was introduced to the royal presence, which he thus describes: 'I have delight to write this matter at length, to inform you of the truth; for I
that

went into his own chamber. The child was abashed, and afraid of the coming of his father, and also was feeble for fasting; and the point of the knife a little entered into a vein of his throat; so he fell down suddenly and died.' Vol. II. *Berners Froissart*, cap. XXVI.

that am author of this history, was present in all these matters; and the valiant knight, Sir Richard Surry, shewed me every thing. And so it was, that, on the Sunday following, all such as had been there were departed, and all their counsellors except the Duke of York, who abode still about the king; and the Lord Thomas Percy and Sir Richard Surrey shewed my business to the king. Then the king desired to see my book that I had brought for him. So he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready upon his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well; for it was fairly illuminated, and written and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought. Then the king demanded of me whereof it treated; and I shewed him how it treated of matters of love; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it, and read it in many places, for he could speak and read French very well. And he took it to a knight of his chamber, named Sir Richard Credon, to bear it to his secret chamber.' Besides the honourable reception of Froissart in England, he was much delighted with the society of a certain squire who had been long prisoner in Ireland, through whom he became acquainted with the manners of the natives of that country, and with the history of Richard's expedition against them, all which information he has inserted in the 4th volume of his Chronicle.

After a residence of three months, Froissart left England for ever, and, at his departure, received from the king a silver goblet containing a hundred nobles. He finally settled at his benefice of Chimay, and employed as usual the hours of his leisure in arranging and detailing the information collected in his travels. Four years brought him to 1399, when the melancholy fate of his benefactor Richard II. became the subject of his latest labours. With the credulity of his age, he tells us of a prophecy in the book of Brut presaging this event, and of a favourite and cherished greyhound who left the dethroned monarch to fawn on his successor Bolingbroke. But he feelingly enumerates the different benefits he had received from Richard, and from his family; 'wherefore,' says the grateful historian, 'I am bound to write of his death with much sorrow, and to pray to God for his soul.' It is uncertain how long Froissart survived the death of Richard, and the conclusion of his Chronicle; he was then about sixty years old, and died shortly after at Chimay, according to an entry in the obituary of the Chapter.

From this short sketch, by which we have endeavoured, in some measure, to supply a great omission in Mr Johnes's translation, our readers may gather some idea of the character of Froissart and his writings. He was no sequestered monk, who from
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the depth of his cloister casts a timid and inexperienced eye upon the transactions of mankind ; still less could he contract that spirit of prejudice and interested superstition which too often defaces the writings of an ascetic. Froissart, though a churchman, was, in every sense, a man of the world, but actuated by a spirit of ardent investigation, and breathing in every page the high spirit of chivalry imbibed in the courts and castles where he loved to dwell. He is superstitious according to the manner of his age, but it is the superstition of an ignorant soldier, who tells a wonderful story merely because he believes it true ; or of a poet who loves the marvellous that excites his imagination, and not that of a monk whose interest either warps his own judgement, or induces him to practise on the credulity of others. When he degenerates, therefore, into the marvellous, it is usually in some such romantic tale as that of the spirit who so long served the Lord of Corasse, and brought him news of all that passed in foreign kingdoms, or of the wonderful bear which was hunted and slain by Sir Peter of Berne, after which he became a noctambulist, and by his midnight wanderings and gambols terrified his wife into a pilgrimage to St James of Compostella, from which she declined to return to so unruly a bedfellow. But while we are sometimes amused with these popular tales of terror, we are delivered from the dull and deliberate legends of saints and miracles with which the pages of the monkish historians are so unmercifully garnished. The curate of Lestines, though a good Catholic, by no means piqued himself upon zeal for the church, that *ignis fatuus* which leads astray his contemporaries. Indeed, from the tenor of his life, we think he may be safely trusted, when he asserts that he was prompted to his laborious task by the wish to record the deeds of chivalry which he loved, and to stigmatize with eternal shame the actions of the recreant or dishonourable. He also had this very great advantage over contemporary historians, that, excepting the assistance derived from the Chronicle of Jean le Bel in compiling his first volume, his materials were drawn from original sources. Not only the inferior knights and squires, but, even the petty potentates at whose courts he resided, communicated freely to him their actions and motives, and, by hearing both sides, and comparing them together, he was usually able to discover the truth, or at least to state to his readers in what the best authorities differed. As his chronicles were regularly written out, and presented to his patrons during the intervals of his travels, he afforded to his contemporaries a sure pledge of his veracity. For surely he would have been but ill advised, who, during the fourteenth century, would have forged a false tale upon the pretended averment of a feudal prince or baron who was yet alive to avenge the insult while he corrected the error. Neither was

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our historian remiss in examining the written documents of the time. He has preserved several leagues, letters, &c. and refers to many others; and the heralds, to whom the transactions of diplomacy were then usually committed, underwent many a close examination from our indefatigable traveller. Above all, we must allow Froissart the praise of the most unblemished impartiality, in spite of the peevish impeachment of Bodin, Brantome, and most of the French writers. It is true, it would have been difficult to narrate the victories of Cressy and Poitiers, without wounding the national vanity of France; but if Froissart was patronized by Queen Philippa, he was also admitted a member of the household of King John of France; if he was the familiar friend of Percy, he had been the guest of Douglas; if he admired the Black Prince, he admired equally Bertrand du Guesclin; and if a distinction can be made, his natural generosity seems rather to have inclined towards the side of the French chivalry, who, by individual valour, and the most generous self-devotion, struggled to support, in an overwhelming tempest, the throne of their monarchs and the independence of their country. The transactions in his own country were comparatively too insignificant to bias his integrity, though he always speaks with warmth and pride of the race and arms of Hainault. Lastly, let it be remembered, that if a part of his chronicle was composed at the request of the Count of Namur, the ally of England, he was induced to continue it by the Earl of Blois, the steady friend of France. In the latter case, he thus anticipates and repels the accusation of being swayed by the prejudices of his patron. 'Let it not be said that I have been corrupted by the favours of Guy Count of Blois, who caused me write this work, and has paid me for it liberally - - - Nay, truly! I will not speak save the downright truth, without colour or favour; and it is the will also of the gentle Prince and Earl that I should record only the very fact.'

It remains to notice the defective points in this celebrated work. Formed upon a variety of detached conversations, the Chronicle contains a mass of information, more or less accurate, concerning almost every country in Europe, and upon every species of transaction civil and military, from the attack and defence of a fortress to the ordering of a festive banquet. But it must be owned that this information is strangely and confusedly piled together; and it oftener happens to the man who has recourse to Froissart's authority, that he lights unexpectedly upon something curious and valuable, which he was not looking for, than that he is able to find the information which he wished to obtain. Froissart wrote with the haste of a traveller, and with the ardent impetuosity of a mind too much engrossed with the immediate narrative, to think of

what had gone before, or of what was to follow after. We have, says *Monsieur de Ste Palaye*, lively descriptions of tumultuous meetings of warriors, of all ages, kindreds and languages: the riotous banquet is protracted late into the night; while each, in emulation of his companions, details what he has seen, heard or acted; and the fatigued traveller throws the lively but confused dialogue upon paper ere he retires to rest. It is also necessary to observe, that the events are often inserted not in the order in which they took place, but in that in which they came to Froissart's knowledge, to the utter confusion of all chronology. Nay, sometimes when an event has been already told in its regular order, as the battle of Aljubarotta in Spain, the historian, having afterwards acquired new lights on the subject from a different quarter, is not at the pains to new-model the whole narration, but thrusts his second edition into the middle of whatever he was writing when he heard it, and leaves the gentle reader to compare and reconcile the accounts as he best may. In this respect his splendid work may be likened to a piece of ancient tapestry full of knights, ladies, castles, tilts, tournaments, battles, and pageants, but presenting to the eye no regular or uniform picture. It must be also admitted, that if Froissart was unfettered by the prejudices and superstition of the cloister, he was strongly imbued with the romantic spirit peculiar to his age. Hence, his credulity must have frequently been imposed on by those who were willing to satisfy with a marvellous tale the wandering priest's eager thirst after information; and hence, too, himself a poet, we may be permitted to suppose him partial to that edition of a story which produced the highest effect, and rather unwilling too narrowly to question the precise truth of the chivalrous narrations which he esteemed so delicious. There is much room to suspect that the story of the self-devoted burghers of Calais received its higher and more romantic colouring of Froissart (See p. 267, Note); and our accurate countryman, Lord Hailes, has proved that Froissart erred in placing Queen Philippa at the head of the English army at the battle of Nevil's-cross, in which David II. of Scotland was routed and made prisoner (p. 347. Note). We may add to his Lordship's argument, that Laurence Minot, a court-poet of the day, would not have omitted so favourable a subject of panegyric in his poem on that engagement.

It remains to examine the merits of the present translation, which will perhaps be best accomplished by pointing out in what it excels or falls short of that which was executed by Lord Berners. In one respect, the translators are in a similar situation, being both, we believe, soldiers, and both above that rank of fortune which is usually the station of literary adventurers. John
Bourchier,

Bourchier, lord of Berners, was chancellor of the exchequer, and governor of Calais during the reign of Henry VIII., and had the singular good fortune to retain the precarious favour of his jealous master, although he was at once a man of talents, and descended from the Plantagenets. He died at Calais about 1532. His translation of Froissart was executed at the command of Henry himself, and may be supposed to mark a dawning taste for the English language at the court of that monarch. In the reign of Henry VII. the translation of French romances had just commenced. Lord Berners's version of Froissart was published by Pynson in 1523. It is written in the pure and nervous English of that early period, and deserves to be carefully consulted by the philologist. In one respect, the old baron must be allowed to possess an infinite advantage over Mr Johnes. He lived when the ideas of chivalry yet existed, and when its appropriate language was yet spoken among his readers; so that he was enabled to translate the conversation of Froissart's knights and nobles by the corresponding expressions in English which he, himself a knight and noble, daily used and heard at the court of Henry. Mr Johnes, on the other hand, has undertaken the very difficult and hazardous task of translating the French expressions of chivalry into what is, with respect to the ordinary communications of life, a dialect absolutely extinct: for it must be obvious, that Froissart can no more be rendered with truth and effect into modern English, than Lord Berners could be introduced in the present drawing-room in his buff-coat, slashed sleeves, and trunk hose. In describing the war-cry of 'A Douglas, a Douglas!' the translator renders it 'Douglas for ever!' by which the *ensensie* of a feudal chieftain is degraded into the shout of a mob. We fear also that Mr Johnes is deficient in a very important part of Froissart's language, that which relates to heraldry. The arms of Douglas are described (p. 32.) as 'argent on a chief argent,' which it is impossible to blazon. In p. 201, they are rightly given, 'Argent a chief azure;' but he has omitted 'three stars gules on the chief,' as mentioned by Froissart, edit. 1559, p. 95.

We proceed to compare the translations in the following interesting passage, reducing the orthography of Lord Berners, which is extremely vague, to nearly the modern standard. The subject is the battle of Cressy; and the historian has already described, in the most lively colours, the disorder in which the French multitude came pouring on the small, but compact and well-ordered host of England.

'When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and (he) said to his marshalls, "Make the Genoese go on before, and begin the battle in the name of God and St Denis." There were of the Genoese cross-bows about a fifteen thousand,

but they were so weary of going a-foot that day, a six leagues, armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms; we have more need of rest." These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said, "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also, the same season, there fell a great rain and an eclipse, with a terrible thunder; and before the rain, there came flying over the battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmens' eyes, and on the Englishmens' back. When the Genoese were assembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leape and cry, to abashe the Englishmen; but they stood still, and stirred not for all that. Then the Genoese again the second time made another leape and a fell cry, and stepped forward a little; and the Englishmen removed not one foot. Thirdly again, they leaped and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace, and lette fly their arrows so wholly and thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads and arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows, and did cut their strings, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flee away, he said, "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men-at-arms dash in among them, and killed a great number of them, and ever still the Englishmen shot where-as they saw the thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men-at-arms and into their horses; and many fell horse and men among the Genoese; and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also, among the Englishmen, there were certain rascals that went on foot with great knives, and they went in among the men-at-arms, and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the King of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

This remarkable passage is thus rendered by Mr Johnes.

' You must know, that these kings, dukes, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the king of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St Denis."

' There

' There were about fifteen thousand Geneose cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows.

' They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, " This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them."

' During this time, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs.

' When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved. They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed.

' When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their cross-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about, and retreated, quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese.

' The king of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, " Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road without any reason." You would then have seen the above mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways,

' The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Geneose, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives: these, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and squires, slew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exasperated.' p. 324. 325.

Upon the mere point of style in this passage, we are of opinion that the ancient translator has considerably the advantage. In describing the shouts with which the Genoese endeavoured to sustain their own dubious courage, and appal their enemies, contrasted with the obstinate and ominous silence of the English, the words of Lord Berners are not only better chosen, but the sentences are better arranged, and convey a more lively picture to the eye. On the other hand, the modern translation is more accurate,

mentioning the original purpose of the body of men-at-arms * by whom the Geneose were to have been supported, but who in the end trampled them down, and the country of the light infantry who were mingled among the English archers and cavalry.†

We give another example of the language of the two translations, in the celebrated answer of Edward. ‘ They with the prince sent a messenger to the kynge, who was on a little windmill-hill: than the knight said to the king, “ Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Camfort, Sir Reynold Cobham, and other such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado. Then the king said “ Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth felled?”—“ No, Sir,” quoth the knight, “ but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid.”—“ Well,” said the king, “ return to him, and to those that sent you hither, and say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth so long as my son is alive; and also say to them, that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this *journee* be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him.”’

Mr Johnes's version runs thus—

‘ The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight * in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, “ Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the Lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son are vigorously attacked by the French; and they intreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do.”’

‘ The king replied: “ Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded, that he cannot support himself?” “ Nothing of the sort, thank God,” rejoined the knight, “ but he is in so hot an engagement, that he has great need of your help.” The king answered, “ Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will

* Denis Sauvage's edition bears that this body of cavalry was English; but we presume Mr Johnes followed a better authority. The Black Prince's men-at-arms were in the rear of the archers. *

† Baudouin calls them ‘ rascals,’ Mr Johnes ‘ Cornish and Welchmen.’ Froissart seems to give them both characters, ‘ *pillars et bidaux Gallois et Cornuallois.*’ The slaughter must have been greatly increased by these irregular troops; for the dismounted knights were usually unable to rise from the weight of their armour.

* Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have entrusted him." p. 327.

In this passage also we may remark a sort of flatness in the modern version. For example, '*so hot an engagement*' does not convey quite the idea of '*so hardly matched*,' nor does it well express '*il est en dur parti d'armes*,' which implies personal conflict as well as presence in a battle. Upon the whole there is a sort of amplification, perhaps unavoidable in modern language, which sounds tamer and less like the tone of chivalry than that employed by Lord Berners. In short, the Chronicle is as it were neatly bound in calf extra; nay the leaves, back and edges are gilt; but it wants the massy garniture of antique clasps, gilt knosps, and silver roses, which add to the dignity of Lord Berners's version.

Although the style of Mr Johnes is unquestionably inferior to Lord Berners, and although it is occasionally degraded by such quaint expressions as *sheering off*, *making off*, *shewing their beels*, and the like, we cannot but bestow high commendation on the fidelity and attention with which the task of translation has been executed. In a historical point of view, there can be no comparison betwixt the usefulness of Mr Johnes's version and Lord Berners's, as the latter has not only failed to correct the errors of Froissart as to proper names of persons and places, but has deplorably aggravated them. The Earl of Stamford, to recur to the passage last quoted, is in Froissart called le Compte D'E-stanford, and in Berners's hands he becomes Camfort. Mr Johnes, on the contrary, though his notes are not numerous, has bestowed laudable diligence in correcting the text of his author; has left few blunders, and we trust has made none. The opportunity of comparing so many various manuscripts has doubtless tended much to reform the text, and we do not venture to offer criticism where we have not an opportunity of seeing the original authorities. It might be worth Mr Johnes's while to consult the splendid manuscript of Froissart, formerly belonging to the Conventual Library of Newbottle, and now to the Earl of Ancram.

Engravings from many rare and curious illuminations are given in this volume. They present to us the dresses, costume, and manners, of Froissart's heroes, and add greatly to the interest of the publication.

After all, it may occur to our readers, that an edition of Lord Berners's translation, reduced to a systematic orthography, and corrected and enlarged where correction and enlargement was necessary, might have superseded the labours of Mr Johnes, and, at the same time, have preserved an ancient English classic. But we are more disposed to be grateful for what may be considered

as a free gift made to the public, than strictly to examine how far it might have been made more acceptable. If the Hafod press performs what is incumbent on that of Clarendon, the founder is surely entitled to choose betwixt the character of a translator and editor; and while, as a private individual, he discharges at his own expence a public duty, we willingly say, God speed his labours.

ART. VIII. *Memoirs sur la Respiration, par Lazare Spallanzani.*

Traduits en Français d'après son manuscrit inédit, par Jean Senebier, Membre de diverses Académies et Sociétés savantes. Associé correspondant de l'Institut National, et Bibliothécaire à Genève. 8vo. A Genève, chez J. Pauchaud, An. XI. (1803.) pp. 373.

THIS work seems entitled to attention, both from the importance of the subject and the celebrity of the author. Few of the modern physiologists of Italy are so well known in this island as Lazarus Spallanzani. The novelty of his physiological inquiries, the ingenuity of his experimental researches, and the unwearied perseverance with which he investigated the most minute circumstances connected with them, have given to most of his works the reputation of originality and uncommon accuracy. Some of his discoveries, indeed, were so unexpected, and so contrary to analogy, that they were at first received with very general distrust; and, by detailing again and again the same experiment under circumstances but slightly varied, he frequently carries his desire of extreme precision so far as to become prolix and fatiguing. This however, is a fault which will meet with a ready excuse from all lovers of science; at least, we have much oftener had occasion to lament an injudicious conciseness, which has limited the utility of experimental inquiries, by suppressing circumstances which, although at the time they seemed unimportant, afterwards have become of the greatest consequence when connected with subsequent discoveries or opinions.

To these posthumous memoirs, Senebier has with great propriety prefixed an historical account of the life and writings of their author. Although, from its extreme partiality, it can lay no claim to geographical excellence, it is not without its utility as a record of facts and dates.

Lazarus Spallanzani was born at Scandiano, in the dutchy of Modena, on the 10th January 1729. At the age of fifteen he went to Reggio, where, under the tuition of the Jesuits, his progress in belles-lettres was so rapid, that he became an object of attraction to the Dominicans, who endeavoured to entice him to enter their order; but fortunately, his thirst for knowledge led him

him to Bologna, where his relation Laura Bassi, deservedly celebrated for her genius, her eloquence, and her mathematical knowledge, was professor in the Institute. By her he was taught the valuable lesson of preferring the study of nature to that of its commentators, and to judge of the latter by comparing them with the former. But notwithstanding his attachment to belles-lettres and natural philosophy, in compliance with the wishes of his father he submitted to the drudgery of studying law, and was about to take his degree, when his countryman Anthony Valisnieri, professor of natural history in Padua, interposed, and he was permitted to follow the bent of his genius. In 1754 he was chosen professor of Greek, Logic, and Mathematics, in the university of Reggio; and, notwithstanding the duties of this multifarious charge, he began his experiments on infusory animals with so much success, as to attract the notice of Haller and Bonnet, the latter of whom, especially, contributed much to confirm his taste for natural history. In 1760 he accepted a chair in the university of Modena, although he had received more advantageous offers from Coimbra, Parma and Cesena; and some years afterwards he rejected overtures from the Academy of Petersburg. His patriotism, however, yielded to the seducing advances of the Empress Maria Theresa, who appointed him, in 1768, professor of Natural history, and keeper of the Museum in her newly re-established and much favoured University of Pavia. On the death of Valisnieri he was offered his chair at Padua; but the government of Lombardy thought proper to bribe him to remain, by doubling his salary, and allowing him to travel to Constantinople. After the conquest of Italy by the French, he was offered the chair of Natural History at Paris, which he declined on account of his advanced period of life. He died at Pavia in consequence of a suppression of urine, on the 3d of February 1799.

Such are the outlines of the life of this celebrated naturalist, whose talents and amiable qualities, if we were to give implicit faith to the representations of his friend, were of the very highest order of excellence. Of his merits as a philosopher and as an author, his numerous publications afford a safer criterion. He has not only contributed to increase our knowledge of the important functions of generation, digestion, and circulation, but an immense variety of minor objects have received illustrations from his ingenuity. His mind seems to have been always uncommonly active; for no sooner were his annual academical labours at an end, than he hastened to explore some of the districts of Italy, principally with the view of enriching the museum of Pavia; and the published accounts of several of these excursions are undeniable proofs of his zeal and talents for observation. Even to the latest

latest period of his life, he seems to have kept pace with the progress of science. At the age of 68, he refuted with success the celebrated experiments of Goettling, and published an account of the still more celebrated shower of stones at Sienna; and at the time of his death he was engaged in preparing several works for the press, and in completing a well-imagined and very extensive inquiry into the complicated phenomena of respiration. His style of writing is diffuse and verbose, and he is apt on every occasion to exaggerate the importance of his own observations and discoveries. As an Italian, however, these blemishes are his birthright; and, by his countrymen, his works are esteemed as models of pure and chaste composition. In the chair he was animated and eloquent beyond any professor to whom we have ever listened; and, the elegance of his language, and the varied modulation of his voice, always commanded attention. In the distribution of his subject, he chiefly followed Bonnet; and his manner was diffuse and popular, rather than condensed and systematic; so that he occupied three sessions in completing one course. His eloquence always filled his classroom; yet, as far as we could judge, he was not a favourite either with his colleagues or his pupils. His conduct in a dispute with Scopoli, which is said to have broken his rival's heart, was almost universally reprobated. In his latter days, he was accused, we believe unjustly, of dilapidating that museum which owed its magnificence to his enthusiasm, and was reproached with a want of systematic knowledge of the very science which he was appointed to teach. But although, with regard to Spallanzani, the old adage 'Minuit præsentia famam' was strictly true, we are rather inclined to ascribe it to the malice of envy, than to any real deficiency of merit; and it is with pleasure that we proceed to the examination of the present posthumous volume.

On opening the book, we were immediately struck with the title page, and hastened to peruse the preface, that we might learn why the literary relics of the eloquent professor of Pavia should be first introduced to the public through the medium of a French translation. It was not without some indignation or regret that we learned, that, in the present circumstances of Italy, a small octavo volume, from one of its most celebrated writers, could not be published in his native language without a certain loss to the editor. To what a state of degrading poverty must that fair country be reduced! How completely must science be banished from its once favoured abode! It may perhaps afford our readers some consolation, however, to be informed, that these evils were brought upon their country by the very individuals who are now most severely oppressed by them. The recent subjugation of Italy was effected, rather by the

the treachery of the inhabitants, than by the arms of the invaders ; and in this treachery no class was more deeply involved than the men of letters. In the university of Pavia, in particular, very few of the professors remained true to their allegiance, or attempted to oppose the progress of revolutionary principles ; the greater part affected an absolute indifference towards events which were to decide the fate of their country ; while many took advantage of the influence they possessed over the minds of the youth committed to their charge, to excite them to acts of violence, which they themselves did not dare to perform, but of which they expected to reap the advantage. The natural consequence was, that almost every student in Pavia hailed the approach of the French as an incalculable blessing to his country ; and in his ardent imagination already beheld Italy regenerated, the grandeur of republican Rome restored, and personal merit the only source of distinction. The infant Cisalpine republic teemed with embryo heroes, legislators, and philosophers. But, alas, its heroes have only swelled the armies of its conquerors ; the wisest plans of its legislators have been rejected with contempt ; and the works of its philosophers are forced to seek their way to public notice through the medium of a foreign language.

For three years before his death, Spallanzani had been engaged in an extensive experimental inquiry into the function of respiration ; and he was so far advanced in it, that, in a letter addressed to Senebier, and prefixed to the present work, he has given a general abstract of the whole. Besides, in an introduction of considerable length, he not only developes his plan, but, amidst a number of judicious and new remarks on the respiration of the different classes of animals, he has given us the general results of his inquiries. The principal objects which he proposed to himself were to investigate,

1. The respiration of the six classes of animals, beginning with the lowest, and proceeding in succession to the highest, or mammalia, in which man is included.

2. The respiration of those animals which become torpid from the action of the cold.

3. The chemical changes induced on the air by the skins of those animals which are destitute of lungs.

4. The changes which are produced by dead animal matter on air in which it is confined.

In prosecution of this plan, Spallanzani had completed four memoirs before his death, but Senebier only received the three which are printed in this volume ; on the respiration of the terrestrial testacea ; of slugs ; and of the aquatic testacea. But they contain

tain a number of other facts, which will enable us to conjecture with great probability what the results of his inquiries would have been, had he lived to complete them. The idea of examining the respiration of the different classes of animals is not new, but it has never before been carried so systematically into effect. The only chemist who has anticipated Spallanzani in examining the respiration of any of the Vermes, is Vauquelin. He found reason to conclude that the respiration of oxygen gas is necessary to their life; that carbonic acid is formed; that they are insensible to its deleterious action; and that they analyze perfectly and completely atmospheric air, by consuming all its oxygen. All these conclusions are confirmed by the experiments of Spallanzani, except the last; for he clearly proves, that in almost every instance a proportion of azote is also absorbed, and that the whole of the oxygen is not always consumed. The subjects of his experiments were, in the first place, the *Helix nemoralis*. This snail is of two sexes, and is oviparous. From October to April it remains in a lethargic state, buried in the earth, within its shell hermetically sealed up by a calcareous membrane. In some very severe winters, such as that of 1795, it has been found completely frozen, and yet has revived on being exposed to a mild temperature. Its organs of respiration consist of a small membraneous bladder, which communicates with the external air by means of a small hole which the animal seems to open and shut at pleasure. The heart is situated so as to be exposed to the immediate action of the air contained in the pulmonary vesicle. The absolute necessity of air for their existence is proved, not only by their dying when confined in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump, or when immersed in water, but by confining them in 100 measures of atmospherical air until they perished. On analysis, Spallanzani found that about 18 parts of oxygen and 5 of azote were absorbed, while 6.5 of carbonic acid gas were produced. On confining them only half the time necessary to kill them, 18 of oxygen and 5 of azote were consumed, and 4.5 of carbonic acid were produced. When confined equal times in atmospheric air and in oxygen gas, in the former case 20 of oxygen and 4 of azote were consumed, and 6 of carbonic acid gas produced; in the latter 38 of oxygen gas were consumed, and 14 of carbonic acid gas produced. These changes, as well as the death of the animal, take place more slowly as the temperature is diminished; until, at last, about the freezing point they cease altogether, and both respiration and circulation seem to be suspended, although they are still capable of being revived, by gradually increasing the temperature. Spallanzani therefore thinks it highly probable, that during their winter lethargy both these functions are

are entirely suspended. But our author did not rest satisfied with merely ascertaining the changes produced on these gaseous fluids by the living animal; he was aware of the absolute necessity of examining into the effects produced on them by the dead animal, before he could be warranted to draw any conclusion with regard to the share which respiration and life may have in producing these changes; and the result of his inquiries affords an useful lesson to those engaged in physiological experiments, not to be too hasty in drawing conclusions; for he found that these changes on atmospheric air and oxygen gas, at least so far as the consumption of oxygen and the production of carbonic acid gas was concerned, were also produced by snails when deprived of life by immersion in boiling water, by snails in every stage of putrefaction, and even by their shells, until they were reduced to mere carbonic of lime. For example, two snails killed by boiling water, consumed in twenty-four hours 9 parts of oxygen gas out of 100 of atmospheric air, and produced 6 of carbonic acid, and 5 of azote. But he also found that the dead snails were four times longer than the living in producing the same consumption of oxygen. Now, as these changes are totally independent of life and respiration, it seems probable, that when living snails are confined in respirable gases, part of the oxygen is consumed independently of respiration.

The same experiments were repeated, with exactly the same results, on the *Helix Lusitanica* and *Helix Itala*. A long tract of dry weather in summer, such as frequently occurs in Lombardy during the months of July and August, produces the same effect on snails as the cold of winter. They retire to some shady situation, and seal up their shells; and during this long fast, they become even more emaciated than in winter. On reviving, they eat with great greediness. Spallanzani took advantage of this circumstance to make comparative experiments between snails starved and after a full meal; and in corroboration of the experiments of Lavoisier, he found that although the consumption of oxygen gas was nearly the same, the production of carbonic acid gas was much greater, and the consumption of azote somewhat less in the latter case. In all the experiments on living snails, oxygen gas was consumed, and carbonic acid gas produced; but the same uniformity did not take place with regard to the azote; for although, in general, a portion of it was consumed, yet some times, on the contrary, there was a production of it, especially after a full meal, devoured with great greediness, or when the animal was moribund.

Several species of *slugs* were the next subjects of Spallanzani's experiments, and they afford nearly the same conclusions. They absorbed

absorb oxygen, and produce carbonic acid gas, but do not consume any azote. These changes they effect more quickly than the shell-snails, and they die sooner in irrespirable gases, or when deprived of oxygen. Their organs of respiration consist of a small cavity, which opens by a canal on the right side of the neck.

The second memoir treats of the aquatic testacea, and first of the *Helix vivipara*. This insect does not seem to be provided with any distinct organ of respiration; but oxygen gas is necessary for its existence, although it consumes it very slowly. From his experiments on fresh-water bivalves, the *Mytilus anatinus* and *cygneus*, and Marine bivalves, the *Mytilus edulis* and *Ostrea jacobæa* and *edulis*, which are all provided with branchiæ, the same necessity for the presence of oxygen was also demonstrated; but they produced no change in the azote of air confined in contact with themselves, or with the water in which they were placed. It is remarkable, that not only aquatic animals, but also terrestrial animals, both living and dead, absorb oxygen from air in contact with water in which they are immersed.

The third memoir is of a miscellaneous nature, as it is entitled, 'Reflections and Observations on the Crustacea hitherto examined, and, on some other kinds of animals.' From the experiments related in the preceding memoirs, it appears that the cold-blooded animals die like the warm-blooded when deprived of oxygen; the only difference is, that the latter consume it more quickly, and die before it is entirely consumed, even although the carbonic acid be absorbed by means of a solution of alkali as fast as it is formed. By confining snails in an irrespirable gas, such as azote, their respiration and circulation gradually cease; but on the admission of oxygen gas, they recommence. The suspension of the vital functions by cold in these animals, naturally led Spallanzani to examine whether it took place in other kinds of animals furnished with membranous and vesicular lungs. For the detail of these experiments, we are however referred to memoirs which we are afraid have not been left in a state fit for publication; but fortunately he has here preserved some of the principal results. At---12 Reaumur, no sign of respiration could be perceived in a marmot. It was confined three hours and a half in a small quantity of air, without suffering any inconvenience, or altering it in the least, and four hours with equal impunity in carbonic acid gas, although a rat put in along with it was killed instantly. When the temperature of the air was about the freezing point, the lethargy was not complete; there was a perceptible elevation and depression of the sides, and in this situation carbonic acid gas killed it. Hence it appears, that the circumstances attending the lethargy of warm-blooded
animals

animals are precisely similar to that of the lower classes ; and from both facts, a very powerful and apparently incontrovertible argument may be deduced against the hypothesis, that life depends altogether on the continued exhibition of stimulants.

As oxygen gas is consumed, and carbonic acid gas formed during respiration, it becomes of importance to know, whether the latter is formed in the act of respiration by the combination of carbon evolved from the lungs with the oxygen inspired. To determine this point, Spallanzani took advantage of the fact which he had observed, that snails are capable of surviving some hours when confined in the irrespirable gases. He accordingly confined snails, chosen in every respect as similar as possible, in atmospheric air, in azotic and in hydrogen gas ; and he found that in general there was a larger quantity of carbonic acid gas produced in the azotic and hydrogen gases than in the atmospheric air, proving that the carbonic acid, in these instances at least, is not formed by the combination of carbon with the oxygen of the ambient air, but that it existed ready formed in the animal matter. Results affording the same conclusion were obtained in experiments made with snails deprived of life by immersion in boiling water.

Although these Memoirs treat professedly only of the respiration of a few of the lowest classes of animals, yet we have seen that they contain several interesting facts on the respiration of animals rendered lethargic by cold. We are likewise enabled to draw some conclusions with regard to the third object of Spallanzani's inquiry, from the information regarding it communicated in the prefatory letter to Senebier. We quote a part of it from an English translation, as a specimen of the author's manner.

' The amphibia after death displayed the same phenomena as the worms, insects, and fishes ; but when alive, they presented other subjects of inquiry. Having observed that some of them survived the destruction of their lungs several days, I was enabled to submit them in this state to examination, and thus to ascertain with precision the different quantity of oxygen absorbed by the lungs and the skin. I was likewise enabled to institute a comparison between the quantity of oxygen absorbed by these mutilated animals, and by those which had not undergone this operation. *

' You will see, in my work, what a small quantity of oxygen is absorbed by the lungs, in proportion to that taken in by the skin ; although it is generally believed that in this, as well as in the two higher classes of animals, the destruction of the oxygen contained in the atmosphere is attributable to that organ alone. Some species of amphibia, from which I cut out the lungs, lived even longer in free air than those which were not deprived of this organ when confined in mephitic gas, or air wholly destitute of oxygen. I discovered, farther, that some of them died much sooner when their skin was slightly covered by a varnish

nish with spirits of wine; the reason of which is evident, as, by means of this varnish, they are not only prevented from absorbing the oxygen, but rendered incapable of exhaling the carbonic acid, the expulsion of which seems equally essential to the continuance of their existence; whilst, on the contrary, if the experiment be made in mephitic gases, the carbonic acid is always found in a gaseous state.

‘ I have been able, however, to determine the precise quantity of oxygen absorbed by the skin, without cutting out the lungs from these amphibia, by confining their bodies in recipients in such a manner that, while the head alone had any communication with the external air, they could breathe without pain or difficulty. In this way, I ascertained that the absorption which takes place after the death of the animals, is only a continuation of that which was carried on during their life.’
p. 76-8.

After observing that oxygen was absorbed in the same way by the external surface of birds and warm-blooded animals, he proceeds to sum up the doctrine by the following experiments and observations.

‘ As the circumstance was somewhat curious, you may perhaps recollect my marmot, which became so extremely torpid during the rigorous winter of 1795. I kept this animal, at that period, four hours in carbonic acid gas, the thermometer marking 12° ; yet it continued to live in this gas, which is so very deleterious that a bird and a rat which I exposed to its influence, at the same time, perished instantaneously. It appears, then, that a total suspension of respiration had taken place during the whole of that period. The same experiment was repeated on a bat equally lethargic, with a similar result.

‘ In pursuing still farther my experiments, I preferred these flying quadrupeds to the marmot, afraid that this animal might sink under repeated trials; and I had only two, which I wished to reserve for other experiments; whilst, on the contrary, I possessed a great number of bats.

‘ I first wished to ascertain if, when respiration was suspended in these animals, there would be any production of carbonic acid from the skin; for which purpose I substituted azotic for carbonic acid gas. I then placed in this gas two bats, the thermometer standing at 9° , and allowed them to remain in it about two hours; after which I gradually removed them into a warmer medium, when they exhibited evident signs of life; but I could discover no carbonic acid gas in the azotic gas, from which I was led to conclude that the temperature was too low for the exhalation of this gas. I repeated these experiments at different temperatures successively raised to $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, when $\frac{1}{100}$ of carbonic acid gas were produced, although the torpidity of the animals was equally great.

‘ In this state of things I repeated the experiments under similar circumstances, only removing the bats into another vessel filled with atmospheric air, when I found not only the production of $5\frac{1}{2}$ hundredths
of

of carbonic acid gas, but the destruction of $\frac{6}{100}$ of oxygen gas. Although these two small quadrupeds were enclosed in common air, their profound torpor prevented them altogether from respiring; nor could that swelling and sinking in their sides be perceived, which are occasioned by the inflation and collapse of the lungs during respiration; neither did these phenomena occur in the open air: from all which it is evident, that the partial consumption of oxygen gas was in consequence of its absorption by the skin.

‘The result of the whole is, that this chemical power, of absorbing the vital part of the atmosphere, possessed by these warm-blooded animals after death, is the same as that which they display during life, and which continues to act until their bodies are wholly decomposed.’
p. 81-3.

With regard to this last object of inquiry, indeed, we receive satisfactory information in various part of this work. Dead animal matter of every description, (except the bile, which does not seem to possess this property), the shells of snails and of birds’ eggs, all absorb oxygen.

The occasional inconsistencies and frequent want of perspicuity which may be observed in this work, must be ascribed to the circumstances of its being posthumous, and published in the form of a translation; for had its author lived to have superintended the printing of it, we have no doubt that he would have improved the arrangement, supplied, on many occasions, what now appears to be deficient, and corrected the whole. But, even in its present state, it contains many new and valuable observations on the important function of respiration; and we look forward with impatience to the publication of an arranged selection of the most valuable experiments and observations, in the journals and other manuscripts of the physiologist of Pavia, which, we are informed in the preface, have been sent for that purpose to Senebier.

This work has been lately published in the English language; and as it is not announced in the title-page as a translation from the French, it has the appearance, we do not know whether from accident or design, of an original publication, that is, of having been translated into English by Senebier from the Italian manuscript.

ART. IX. *An account of the Operations carried on for accomplishing a Trigonometrical Survey of England and Wales; begun under the Direction of the Royal Society, and continued by order of the Honourable Board of Ordinance.* Revised from the Philosophical Transactions by Captain William Mudge F. R. S. and Mr Isaac Dalby. Printed for W. Faden, Charing-Cross. Vol. I. 1799. Vol. II. 1801, 1804.

THE work here announced is composed of papers read at different periods in the Royal Society of London, since the commencement of the Trigonometrical Survey in 1784, down to the present time. As the interest excited by that survey created an unusual demand for the volumes of the Philosophical Transactions in which the accounts of it were contained, the publisher of this work thought he would do a thing useful to science, and acceptable to the public, by collecting all these accounts into one. In this he has had the assistance of the Royal Society, and has been furnished with the plates already engraved for the Transactions; an indulgence, of which he has made a very fair use, by selling the book at a lower price than the elegance of the work and the number of the plates might have entitled him to demand.

The first volume of the Trigonometrical Survey was published in 1799; and it is only the second part of the second volume, which by its date falls immediately under our notice: but we trust that the importance of a great national undertaking will justify the retrospect which we are about to take of the whole.

The idea of a Geometrical Survey, to be undertaken by Government, and executed at the public expence, first occurred on the suppression of the rebellion in 1745, at the suggestion of the late Lieutenant General Watson, at that time deputy quarter-master general in North Britain. It fell to the late General Roy, who was then assistant quarter-master, to have a great share in the execution of this work; and the survey, which was at first meant to be confined to the Highlands, was extended to the low country, and made general for Scotland. Of the map produced from this survey, and which has remained in manuscript in the hands of Government, the General himself tells us that though it answered the purpose for which it was intended, and is not without considerable merit, yet the survey having been made with instruments of an inferior kind, and the sum annually allowed being very inadequate to so great a design, it is rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than as an accurate map of a country.

At the conclusion of the peace of 1763, it came under the consideration

sideration of Government to make a map of the whole island from actual survey, to which the map just mentioned was to be made subservient: the execution of the whole was to be committed to General then Colonel Roy, whose experience, acquired in the Scottish survey, had been improved by a constant exercise in the operations of practical geometry and astronomy as the duties of his profession would admit, and whom, his love of such pursuits, and his indefatigable activity, pointed out as eminently qualified for this service.

Circumstances, however, which it is easy to conceive in general, but which it would be useless to know in detail, prevented any step from being taken toward the execution of this design, till after the peace of 1783, when a memoir drawn up by Cassini de Thury was presented to our Government by the French ambassador, setting forth the advantages that would accrue to geography and astronomy from carrying a series of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk, (to which place the meridian of Paris had already been extended), so that the relative position of the two most celebrated observatories in the world might be ascertained by actual measurement.

This memoir having been communicated by the secretary of state (Mr Fox) to Sir Joseph Banks, and the plan proposed in it having received the approbation of the Royal Society, the execution of it was committed to General Roy, who was at that moment engaged in a survey of London and its environs, for the purpose of connecting together the different observatories in and about that metropolis; a work which, with his usual ardour and activity, he had undertaken for his own amusement.

As a series of triangles was now to be extended from about Greenwich through Kent, and across the Channel to Calais and Dunkirk, the first thing to be done was to measure a base, from the length of which the lengths of the sides of all the triangles might be inferred. Such a line was accordingly traced out on Honslow-heath, extending from a point near Hampton Poor-house, to a place called the King's Arbour, a distance of more than five miles, which was measured with the most scrupulous exactness. The description which General Roy has given of this measurement, deserves the attention of every one who is concerned in the operations of practical geometry, and who wishes to be made acquainted with the utmost resources of his art. He will perhaps see with surprise, that many of the things which he is accustomed to do with very little expence, either of time or of thought, require, when they are to be done with precision, no small proportion of both; that to make two rods exactly of the

same length, to place them in the same straight line, and to make the beginning of one coincide with the end of another, demand much skill and patience; in a word, that the most common matter, when executed with extreme accuracy, becomes difficult; and that science and art must combine to discover and to remove those minute obstacles, of which the bulk of mankind do not even suspect the existence.

The measurement of the base was first undertaken with deal rods of twenty feet in length; but though these were made of the best seasoned timber, from an old mast cut up on purpose, though they were perfectly straight, and secured from bending in the most effectual manner, yet the changes in their lengths, produced by the moisture and dryness of the air, were so considerable, as to take away all confidence in the results deduced from them. Glass rods were therefore substituted in their room, consisting of straight tubes twenty feet in length, enclosed in wooden frames; and these had the advantage of being susceptible of alteration only from heat or cold, according to laws which could be accurately ascertained. The base measured with these rods was found to be 27404.08 feet precisely, or 5.19 miles.

We refer for the particulars to the account itself, where General Roy has described the apparatus used, and the precautions taken to ensure the success of the operation. The detail, though minute, is interesting, and must be highly instructive to those engaged in operations any way similar. We would particularly recommend his description of the deal rods, the method of laying off their lengths, of the stands for supporting them, of the boning telescope, &c.

As the measurement of lines by a chain is, however, much more convenient and expeditious than by any other means, it was thought desirable to ascertain how far the accuracy, of such a measurement could be depended on, and how near, in the present instance, it might approximate to that by the glass rods. For the purpose of this experiment, Ramsden had prepared a chain of the very best construction, made of hardened steel, one hundred feet in length, and jointed somewhat like a watch-chain. General Roy having measured a part of the base with this chain, and with the glass rods at the same time, found that the results differed by a quantity wholly inconsiderable. Several years afterwards, the whole base was measured with the steel chain; and the difference between that and the measurement by the rods was found not to exceed two inches and three quarters of an inch, a difference on the length of five miles that is plainly of no account. Hence it was inferred, that measurements made with such a chain as has just been mentioned, and with due precautions, viz. stretch-

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ing it always in the same degree, supporting it on troughs laid horizontally, allowing for change of temperature, &c. are as much to be relied on, as those made in any other way whatsoever. This experiment, therefore, involved the determination of a material question with respect to the conduct of all future surveys.*

General Roy was assisted in these operations by Mr Isaac Dalby, a mathematician of eminence, and now professor of the mathematics at the Military College at High Wickham. A party of soldiers was also attached to the survey, for the purpose of doing such parts of the work as were merely laborious, and had a small encampment on the heath. The performance of this great experiment, for so it may very properly be called, could not fail to draw the attention of the men of science about London. The Master General of the ordnance, the President of the Royal Society, the Astronomer Royal, and many other distinguished persons, frequently witnessed the skill and attention employed in conducting it. The mensuration of the base (including the repetition of it, and several collateral matters, as well as delays from bad weather) took up from the middle of June to the end of August 1784. The extremities of the base were then marked by the centres of two wooden tubes, and have since been more permanently ascertained by the centres of two iron canon sunk in the ground.

Experiments and observations, of the kind which we are now considering, seldom fail to benefit science, not only directly, but indirectly, by the collateral objects to which they lead. A pyrometer, constructed by Ramsden, for the purpose of ascertaining the expansion of solid bodies by heat, is probably the best instrument of the kind which has yet been made, and is one of the monuments of skill and genius that will long preserve the memory of that incomparable artist,

It was not till the summer 1787, that the measurement was resumed by actually extending a series of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk. For this purpose, signals were erected, in such conspicuous situations, and at such distances, as were judged convenient; the straight lines joining these points, formed a set of triangles, the angles of which were measured by a theodolite which Ramsden had constructed, and which was carried, successively to all the stations. In these triangles, therefore

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which

* It may be proper to remark, however, that Le Gendre, after having considered the method of the steel chain, seems still to prefer that by rods of metal, because of the difficulty of giving the chain always a sufficient and uniform degree of tension.

which were so formed that one side was always common to two of them, all the angles became known, and a side of one of them being also given, viz. the base on Honslow-heath, the sides of all the rest could be found by trigonometrical computation. So also, the bearing of any one of the sides in respect of the meridian being known by observation, the bearings of all the rest with respect to the same meridian were determined.

The theodolite by which the angles of these triangles were measured, was superior to any thing that had ever been used in geodetical observations; and might be compared with the best instruments of astronomy. Ramsden had exerted himself to the utmost both in the design and execution of it; he had united in it the powers of a theodolite, a quadrant, and a transit instrument, and had made it capable of measuring horizontal angles to fractions of a second. It was furnished with a telescope of a much higher magnifying power than had ever been before applied to observations purely terrestrial; and by this superiority in its construction, even if it were the only one, we are persuaded that the surveys made with it are more accurate than any other. The French academicians, for example, who joined General Roy at Dover, as we shall see presently, employed in their measurement a very excellent instrument, a circle of repetition, of the kind invented by Borda; and by taking the same angle several times over on different parts of the limb, they could diminish the error arising from the division of the instrument to an indefinite degree. But there was another error which they could not diminish, viz. that which arose from the small power of their glasses, and the consequent largeness of the real diameters of the objects which appeared to them as points or lines. Though their observations were therefore extremely good, and far exceeding any that had been made in France previous to the introduction of Borda's circle, they do not seem to equal those in the English survey. As England was later in undertaking works of this sort than France, and some other nations on the continent, it seemed but just that she should aim at superior excellence; and possessing, as Cassini says, the first artist in the world, it was not difficult for her to attain it.

The high power of the telescope just mentioned, obviated many of the difficulties concerning the signals employed to distinguish the precise point at each station that was to be intersected from the rest. When the object to be intersected was not the spire of a steeple, a flag-staff was commonly used; but when the distance was great, or the weather not very favourable, lights were employed, and the observations were made in the night. These lights were either reverberatory lamps, or white lights, (so called from

from their extreme brilliancy), fired at a particular time previously agreed on. The signals made in this manner were visible at a great distance even in bad weather. Cassini says that he hardly expects to be believed, when he tells that he observed one from about Calais, which was fired on the opposite shore, about 40 miles off, and in bad weather.

The precaution taken of placing the great theodolite at all times with its centre exactly perpendicular to the point that was to be intersected from the other stations, deserves also to be mentioned. Though the allowance to be made for the distance of the instrument from the angular point is easily computed, yet it is difficult to avoid some error in doing so; and the frequent recurrence of such errors is a source of inaccuracy which it is much better to have entirely cut off.

From all these circumstances, added to others which we cannot here enumerate, the angles were generally observed with such accuracy, as to manifest the effect of the earth's sphericity by giving the sum of the three angles of a triangle somewhat greater than 180° , and that even where the sides did not exceed 15 or 20 miles. This excess above 180° is produced by the plane of the instrument at the three angular points of the triangle not being parallel to itself, but perpendicular to three lines which meet (at least nearly), in one point, the centre of the earth. It is called the spherical excess; and it was in this survey that there came, for the first time, to be any question concerning the quantity of it, in each triangle. The instruments used in former surveys had never been accurate enough to bring a quantity so small as hardly ever to amount to $4''$ in one triangle, to be an object of investigation. In the observations made for verifying the meridian of Paris about 50 years ago, the error in the three angles of a triangle often amounts to 20 or 30 seconds; and then, of course, no question could occur about a connexion which cannot exceed the tenth part of that quantity. But in General Roy's observations, the error in the three angles of a triangle never reaches $3''$; and, therefore, the spherical excess is of importance to be ascertained. In justice to the French academicians who co-operated with the General, it must be observed that the angles taken by them with Borda's instrument, were accurate within $1''$ or $2''$ on each angle, so that they found equal reason for employing the spherical excess.

This remark is applicable to all the measurements made in France since the period we are here treating of. They have all been made with the *repeating* circle, and seem to have reached a very high degree of accuracy.

The introduction of a new element into trigonometrical computation,

putation, is of great importance, and will probably be found to mark a precise era in all measurements relating to the figure of the earth. The spherical excess in any triangle, has a given relation to the area of that triangle; for it is to 180° as that area is to the area of a great circle of the sphere; and it was from this theorem that General Roy deduced the rule which he has given for computing the spherical excess, independently of the angles themselves. For this purpose, the area of the triangle is to be estimated as if it were rectilinear; and it is sufficient to do this even by a very rude approximation, because it requires an area of about 75 square miles to produce a single second of spherical excess.

As it was necessary that the French geometers should unite with the English in carrying into full effect the plan which they themselves were the first to propose, three distinguished members of the Academy of Sciences, Cassini, Mechain, and Le Gendre, met General Roy and Dr Blagden at Dover, where measures were concerted for the corresponding observations to be made on the coasts of France and England. The French academicians were furnished by General Roy with white lights to be fired on their side, while corresponding observations were made at Dover and Fairlight-Down on the coast of England. The operations on both sides succeeded perfectly, notwithstanding that the weather was by no means favourable. The three academicians above named, having crossed the Channel again, after their observations were finished, repaired to London, and appear to have been highly gratified by the objects they saw, and the reception they met with in that metropolis. It is painful to reflect, that this is the last amicable interview which has taken place even among the men of letters of the two countries, and that the hostile armies of both nations are now encamped on the very ground which was the theatre of these scientific operations.

Besides measuring all the angles in the triangles that have been mentioned, it was necessary to fix the bearing of some one of the sides of those triangles in respect of the meridian. This was done by observing the azimuth of the pole-star, relatively to the given line, at its greatest distance from the meridian, both on the east and west sides. This method of ascertaining the angle which any line on the earth's surface makes with the meridian, we apprehend to be greatly preferable, for expedition as well as accuracy, to any other that is known. It cannot, however, be practised to advantage, but with such an instrument as the great theodolite, which answers for a transit, and carries a telescope of power sufficient to render the pole-star visible

sible during the day. This, therefore, is one of the circumstances on account of which we think the British survey entitled to a preference above every other.

That a check might not be wanting on any errors that had crept into a work of such variety and extent, General Roy caused a second base to be measured on the flat ground of Rumsey-Marsh, which was not far distant from the southern extremity of the series of triangles. When the length of this base, as actually measured, was compared with that deduced by connecting it with the base on Honslow-Heath, the two results were found to differ only by twenty-eight inches, which must appear very inconsiderable when we reflect that the two lines are more than sixty miles asunder. There was reason, nevertheless, to suspect that this base of verification was not so correctly measured as that on Honslow-Heath.

The conclusions deduced from all these observations, as far as respects the relative position of the observatories of Greenwich and Paris, are, first, that the distance between their parallels of latitude is 96,954 feet, = 182.567 miles, which corresponds on the earth's surface to an arch of $20^{\circ} 38' 16''$ in the heavens (the difference of latitude), and therefore the length of a degree of the meridian in the latitude $50^{\circ} 10'$ comes out = 60843 fathoms = 69.14 miles.

Again, the perpendicular from the tower of Dunkirk on the meridian of Greenwich is found to be 547058 feet; from which, subtracting 9070 feet, the distance of Dunkirk east of the meridian of Paris, we have the perpendicular let fall from the point in the meridian of Paris, which is in the parallel of Greenwich, on the meridian of this last = 537978 feet = 101.89 miles.* The General also having determined, from the length and azimuth of one of the lines in the survey (between Botley-Hill and Goudhurst in Kent) to how many fathoms a degree of longitude in that parallel corresponds, has from thence deduced the difference of longitude of Greenwich and Paris = $2^{\circ} 19' 51''$, or, in time, 9^m 19^s. 4; which agrees with the conclusion which Dr Maskelyne had before drawn from *data* purely astronomical. It must however

* Another result, not uninteresting, is the breadth of the English channel, where it is narrowest. The line from the Keep of Dover Castle to the station at Blanez, is 116660 feet = 22.095 miles. The south foreland appears to be about two miles nearer to Blanez, if we measure on the map, which accompanies the survey. The least breadth of the channel, therefore, does not exceed twenty miles;—a narrow but a strong barrier,—one of those indelible lines which nature has kindly traced out on the surface of the earth to resist the ambition and preserve the independence of nations.

ever be observed, that Le Gendre deduces from the same measurement a result considerably different, and makes the difference of longitude of the two observatories $9^m 21^s$ (Mem. de l'Acad. 1788), which is $1. \frac{1}{4}$ seconds in time greater than the preceding.

But though nothing certainly can exceed the accuracy of General Roy's observations, we cannot bestow praise equally unqualified on the methods by which the results are deduced from them. The General has made use, as before mentioned, of the spherical excess, for the purpose of estimating the accuracy of his observations; yet he has not derived, from the introduction of that new element, all the advantage which it is capable of affording. He has great merit in being the first to make use of it, though he did not perceive the whole of its importance. This was indeed first made known by a theorem of Le Gendre, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1787, from which it appears, that if each of the angles of a small spherical triangle be diminished by one third of the spherical excess, the sines of the angles thus diminished will be very nearly proportional to the lengths of the sides themselves; so that the computations with respect to such spherical triangles may be made by the rules of plane trigonometry. General Roy was probably unacquainted with this theorem, which is not of very easy investigation; and though he has virtually employed it in part, because he always reduced the angles of his triangles to 180° before he used them in calculation, yet he derives no benefit from it in many of the cases where it is of the greatest importance. These are when two angles only of a triangle have been observed, and it is required to find the third angle; or, again, in calculating the distances of the stations from the meridian, or the perpendicular to it, where the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is given, and one of the oblique angles. In such cases, an attention to the above theorem will enable the calculator to bring out a far more accurate conclusion than he can otherwise obtain. It must be confessed, that the General has not calculated on this principle, and that he has not taken as a substitute for it, the reduction of the observed angles to the angles contained by the chords of the arches, (the method that Major Mudge has adopted in the farther prosecution of the trigonometrical survey); and that therefore his calculations are deficient in accuracy, at least in that extreme accuracy, which the correctness of the observations themselves entitles us to expect. His method is sufficiently correct for any of the older measurements, for those in Peru, Lapland, France formerly, and indeed for all that were made any where, till the great theodolite of Ramsden, or the repeating circle of Borda, were introduced. It in effect supposes the series of triangles to be laid out or extended on a plain surface

surface, and to this plane every thing is understood to be reduced. This supposition is no doubt inaccurate ; yet the inaccuracy is not considerable, and of no account at all, when the angles of a triangle have not been observed within twenty or thirty seconds of the truth. But when the error of observation is reduced to less than a tenth part of that quantity, a more exact method of calculating must necessarily be pursued ; as the *calculus* should ever be so instituted as to preserve to the conclusions all the accuracy possessed by the *data* themselves. No portion of this, however small, should be suffered to escape ; and since it is a quantity which the calculator cannot increase, he should be careful not to diminish it.

The slight degree of incorrectness, therefore, which we have remarked in General Roy's computations, would not deserve to be mentioned, if it were not for the excellence of his observations. It is, besides, an imperfection which it is easy to remove. the part of the work which no one could amend, fortunately stands in need of no emendation.

It is not wonderful if these slight inaccuracies escaped General Roy. The only principle on which they can be completely avoided, without a mode of calculating extremely long and laborious, is the theorem already mentioned, a proposition by no means obvious, and drawn by the excellent mathematician who discovered it from the recesses of the new geometry. The General, possessing from his youth a decided turn for the mathematics, had bent the whole force of a very strong and vigorous understanding chiefly to the practical parts of that science, and those most immediately connected with his profession, but probably was not much conversant with the branches which are more theoretical and abstract. A life spent in continual activity, and of which a large proportion had been passed in the camp or the field, afforded no leisure for such acquirements, and held out, even to the mathematician, more interesting objects of pursuit. The duties of the field-engineer and the quarter-master-general had particularly engaged his attention ; and in every thing connected with them he was profoundly versed. He drew excellently, and thoroughly understood the art of representing the inequalities of ground with admirable distinctness, and great beauty of effect. How perfectly he was skilled in surveying, in the highest sense of the word, how conversant in the use of mathematical instruments, and in astronomical observation, it is unnecessary to state, after what has been already said. He was besides a most expert and indefatigable calculator ; his acquaintance with natural philosophy, too, was extensive and accurate ; and his paper on the measurements of heights by the barometer is a proof of his skill in conducting

conducting experimental inquiries, even when very remote from the line of his ordinary pursuits. General Roy, it should be observed, had pursued this tract while the British army afforded few instances of the same kind, either to encourage him by example, or rouse him by emulation, and when the connexion between the mathematical sciences and the military art was not so well perceived as it perhaps begins to be, at the present moment.

The death of this excellent and accomplished officer, which took place soon after the period we now speak of, seemed for a long time to have put a stop to any design that might have been formed of extending the operations, already so happily begun, to the survey of the whole island : and here we must be permitted to remark, that the account given of the resuming of the survey is unsatisfactory and imperfect. After acknowledging the liberal assistance which the Duke of Richmond, as master-general of the Ordnance, had given to every part of the preceding operations (an acknowledgement which we believe to be most justly due), it is said that a considerable time had elapsed without any apparent intention of renewing the survey, ' when a casual opportunity presented itself (to the Duke of Richmond) of purchasing a very fine instrument, the workmanship of Ramsden, of a construction similar to that which was used by General Roy, but with some improvements ; as also two steel chains, of one hundred feet each, made by the same incomparable artist.'

Are we then to suppose that a great and national object was in danger of being dropt, or indefinitely delayed, but for a fortunate and unforeseen accident ? Did not the instrument which General Roy had used still remain in the possession of the Royal Society ? and if the work was now to be prosecuted, not under the immediate direction of that Society, but of the Board of Ordnance, can we suppose that, on that account, the use of it would have been withheld ? This is the less probable, that it has since been actually put into the hands of Major Mudge, and is at present employed by him in the survey. But be this as it may, the purchase of the new theodolite by the Duke of Richmond was indeed purely accidental ; for it had been made, if we are not misinformed, by order of the East India Company, for the purpose of surveying their possessions in the East ; and Ramsden, in the construction of it, had exerted that increased ingenuity and attention with which the presence of a great and new object used always to inspire him. In the end, some misunderstanding arose ; and a sort of ill-humour, or of ill-timed economy, induced the government of India to refuse an instrument which could do nothing to enlarge their dominions, though in skilful hands it might have done much to render them more secure. The Duke of Richmond was

a better judge of its value; and has rendered it no less useful to the public than if it had followed its original destination.

In 1791, Captain Mudge of the Royal Artillery, and Mr Dalby, who has been already mentioned, both well qualified for the work they were to undertake, had the care of the trigonometrical survey committed to them, and received their instructions from the Master-General of the Ordnance. They began by the remeasurement of the base on Hounslow-Heath with the new steel chain (of the same nature with the former, but somewhat improved), and found its length, as before stated, two inches and three quarters greater than when measured with the glass rods. The chain was here reduced, as it had been before, to the temperature of 62° , Captain Mudge having previously ascertained, by a series of experiments made with the chain extended at its full length, and stretched with a considerable weight, that it lengthened 0.0075 of an inch for one degree of heat, on Fahrenheit's thermometer, which agrees well with General Roy's determination of the same by means of the pyrometer.

As a series of triangles was now to be carried from Hounslow-Heath to the coast of Kent and Sussex, and from thence westward to the Land's-End, it was thought right to measure another base of verification on Salisbury-Plain. This was done with all the precautions used in the former measurements; the length of the line was found to be 36574.4 feet; and when this was connected by a series of triangles with the base on Hounslow-Heath, and its length deduced from this last by trigonometrical calculation, it did not differ by more than an inch from the actual measurement as here set down. This singular coincidence was a sufficient proof of the accuracy with which the two bases and the angles of the connecting triangles had been measured.

One of the principal objects now in view, was of importance both in general geography, and in the topography of England. This was the measurement of a degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian, for which two stations on the coast of the Channel, Beachy-Head in Sussex, and Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, afforded a good opportunity, being visible from one another in fine weather, though more than 64 miles distant, and the line between them being not far from the direction of east and west. The distance between the two stations just mentioned, as deduced from a mean of four different series of triangles, is 339397 feet ($= 64.28$ miles); and it is remarkable, that the extremes of these four determinations do not, even in so long a line, differ more than seven feet from one another: but coincidences of this sort are frequent in the trigonometrical survey, and prove how much more good instruments, used by skilful and attentive observers,

are

are capable of performing, than the most sanguine theorist could have ever ventured to foretel. In two distances that were deduced from sets of triangles, the one measured by General Roy in 1787, the other by Major Mudge in 1794, one of 24.133 miles, and the other 38.688, the two measures agree within a foot as to the first distance, and 16 inches as to the second. Such an agreement, where the observers and the instruments were both different, where the lines measured were of such extent, and deduced from such a variety of *data*, is probably without any other example. We believe it is quite unnecessary to add, that these deductions are all made in the fairest and most unexceptionable manner, without any means being taken, purposely, to bring about a coincidence that would not have otherwise taken place.

Besides the determination of the distance from Dunnose to Beachy-Head, the azimuth or bearing of the line between them, with respect to the meridian, was carefully observed, by means of the pole-star, after the manner practised by General Roy. From these observations Major Mudge has drawn the following conclusions. At Beachy-Head, in latitude $50^{\circ} 44' 24''$, the degree of longitude, measured on the above parallel, is 38718 fathoms; the degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian 611832; the degree of the meridian itself in that latitude being taken at 60851 fathoms, as deduced from General Roy's measurement. From the lengths of these degrees of the meridian, and of the circle perpendicular to it, it follows, that if the earth be an ellipsoid, the diameter of the equator is to the polar axis as 149 to 148, which makes the inequality between these two lines more than twice as great as it appears to be by taking the most probable average, deduced from all the observations that have been made in different latitudes. What reason can be assigned for this peculiarity in the physical constitution of our island, seems impossible at present to explain, though the continuation of the Trigonometrical Survey may be expected to throw some light on it. Local causes may perhaps affect the direction of gravity in the south of England, and may make that country appear to be a portion of a smaller and more oblate spheroid than agrees with the general configuration of the earth's surface. Or perhaps, too, as many have imagined, and as Major Mudge seems disposed to think, the figure of the earth is not a solid formed by the revolution of an ellipsis on its axis; and the agreement or disagreement of the measures of degrees with one another, is not to be judged of by their agreement or disagreement with this hypothesis. To attempt to judge of them in this manner, may be offering violence to nature, and may be only

only trying to reconcile her phenomena with our conjectural or arbitrary theories.

From the prosecution of the Trigonometrical Survey we may expect a solution of these questions : the unexpectedness of the results makes the work more valuable to science ; and as we are sure that the observations are accurate, the less they agree with our preconceived opinions the more interesting do they become, and the more likely are they to furnish important information.

It has already been observed, that Major Mudge deduced the results of his observations on a principle more accurate than General Roy, by reducing every angle measured with the theodolite to a plane passing through the three angular points of the triangle, and thus computing the chords instead of the arches themselves.

'As the lengths,' says he, 'of small arcs and their chords are nearly the same, it is evident that the calculations might be performed sufficiently near the truth in any extent of a series of triangles, by plane trigonometry, if the angles formed by the chords could be determined pretty exact. We have endeavoured to adopt this method in computing the sides of the principal triangles, in order to avoid an arbitrary correction of the observed angles, as well as that of reducing the whole extent of the triangles to a flat, which evidently would introduce erroneous results, and these in proportion as the series of triangles extended.' Vol. I. p. 271.

Now, concerning the method of calculation here referred to, we must observe, that though it is certainly much preferable to that which supposes the triangles to be all spread out over one flat surface, and is not liable to any considerable inaccuracy, yet is it much more complex and operose than one which we have already pointed out as being derived from Le Gendre's theorem, that the arches which form the sides of small sperical triangles, are proportional to the sines of the opposite angles, when each of these angles is diminished by the third part of the *spherical excess*. By means of this proposition, the sides themselves may be directly computed, and the investigation of the chords avoided as unnecessary. From this it also appears, that the correction made on the observed angles, by taking from each of them one third of the spherical excess, can be no longer viewed as an *arbitrary correction*, but as a legitimate and necessary inference from a geometrical theorem extremely curious in itself, as it marks the *continuity* of plane and spherical triangles ; and extremely valuable, as it leads to the most accurate and simple rules of calculation. Though it is a theorem that, in strictness, is only an approximation to the truth, yet its accuracy, in all such cases as can come under consideration in a survey of any portion of the earth's surface, may be safely relied on, the quantities which it rejects being then really evanescent.

In reducing the observed angles in the manner of Major Mudge, (which is also that of De Lambre), there is always the inconvenience of an operose and unnecessary *calculus*, and, in certain cases, such as the computation of the distances of the stations from the meridian or the perpendicular to it, it is not quite evident but that inaccuracies of some consequence may be introduced. If, on the other hand, in the solution of this last problem, since the hypotenuse and one of the oblique angles of a right-angled triangle are given to find the sides; if we first calculate the spherical excess, and proceed to find the other oblique angle by making the sum of it and the given angle $= 90^\circ +$ that excess; if we then subtract one third of the spherical excess from each of these oblique angles, and, with the angles so corrected, compute the sides by the rules of plane trigonometry; we shall obtain them with great ease, and with all the precision that the problem admits of. It would seem, then, that this last method of calculation is greatly preferable to the former.

We are perfectly aware of the caution with which theoretical men, sitting quietly in their closets, should offer advice to those who add the practice of art to the speculation of science; who sacrifice ease and comfort to literary pursuits, and earn their reputation not merely by deep study, but by the sweat of the brow and the labour of the hands. We feel the full force of this maxim, and are writing at the present moment under the strongest impression of its truth. Yet, when we venture to recommend the method of calculation just described, as fit to be employed in the trigonometrical survey, we are not much afraid that the person best able, and most interested to judge correctly on that subject, after making the trial, will be inclined to censure our rashness.

The length to which these remarks have already extended, forces us to pass over the operations of several of the subsequent years when the survey was carried westward as far as the Land's End, and again eastward to the remaining part of Kent, to Essex and the interior of the country, Oxfordshire, &c. Though these accounts are interesting from the importance of the places surveyed, and particularly from the drawing of four different meridians, and the determination of their difference of longitude, we shall pass to the consideration of the last thing performed in the survey, which is the measure of an arch of the meridian between Dannonose in the Isle of Wight, and Clifton near Doncaster. For the purpose of this measurement, Major Mudge was furnished with a new instrument, of the workmanship of Ramsden, viz. a zenith sector for the celestial observations, which were now required to be made with the greatest possible exactness. Though several

several instruments of this kind have been constructed by former artists, and many of them excellent, yet that which we have just mentioned seems greatly superior to them all. In it, the defects of former constructions are obviated, and many new improvements introduced. Among these must be reckoned the method of suspending the instrument, of bringing it into the vertical plane, of turning it to face opposite ways, and, most of all, the contrivance for adjusting the plumb-line perpendicularly over the centre of the sector, in which the skill of the optician and the mechanist are eminently combined. The instrument is supported by a strong pyramidal frame; the telescope is an achromatic, eight feet long; the radius of the sector is nearly the same; and the angles measured on its limb may be read off to decimals of a second. The whole is a masterpiece of original design and skilful execution; and to its intrinsic value adds that of being almost the last work of an artist who was never equalled by those who went before him, and will not soon be surpassed by those who shall come after.

The meridian of Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, was pitched on by Major Mudge to be extended northward, as affording a better opportunity than any other of measuring on it a large arch, free, as far as could be foreseen, from the action of any disturbing force. The meridians farther to the west, though they might be produced to a greater length before they reached the sea, entered sooner into a mountainous, or at least a hilly country, where the direction of gravity must be affected by the inequalities of the surface. The meridian of Dunnose, traversing the plains of Hampshire, Berkshire, &c. and so on to Yorkshire, intersects the sea-coast near the mouth of the Tees, without having passed over any high land, except on the confines of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, near the sources of the Nen and the Avon, where the ground rises to the height of 800 or 900 feet above the level of the sea, with a gradual slope both to the south and to the north. The part of this line which has been actually measured, extends from Dunnose to Clifton, not far from Doncaster, a distance of more than 196 miles, the length of which was determined by a series of triangles carried from one end of it to the other, like those that have been already mentioned. The sides of these triangles were deduced from the bases on Hounslow-heath and Salisbury-plain, as in other parts of the survey; but, for the greater security, another base of about five miles was measured on Masterton Car, near the northern extremity of the chain of triangles; and this was done with the same precautions which have been before enumerated. The latitude of Dunnose and Clifton were then ac-

curately determined by the sector, from stars near the zenith, observed in their passage over the meridian. The instrument was also carried to Ardbury-Hill (near Daventry in Northamptonshire), not far from the middle of the line, the latitude of which was also exactly determined. Besides this, as Blenheim was not far distant from this meridian, and as its parallel of latitude had been accurately determined by the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, from a series of observations made with the best instruments, the intersection of this parallel with the meridian could be fixed with accuracy, and gave of course another subdivision, both of the geodetical distance and the celestial arch. The same was done with respect to the parallel of Greenwich; and thus, besides the total length of the meridian line from Dunnose to Clifton, there were given three intermediate points in that line, with the distances between them, and also the amplitudes of the corresponding arches in the heavens. From the comparison of all these determinations, some curious and unexpected conclusions have been deduced.

1. The entire length of the meridian line, from Dunnose to Clifton, is 1036337 feet, or 196.29 miles; the latitude of Dunnose being $50^{\circ} 37' 8''.21$, and the arch between its zenith and that of Clifton $2^{\circ} 50' 23''.38$. Hence, the length of a degree in the middle between these places, or in lat. $52^{\circ} 2' 20''$, is 60820 fathoms.

2. In the same way, by computing the length of a degree for the middle latitude between Ardbury-Hill and Dunnose, viz. $51^{\circ} 35' 18''$, it is found equal to 60864 fathoms. This is 44 fathoms greater than the former, though, being about $27'$ more to the south, it ought, according to every notion of the earth's oblate figure, to be several fathoms less.

3. Comparing, in like manner, the distance between Ardbury-Hill and Clifton with the arch intercepted by their zeniths, the degree in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 50' 30''$ is 60766 fathoms, which is less than either of the former, though, by being a good deal farther to the north, it ought to be considerably greater.

4. The intersections of the parallels of Blenheim and Greenwich with this meridian, give results of the same kind, all tending to shew that the degrees diminish on going from the south to the north, though not regularly, nor according to any law yet known. These inconsistencies are very striking, when it is considered that, on the supposition of the earth being compressed at the poles, the degrees of the meridian must go on increasing as we proceed northward, and in our latitudes nearly at a uniform rate, each degree exceeding that immediately to the south of it by about twenty fathoms, according to the theories

theories that make the earth's oblateness the greatest, and about ten, according to those which make it the least.

To whatever cause these irregularities are to be attributed, it cannot be, we are well convinced, to the inaccuracy of the observations. The probable limits of such inaccuracy are considered by Major Mudge himself; and though he estimates them as very small, yet, by any one who has carefully studied the observations themselves, and remarked their closeness to one another, he will not be thought to have diminished them more than the circumstances authorised him to do.

He states it as his opinion, after a reexamination of all his *data*, that the extreme of the error in the measurement of the whole distance, though nearly 197 miles, is not more than 100 feet, answering to about 1" of a degree, and that the probable error does not exceed one half of that quantity. In the determination of the celestial arch he does not state so precisely his estimation of the error, or the limits within which it is contained; but, taking in the multitude and the agreement of the observations, we should imagine that at any one station it can hardly amount to a second. It is therefore to the action of some external cause affecting the direction of the plumb-line that the irregularities above stated are to be ascribed. 'I am disposed,' says the Major, 'to believe that the plumb-line was drawn towards the south from the action of matter both at the northern extremity of the arch and at Ardbury-Hill; but more particularly at the first mentioned station.'—'The general tenor of the observations seems to prove that the plumb-line of the sector has been drawn toward the south at all the stations, and that by attractive forces, which increase as we proceed northward.' From what physical cause this attraction proceeds, from what circumstance in the structure or formation of the island, he does not offer any conjecture, neither shall we presume to do so. The continuation of the meridian to the north will probably throw some farther light on this interesting subject.

It is, however, material to be observed, that when the degrees are irregular, as they appear to be here, the magnitude of the middle degree between two given latitudes is not rightly found, by dividing the terrestrial distance by the celestial arch. This process is only correct on the supposition that the degrees increase or decrease in arithmetical progression, or at an uniform rate; if they vary according to any other law whatever, the degree found by the above operation will not be the degree in the middle point of the arch. This caution is necessary to be attended to, if he would deduce from the observation no more

than what necessarily follows from them. It may be farther remarked, that in the doubt we are in about the figure of the earth, whether it be a solid of revolution, and whether different meridians may not be unequal and dissimilar curves, it may be questioned whether the places on one meridian can be safely reduced to another, by the supposed intersections of their parallels with this last; and whether, by supposing such reduction, as when the observatories of Greenwich and Blenheim are placed on the meridian of Dunnose, we do not complicate the question unnecessarily by the introduction of a new and unknown element. The distances of these places to the eastward of the meridian being but small, it is indeed probable that, in the present case, any error introduced by them must be very inconsiderable; but it is at least right to be apprised of the possibility of its existence.

Though we have no doubt that irregularities, which are at present so difficult to be accounted for, will, by the prosecution of the subject, become perfectly explained, we confess that we have felt some disappointment on reflecting, that hitherto the more that has been done to ascertain the figure of the earth by the measurement of degrees, the less satisfactory, in some respects, has our knowledge of it become. The more microscopically we have observed, the more irregularities we have discovered; and in the last experiment, which may be justly reckoned the best, what is accounted the natural order of things, has been almost completely inverted. All this, however, is only a motive for continuing the research, which, if prosecuted with skill and perseverance, must ultimately lead to the knowledge of the truth. The time was, when the planetary motions were involved in the same confusion, and seemed the more unaccountable and perplexed, the more carefully they were studied. We may hope for the same issue in both cases, and that the figure of the earth will one day be as perfectly known as the orbit of a planet.

In such circumstances, we may congratulate the public, or those, at least, who are interested in the progress of science, on the continuance of the Trigonometrical Survey of England, notwithstanding the long and expensive wars in which the country has been engaged since the commencement of it. The expence of the Survey, indeed, is of little moment, compared with the object to be attained by it; but in all times of difficulty, and in all plans of economy, the indulgences most intellectual and scientific are the first things to be sacrificed. It is to the credit of Government that it has been so far otherwise in the present instance.

A reflection naturally called forth by the contemplation of so much accuracy as is displayed in the whole of the work now under

der our review, is, how much slower the mathematical arts have advanced than the mathematical sciences. Though the former were no doubt the first to start in the progress of improvement, they appear to have fallen behind almost from the first outset. The rude manner in which Archimedes measured the apparent diameter of the sun is well known; and while that great geometer was investigating the properties of the sphere and cylinder with an acuteness and depth that have been the admiration of all succeeding ages, he was resolving one of the simplest problems of practical astronomy, in a more inaccurate manner than would be suffered in an ordinary seaman of modern times. When the great problem of measuring the circumference of the earth was first thought of, the principle upon which the solution was attempted was perfectly scientific, and the same, in fact, with that which we have just been considering; but the execution, though in the hands of able mathematicians, was *slovenly* and inaccurate in the extreme. The academicians of modern Europe have traversed the globe, from the equator to the polar circle, in order to resolve this great problem, and are still labouring hard, as we have seen, to give perfect accuracy to their conclusions. The academicians of Greece and Egypt put themselves to no such inconvenience. Eratosthenes, when he engaged in the inquiry, never quitted his observatory; but having measured the sun's solstitial elevation at Alexandria, where he lived, he took for granted, on report, that on the same day the sun was in the zenith of Syene, being seen there from the bottom of a deep well. He also assumed, on no better authority, the distance and bearing of the two places, and, with such *data*, was not ashamed to say that he had computed the circumference of the earth.

At a much later period, our countryman Norwood set about determining the circumference of the earth, with an accuracy as much superior to that of the Greek geometer as it was inferior to that which has been the subject of the preceding remarks. Having determined the latitudes of London and York by observation, he travelled from the one place to the other, measuring along the high road with a chain, and taking the bearings with a compass. He was well satisfied with the accuracy of his work: 'When I measured not,' says he, '*I paced*, and I believe the experiment has come within a *scantling* of the truth.'

It is curious to compare these early essays of practical geometry with the perfection to which its operations have now reached, and to consider, that while the artist had made so little progress, the theorist had reached many of the sublimest heights of mathematical speculation; that the latter had found out the area of the circle, and calculated its circumference to more than a hundred

places of decimals, when the former could hardly divide an arch into minutes of a degree; and that many excellent treatises had been written on the properties of curve lines, before a straight line, of considerable length, had ever been carefully drawn, or exactly measured, on the surface of the earth.

ART. X. *An Account of the Present State of Medicine among the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.* By Thomas Winterbottom, Physician to the Colony. 8vo. London, 1803.

THIS is the sequel of a publication which was noticed with approbation in a preceding article;* and we have perused the present volume with great ease and satisfaction. The medical information which it contains is not perhaps very original or important; but the author writes like a scholar, and a man of judgment and veracity, and in a style which is upon the whole so neat and amusing, that those who are too wise to be instructed by his performance, can scarcely refuse to be pleased.

The practice of medicine in Africa is in the hands of old women; and it is curious to observe, that almost all barbarous people, whether black or white, have thought themselves safest, when sick, in the management of superannuated and hard-featured females. They are, we will confess, somewhat less hard-hearted than males, and, in general, less frisky and inattentive than the youthful part of their own sex; but health is, in all stages of society, an object of so great importance, that even the union of these amiable qualities can scarcely account for its being entrusted to persons whom their sex must expose, among barbarians, to degradation and contempt. To us it appears most probable, that the chief, who was the leader, the judge, and the priest of his tribe, was also its original physician; and that, upon his death, this most domestic, and least enviable part of his prerogative, would be transferred to his widow, the confidant of his secrets, and the partner of his consultations.

But, however this may be, it is certain that the learned dames of Sierra Leone consider most diseases as the work of evil spirits, and place more confidence in charms and propitiations, than in drugs or regimen. This, too, is an universal criterion of a rude and unenlightened period. In those days of ignorance, when first causes were entirely overlooked, and secondary frequently and wilfully

* See Vol. III. p. 355.

wilfully misrepresented, the *vis medicatrix nature*, or that wonderful property of animated being which enables it to conserve its own existence, to repel injurious *stimuli*, and to restore its diseased functions to the standard actions of health, contributed, perhaps more than any other circumstance whatever, to inspire the belief in, and establish the reputation of supernatural agency. The cause of uneasiness and its cure were easily confounded. For diseases produced by witchcraft, it was natural to seek a remedy from charms and incantations; and when these means were unsuccessfully resorted to, the mystic powers of superstition were called to their assistance. But the unaided operations of nature did not in all cases correspond with the expectations of the charmer, nor the credit of his profession; and the unfortunate patient, whose complaint might have been easily removed by opium, rhubarb, or mercury, was sent to the grave amidst the solemnities of astrology and magic. The gradual expansion of the human faculties at length gave birth to the spirit of observation and research. The analogy between natural *stimuli* and natural functions, was observed and improved. Demoniac ceremonies vanished before the light of philosophy; and common sense finally prevailed over the dogmas of tradition and the rituals of enchantment. Such, in most countries, has been the origin and gradual evolution of medical knowledge. In Africa, we still behold it under the dominion of the powers of darkness; and we are afraid that the example and instructions of Dr Winterbottom have not gone far in delivering the venerable practitioners of that continent from this unhappy bondage. Changes of this sort, indeed, are always effected very slowly; and the Doctor's design, at least in his book, has rather been to preserve a faithful account of the diseases and remedies of the natives, than to extirpate or reform them.

After a very well written introduction, Dr Winterbottom proposes to consider his subject under three general divisions: 1st, General diseases to which both sexes are liable; 2d, The diseases of women, with the sexual peculiarities in Africa; 3d, The diseases and management of children. This distribution is simple and natural, and may be conveniently adopted as the basis of African nosology. Had our author paid the same attention to the arrangement of his genera and species, his plan would have been unexceptionable; but all the subordinate divisions of the work are presented in a state of extraordinary and unaccountable disorder; and we cannot help being displeased, as well as disappointed, when we are hurried, without notice or pretext, from hernia to the coup de soleil, from the scurvy to the toothach, and from sore legs to dysentery, earach, &c. This is not only an offence against good taste, but a real obstruction to the utility of the work;

work ; and, besides diminishing the beauty of the composition, it tends to disturb the attention, and confound the inferences of the reader.

The second chapter commences with the consideration of fever ; and as the fevers of hot climates are a peculiarly important subject of inquiry, we cannot more effectually gratify our medical readers than by quoting the author's general observations upon them.

' Fever is the most frequent and most fatal disease to which Europeans are subject upon the coast : it is less common among the Africans, who also suffer less from its attacks. In them it is generally the sequel of a debauch, and very frequently follows the excessive intemperance in which they indulge at the funeral of their friends. It is a common remark among them, that one "*cry*" is generally followed by several others ; for when any person of consequence dies, several others fall sick, and often narrowly escape with their lives. Even this they attribute to witchcraft, though it evidently depends upon their own misconduct. They have no idea of the nature of fever as a general disease, nor have they any word in their language to express it, but name it from any of its urgent symptoms, as sick head, sick belly, &c. On that account it has been supposed that the Africans are not liable to the attacks of remittent fever ; an opinion which is contrary to fact. It is not uncommon to see the natives affected with slight, but distinctly formed paroxysms of fever, which sometimes terminate within twenty-four hours, and are considered as common headaches. I have known instances where repeated paroxysms have occurred, and where the remittant fever has run its course precisely as it would have done in any European who had resided long upon the coast, and who, by undergoing the *seasoning*, as it is termed, had assimilated himself to the climate. It may not be improper here to remark, that what is termed *seasoning* among Europeans, an idea peculiar to themselves, implies merely the first severe fit of illness, chiefly fever, which a person suffers after his arrival in a tropical climate : succeeding attacks of fever are usually experienced in a slighter degree, though in this respect there is great difference, for some have repeated attacks as severe as the first. Those Europeans at Sierra Leone, who longest resisted the power of climate in producing sickness, suffered more, and were more dangerously affected, than those who sickened soon after their arrival. People of fair complexions appeared to be more liable to fever, and to suffer relapses from slighter causes than those of darker complexions ; but they experienced, upon the whole, less severe attacks than the latter. From a few instances, it appeared that the climate was more inimical to men above forty-five than to those who were younger. Women enjoyed a tolerable state of health, nearly as good as in Europe ; their complaints were in general less severe than those of the men, but the state of the convalescence was slower, and they were more liable to be harassed with symptoms of irritability or of euthism.'

Hence

Hence it appears that the Africans are not completely exempted from febrile indispositions, though, from their habits of temperance and the hereditary suitableness of their constitutions to the climate, they are less liable to the attacks of this formidable tribe of diseases than Europeans. The effects of temperance as a prophylactic in the fevers of hot climates, is strikingly demonstrated in an 'Essay of Dr Chisholm's on the Malignant Pestilential Fever introduced into the West Indian Islands from Bullom on the Coast of Guinea.'—'Whilst the pestilential fever raged here,' observes this gentleman, 'the utility of these means was remarkably illustrated by the almost total exemption of the French inhabitants from the disease. Their mode of living compared to the English is temperate and regular in an uncommon degree.' How long will Englishmen continue to assert this odious distinction at the expence of their lives and reputation !

In the treatment of febrile disorders, the practitioners of the country appear not to be governed in their indications by any general views of physiology or pathology. The painful symptoms are the sole objects of their attention ; and these they attempt to remove by remedies which they deem peculiarly appropriate to the seat of the affection. The important functions of the stomach, the bowels and the skin, seem to be totally neglected. The circulation obtains no abatement of its preternatural force from the aid of general phlebotomy. Cupping is the only mode of letting blood that is known or practised in inflammatory disease, and this is only resorted to as a relief from exquisite topical pain. Thirst is allayed by palatable acidulous drinks. Vomiting is alleviated or removed by draughts of a warm infusion of the common red pepper (*capsicum*). Cephalics comprehend a very numerous class of medicaments, consisting chiefly of aromatic vegetables. These are, for the most part, used in various forms of external application to the head. When the obstinacy of the symptom is not subdued by this impotent treatment, which we apprehend it seldom is, an ancient sister of the profession is called in, who relieves the pain, and at the same time the vessels of the head, by cupping on the temples. This operation is performed *secundum artem*, much in the same way as practised by European surgeons. 'It is the custom with some, when affected with headach, to lye upon the earth before a large fire, having a stone laid upon one side of the head.' How fertile is human ingenuity in expedients to increase the sum of human misery ! Intermittents, we are informed, are diseases of very unfrequent occurrence on the coast of Africa. When, however, they do occur, their mode of cure consists in exciting a profuse perspiration. This is done by causing the patient to sit over a large vessel containing a warm decoction of

of herbaceous vegetables. To prevent the escape, and to determine the application of the steam, he is covered from head to foot with a large cotton cloth. Dr Winterbottom does not inform us how frequently this practice is successful, or what is the precise object of the practitioner in the employment of it. The intention is to excite perspiration. But in what manner is the fever supposed to be resolved by this treatment? Admirers, as we are, of facts and experience, yet we confess we should have been more gratified in the perusal of this volume, had the author more frequently blended his own observations and inferences with the hearsay information which he details, and the curative and pharmaceutic processes which he has occasionally witnessed among the natives.

Chapter III. contains ten dissimilar articles. As a sequel to a few remarks and quotations upon syphilitic affections, Dr Winterbottom informs us, that the

-- 'Foolas and Mandingos are subject to a disease which they call laanda, of a very infectious nature, and which bears a striking resemblance to syphilis, though they consider them as essentially different. The laanda makes its appearance upon the glans or prepuce like a common chancre, but daily spreads, and in time destroys the substance of the flesh. Dangerous hæmorrhages frequently arise in consequence of erosion, and the disease sometimes affects the throat, destroying the nose and the bones of the palate.'

Not another word is added on the subject! Are women subject to this complaint? It is communicated by the mere contact of any part of the body? What relation does it bear to sibbens, &c.? Are all cases curable if taken in proper time? Are the natives in possession of any secret antidotes; or do they rely, as in syphilis, upon the sanative powers of mercury alone? From an author who writes professedly upon the subject of African nosography, we have a right to expect a tolerable gratification of our curiosity upon every subject which he undertakes to treat. But this is not the only instance we could point out of unpardonable brevity and omission in the history and treatment of African maladies.

In Chapter IV. we are presented with a full, and, as far as we are able to judge, an accurate account of elephantiasis. The case of Mamadoo Minnioo Casoo is a masterly piece of medico-historical composition. The chapter devoted to the history and treatment of the dracunculus or Guinea-worm deserves commendation. That the *vena medensis* is really a living animal does not appear, in our opinion, sufficiently established; though we must confess that we are much inclined to attach our creed upon this subject to that of our author.

The second part of the work, viz. The Diseases of Women, with

with the Sexual Peculiarities in Africa, is recommended to our approbation more by its literary elegance than its novelty.

'The management of children in Africa,' says Dr Winterbottom, 'is very simple: their diseases are only few, and of no great importance. Immediately after birth the infant is washed in warm water, or soap and water: this is continued for a few days, after which cold water only is used. During very hot weather, it is usual for the mother to throw a vessel of very cold water upon the child's head, two or three times a day, apparently to the satisfaction of the latter.'—'In order to strengthen a child born at the end of seven months, the mother takes every morning a mouthful of cold water, which she spirts upon the inside of the joints of the arms, wrists, knees, and successively those of the whole body, immediately after which the child is immersed in very cold water. This practice is repeated every morning until they suppose the child strong enough to bear the shock of cold water without any preparation'.

The author subjoins four appendices to his original plan. Appendix I. contains an interesting account of circumcision, as it is practised on the windward coast of Africa. No. II. a description of the bark of a species of tree called Bellenda. Several cases of intermittents are added, in which this *Cortex Africanus*, as it is called, was exhibited with success. We regret that we cannot add, from our own experience, to the list of respectable practitioners who have given it their sanction in this country. It is to be lamented that our author has confined his attention and experiments to this single article of pharmaceutic importance. Among the productions of Africa, we have no doubt there are still unknown many

'Herbs and potent trees, and drops of balm,
Rich with the genial influence of the sun,
To brace the nerveless arm with food to win
Sick appetite, or hush the unquiet breast.'

Dr Winterbottom indeed seems to have paid very great attention to the African *names* of these 'herbs and potent trees.' Had he devoted the same time in learning their sensible and other properties, it would have been much more profitably spent. Or had he selected a few from the rude and undigested mass with which this volume is charged, and subjected them to pharmaceutic experiments, he would have deserved a still greater portion of the public thanks. Appendix, No. III. is entitled, 'Remarks suggested by the perusal of Mr White's Work on the Regular Gradation in Man.' Our author is a warm and able advocate for the primitive equality of human endowments. So temperately and effectually does he wield his weapons of controversy, that we know of no essay on the subject we could recommend to the perusal of the philanthropist with greater pleasure. An ingenious
extract

extract upon the same subject, from a work of Professor Blumenk, constitutes the fourth Appendix, and concludes the volume. We cannot take our leave of it without expressing our general approbation of its contents. The language is pure, unaffected, and classical. The matter, though not remarkable for its novelty, is never devoid of professional importance. The authorities that are quoted, which are very numerous, are invariably such as must give authenticity or embellishment to the facts that are related. Upon the whole, we may safely add, that, from a careful perusal of this little volume, the medical student will derive both information and delight, while the old practitioner, if we may judge from ourselves, will not lay it on his shelf without regretting its brevity.

ART. XI. *A Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England, and great Part of the Highlands of Scotland, including Remarks on English and Scottish Landscape, and General Observations on the State of Society and Manners.* Embellished with Sixteen Engravings by Messrs Medland, &c. from Paintings made on purpose by Mr Garrard. By Colonel T. Thornton of Tharnville-Royal in Yorkshire. London, 1804.

IT is well known that the patriarch of Uz exclaimed, in the midst of his afflictions, 'Oh that mine adversary had written a book!' This ardent exclamation of the man of patience has led the learned Rabbini Menachem-el-Rekenet, in the treatise entitled *Bava Batbra*, to suggest that the Arabian sage may have been a writer in the *Ammudeba Scibba* (the Critical Journal of Tadmor), or at least in the *Maarcobeth karslabuth* (or Mokha Monthly Review.) Without deciding on this difficult point, we can only say that we have frequently sympathised with the Eastern sufferer, and now rejoice that our enemy has written a book. Why we impute this hostile character to the author of the *Sporting Tour* before us, requires some explanation.

The Reviewers of North Britain, in common with the other inhabitants of the Scottish metropolis, enjoy some advantages unknown, it is believed to their southern brethren. We do not allude merely to the purer air which we breathe in attics and the more active exercises which we enjoy in ascending to them; although our superiority in these respects is well known to be in the proportion of fourteen stories to three. But we pride ourselves chiefly in this circumstance, that though 'in populous city pent' for eight months in the year, the happy return of August

gust turns the Reviewers, with the schoolboys, and even the Burghers of Edinburgh, adrift through the country, to seek, among moors and lakes, not indeed *whom*, but *what* they may devour: For some of us do (under Colonel Thornton's correction) know where to find a bit of game. On such occasions, even the most saturnine of our number has descended from his den garnished with the limbs of mangled authors, wiped his spectacles, adjusted his knapsack, and exchanged the critical scalping knife for the fishing-rod or fowling-piece. But we are doomed to travel in a *style* (to use the appropriate expression) far different from that of our worthy author. Having in our retinue nothing either to bribe kindness, or to impose respect—having neither two boats nor a sloop to travel by sea, nor a gig, two baggage-waggon, and God knows how many horses, for the land service—having neither draughtsman nor falconer, Jonas nor Lawson, groom nor boy—having in our suite neither *Conqueror*, nor *Plato*, nor *Dragon*, nor *Sampson*, nor *Death*, nor the *Devil*—above all, having neither crowns and half crowns to grease the fists of game-keepers and foresters, nor lime punch, incomparable Calvert's porter, flasks of champagne, and magnums of claret * to propitiate their superiors;—in fine, being accoutred in a rusty black coat, and attended by a pointer which might have belonged to the pack of the frugal Mr Osbaldeston, † being moreover 'Lord of our presence but no land beside,' we have in *our* sporting tours met with interruptions of a nature more disagreeable than we chuse to mention. Hence the various oppressions exercised upon us by the *Lairds* ‡ whose moors we have perambulated, has taught us to rail, with Jaques, against all the first-born of Egypt. And deeply have we often sworn, that if any of those gentlemen should be tempted to hunt across Parnassus, or the demesnes adjacent, or should be detected abandoning their only proper and natural vocation of pursuing, killing, and eating the fowls of the air, the beasts of the earth, and the fishes in the waters under the earth, for the unnatural and unsquire-like employment of writing, printing, and publishing, we would them, in return for their lectures on the game laws, introduce them to an acquaintance with the canons of criticism. Such an opportunity of vengeance was rather however to be wished than hoped; and therefore Colonel Thornton was not more joyfully surprised when at Dalnacardoch he killed

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* All which Colonel Thornton says he had. In our mind, he should have given God thanks, and made no boast of them.

† Who kept a pack of hounds and two hunters, not to mention a wife and six children, on sixty pounds a year.

‡ A variety of the squire-genus, found in Scotland.

a char with bait, than we were to detect a hunting, hawking English squire, poaching in the fields of literature. We therefore apprise Colonel Thornton that he must produce his license, and establish his qualification, or submit to the statutory penalty, *in terrorem* of all such offenders.

The Colonel's book is a journal of a tour through Scotland, which, like Agricola, he invaded by sea and land at once, and with a retinue almost as formidable. When twenty horses had conveyed the Colonel and his trusty followers from Yorkshire by Kelso to Edinburgh, and thence by Glasgow, Dumbarton and Loch-Lomond to Loch-Tay, and thence by Dunkeld to Raits in the forests of Strathspey, they there received news of the embarkation, consisting of a cutter deeply laden with stores and domestics, which had sailed from Hull to Forres, and had been twice saved by the presence of mind of an active housekeeper, who 'in spirit outvied the men,' p. 3. On the first occasion, she discovered a leak 'by the trickling of water in her cot.' Imputing it indeed to some other cause, she prudently gave no alarm till the same phenomenon occurred in another hammock; and on a second eventful occasion, it was she who made the signal of distress, by hoisting her white linen on the oar of the jolly boat, p. 72. After a long encampment in the moors, and after visiting Elgin and Gordon Castle, the train went by Inverness and the forts to Inverary, thence to Dumbarton and to Edinburgh, and so home by the western road.

The performance is termed a Sporting Tour, not because it conveys to the reader any information new or old upon the habits of the animals unfortunate enough to be distinguished as *game*, nor even upon the modes to be adopted in destroying them *secundum artem*; but because it contains a long, minute, and prolix account of every grouse or blackcock which had the honour to fall by the gun of our literary sportsman—of every pike which gorged his bait—of every bird which was pounced by his hawks—of every blunder which was made by his servants—and of every bottle which was drunk by himself and his friends. Now this, we apprehend, exceeds the license given to sportsmen. We allow them all the pleasure which they can procure in an active and exhilarating amusement; nay, we permit them to rehearse the exploits of the field, lake and moor, as long as the audience are engaged in devouring and digesting the spoils of the campaign: but not one minute longer. Will Wimble himself, if we recollect rightly, began and finished his account of striking, playing and landing the huge jack he presented to Sir Roger de Coverley, within the time the company were engaged in eating it. And if a sportsman wishes to protract his narrative through *close-time*, we apprise him that he must provide for the auditors a reasonable quantity

quantity of potted char, pickled salmon, jugged hare and deer-ham, or be satisfied with the attention of the Led Captain. For our own part, we may be believed when we protest we would have given a patient hearing to all the Colonel's exploits if we had been admitted to partake of the dinner in his Dulnon camp, of which the following bill of fare, with many others, is given us with laudable accuracy.

' A hodge podge.

REMOVE.

Boiled trout and salmon,

Rein-deer's tongue,

Cold fowl,

Brandered moor-game.

SAUCES.

Garlick, and Capsicum vinegars.

REMOVE.

Cheshire cheese,

Moor-game gizzards,

Biscuits.

Liquors—Port, Imperial, Jamaica rum punch, with fresh limes.

Porter, ale, &c.' p. 129.

Had we been fortunate enough to be regaled at this table in the wilderness, we would willingly and most conscientiously have listened to every story in the Colonel's quarto—we would have caressed Pero, Ponto, Dargo, Shandy, Carlo and Romp, p. 151. —we would have wondered at the old cock and five polts, which the Colonel killed out of one covey; and wondered still more at the monstrous great pike, which was five feet four inches in length, (p. 86.) although the story be a good half hour's reading. Nor would we have refused to sympathise in the moving reverses of fortune, experienced by this emperor of sportsmen. We would have been sorry when he fired away his ramrod, or bruised the pipe so, that he could not return it (p. 151.)—sorry when his tent tumbled down about his ears (p. 154.)—very sorry when a drunken ferryman jumped upon and broke the fourth piece of his fishing-rod (p. 52)—and very sorry indeed, when he rubbed the skin off his heel by the hard seam of his fen-boot. Nay, if the repast could possibly have lasted so long, we should have submitted thankfully to gape and mourn over a gig stick on a gate-post (p. 33.) over a broken trace or spring (p. 30.) or over Sampson, the marvel of the Highlands, *abime* (as the Colonel calls it), in a bog, though upwards of seventeen hands and a half high (p. 73.) In short, we aver, that while our mouths were employed, our ears should always have been open, and that, reviewers though we be, no hawk he ever reclaimed should have been more *manny*. * But at present

* A term in falconry (Colonel Thornton informs us,) for being gentle and well broken.

present we are under no obligation either to be good listeners or courteous readers ; for the Colonel, by the mode in which he has been pleased to communicate the above important incidents, has outraged every privilege of those to whom such valuable information is conveyed. To stuff a quarto with his personal exploits of shooting and fishing, all detailed with the most unmerciful prolixity, is a tyranny surpassing that of William Rufus, who, though he turned his liege subjects out of their houses to make a park, did not propose they should pay 11. 15s. for the history of his hunting—a proceeding which, in our opinion, would have justified an insurrection against Nimrod himself.

We have already said we do not find any thing in Colonel Thornton's book which is very new, even in his own department. The following improvement upon fishing a lake, by hooks attached to a float, may amuse the sportsman.

' In order to describe this mode of fishing, it may be necessary to say, that I make use of pieces of *cork*, of a conical form, and having several of these all differently painted, and named after favourite hounds, trifling wagers are made on their success, which rather adds to the spirit of the sport.

' The mode of baiting them is, by placing a live bait, which hangs at the end of a line, of one yard and a half long, fastened only so slightly, that, on the pike's striking, two or three yards more may run off, to enable him to gorge his bait. If more line is used, it will prevent the sport that attends his diving and carrying under water the hound ; which being thus pursued in a boat, down wind (which they always take), affords very excellent amusement ; and where pike, or large perch, or even trout, are in plenty, before the hunters, if I may so term these fishers, have run down the first pike, others are seen coming towards them, with a velocity proportionable to the fish that is at them.

' In a fine summer's evening, with a pleasant party, I have had excellent diversion ; and it is, in fact, the most adapted, of any, for ladies, whose company gives a *gusto* to all parties.' Note, p. 27.

This amusement may appear a little childish. Nor will some scrupulous sportsmen greatly approve of the recipe for making birds *lye* by flying a hawk over them—a mode of shooting most murderously bloody. Other Highland hunters will observe, with indignation, that the Colonel expresses a dislike of the manly amusement of deer-stalking. But these are trivial objections. What shall we say of the tone in which the Colonel speaks of his guns, his rods, his dogs, his hawks, his servants, his draughtsman, his friends, his fresh eggs, marmalade and currant jelly ; what of the importance he annexes to the breaking of a huckle, or wetting of a powder-flask ; what of the GENERAL ORDERS, regularly issued with military precision, and as regularly inserted in the journal ! In sooth, we will contest ourselves with copying—the

the Colonel's own account of a Highland dancing master presiding at a ball at Dalmally.

—' But I shall never forget the arrogance of the master : his mode of marshalling his troops, his directions, and other manoeuvres, were truly ridiculous : he felt himself greater than any adjutant disciplining his men, and managed them much in the same manner.'

We mean no invidious comparison ; but Colonel Thornton, who piques himself on the pomp and circumstances annexed to a capital sportsman, admits the poor dancing master's merit in his proper department, and that he danced the Highland fling with the true ' Glen Orgue (he means Glenorchy) kick ;' and we question whether the annals of his school might not afford as important and amusing information as the following specimen, taken at random from the Colonel's journal—

' We ordered dinner, as we had done the preceding day, early. Tired of sitting in doors, I took my gun, and killed, hobbling about, two brace of snipes, and was returning home, when one of the pointers made a very steady point. I perceived by his manner that it was not a snipe : came up to him, was backed by the other dog, and they footed their game. I apprehended it would prove black game, not that I had seen any near here, but could not conceive what it could be, till coming into some thinly dispersed, but stunted alders, they both made their point complete ; a wild duck flushed, which I fired at, and saw drop. The dogs still maintained their point as usual ; and, walking on to pick up the duck, lest he should get into the drains and give me some trouble, to recover him, another rose, with which I was equally successful with my other barrel.' p. 100.

We were much amused with the Colonel's recommendation to sportsmen, to keep one set of dogs for themselves, another to lend to their friends, p. 163. It reminds us of a gentleman who kept a case of razors for the use of those who unexpectedly spent the night in his house :—it was astonishing how deeply his friends deprecated the hospitality of the *stranger's razor*. We must not omit to mention, that the Colonel takes due care decently to intimate his success in a sport to which all sportsmen are partial, from Abyssinian Bruce, who hunted elephants mounted on a brown horse, to the most sorry poacher that ever shot a hare at a gate by moon-light. Yet a more fastidious gallant would have disclaimed to form designs upon ' a wizened and smoke-dried Highland woman upwards of forty five years old,' p. 128 ; nor do we agree in his compliments to the unparalleled *silver* hair of a young lady, elsewhere and more respectfully mentioned : either the Colonel's veneration for age must be extreme, or he valued the tresses of this Highland damsel for the same reason that he admired the fur of the white hare.

We do not intend to trace the Colonel through his tour, in
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which we must remark that there is scarcely a Gaelic name properly spelled. Nay, even on the plain ground of the Lowlands, he makes strange blunders. He talks of fishing in the Teviot at Mindrum-Mill, p. 13, when, in fact, he was at least ten miles distant from that river, which he seems to have confounded with the Bowmont, a stream that is not even tributary to the Teviot, but falls into the Tilk. In like manner, he talks of those ' uncommonly beautiful hills the Teviot,' meaning, we think, the Cheviot mountains, p. 14. Surely this accomplished sportsman has heard of Chevy Chase. In point of style, we think a bold British fox-hunter might have dispensed with many unnecessary French terms, as *pallette* for pallet, *metier* for art, *jessois* for jesses, and, instead of 'reckoning,' as the French express it, *sans son hôte*, might not the Colonel have 'reckoned without his host,' as we say in England?

The descriptions of the Highland landscapes which the Colonel met with on his route are very similar to what are usually found in books of the kind, abounding in all the *slang* by which tourists delight to describe what can never be understood from description. The accounts of abbeys, castles, antiquities, &c. are bolstered out by quotations from Pennant and Gray. Indeed, whole pages are borrowed from the former, without either shame or acknowledgement. The poetical scraps introduced are in general from well known authors, though the following, for ought we know, may be original:

' See the bold falconers strain up the liny steep,
Dash through the junipers, down the valley sweep;
Not half so swift the trembling doves can fly,
When the fierce falcon cleaves the liquid sky.' p. 130.

We would like to know from a hawker of Colonel Thornton's high fame, whether falconers do actually run faster than pigeons fly; and, if they do, whether it be absolutely necessary that the verse should halt for it. We have only to add, that the engravings from Mr Garrard's designs are pretty; and we hope this tribute of praise will console that gentleman for the fatigues of a journey, performed like those of Mad Tom 'on high trotting horses,' which, according to Colonel Thornton, is the appropriate conveyance of an artist. By the way, we do not recognise Colonel Thornton's humanity (elsewhere displayed in saving a servant's life, and in attention to diminish the torture of his wounded game) in his treatment of Mr Garrard, whom, after 'gently reproaching him for his timidity, he persuaded to follow to a stone overhanging a precipice, where, had his foot slipped, it would have been his last sketch.'

We bid adieu to Colonel Thornton in nearly the words of Shakespeare—

Between

' Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch ;
 Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth ;
 Between two blades, which bears the better temper ;
 Between two horses, which doth bear him best ;
 Between two girls, which hath the merrier eye ;
 He hath, perhaps, *no* shallow spirit of judgement.'

But whether those accomplishments will qualify him to delight or instruct the public as a writer, is a point which we willingly leave to his reader's determination.

ART. XII. *Miscellaneous Plays.* By Joanna Baillie. London, Longman Hurst Rees & Orme. 8vo. pp. 438. 1804.

IN a former article * we took the liberty of expressing our disapprobation of the plan which Miss Baillie had announced, of dramatising the whole mental nosology, by composing a tragedy and a comedy upon each of the passions of the human mind. Though we were not so sanguine as to hope that Miss Baillie would be converted by our arguments, we will confess that they produced a strong conviction in our own minds, and that we did not expect to be so soon compelled to retract or disavow them. * The perusal of this volume, however, has very nearly upset all our conclusions. It contains three plays, not written on the plan to which we had objected, and so decidedly inferior to those which the same writer had produced in pursuance of that plan, that we cannot help regretting that she should ever have thought of abandoning it. We look upon the present publication, indeed, as by far the most convincing argument that could possibly have been devised for justifying her original project ; and, as the writer takes care to intimate that, in spite of this little deviation, she has no sort of intention to relinquish it, we cannot help suspecting that she had some view of this sort in the composition.

The plays in this volume consist of two tragedies and a comedy ; and the fair writer, in the preface, is particularly earnest in requesting that her reader would lay down the book at the end of each play, and only take it up again after the lapse of several days. With the first part of this request we are inclined to think that many will be induced to comply, who would consider the second as unreasonable ; and ' hardly, as Miss Baillie assures us, she must think herself treated by the refusal,' we are bound in conscience to acknowledge that we have disregarded the whole petition, and read the volume from beginning to end at a single sitting. In palliation of this offence, we may be permitted per-

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haps

haps to observe, that the injunction does not seem in perfect consistency with some of the other statements in her introduction. The reader is first directed to pause so long after every play, as may enable him to proceed to the next with the same feelings as if it had stood first in the collection; and then he is informed, that the comedy is placed between the two tragedies, that he may enjoy 'a little flickering of the sunbeams as he passes from one sombre gloom to another.' Indeed, the only motive which Miss Baillie's modesty allows her to state for having published the said comedy, is this humane anxiety to support the spirits of her reader under these tragical impressions; from which, however, she insists upon their being perfectly recovered before they are allowed to apply to the antidote.

The first play is entitled 'Rayner,' and was written, we are happy to find, many years ago. Miss Baillie cannot possibly write a tragedy, nor an act indeed of a tragedy, without showing genius, and exemplifying a more dramatic conception and expression than any of her modern competitors; but she is always deficient in the conduct of her fable, and frequently injudicious in the selection of the incidents upon which it is made to depend. We cannot conceive any thing more unhappily imagined than the story of Rayner, nor any thing more completely trite and puerile than the incidents by which it is unfolded. If Miss Baillie had not previously achieved a very high reputation as a dramatic writer, we should have been inclined, after perusing this production, to say that nothing at all approaching to excellence could ever be expected from a writer who could build up a tragedy on a series of such miserable common-places.

Rayner is a gallant young soldier; of a thoughtless and improvident disposition, like all heroes of romance; who falls into low-spirits, because an old uncle, from whom he had great expectations, is induced to disinherit him, and leave all his fortune to an artful legacy-hunter called Hubert. In this mood, he is introduced to a band of gentlemen robbers, commanded by Count Zatterloo, who are as merry and jovial as fabulous banditti have always been bound to be since the publication of *Gil Blas*, or earlier. These free spirits propose to murder poor Hubert next night, as he passes through a wood with a variety of portmanteaus containing his ill-got legacy; and Rayner, after several compunctious visitings of nature, is finally determined, by his landlord's importunity about the reckoning, to take a share in the enterprise. With this laudable intention, he repairs with his new associates next night to the wood, where there is, of course, a great deal of thunder and lightning. In the storm, he is separated from the gang, and, losing his way, wanders, as was naturally to have been conjectured, into the cell of a hermit, who turns out to have been

a murderer in his day also, and terrifies his visitor into penitence by the sight of the terrors and agonies of his remorse. In the mean time, the report of fire-arms leads him to fear that the deed is done without him, and he rushes out to assure himself of the truth. The robbers, better versed in such perilous circumstances, after finishing their job, make their escape; but poor Rayner is soon caught by certain officers of justice, carried before the magistrate, tried, and condemned to die. In prison he is visited, besides the chaplain in ordinary, by an affectionate damsel of the name of Elizabeth, to whom he had been betrothed, and by an old General, who takes a vast affection for him, and makes many unsuccessful attempts to procure his pardon. But the most fortunate circumstance that occurs during his confinement, is an acquaintance he contrives to scrape up with an African prince, who officiated as a pot-boy in the prison, and was very harshly used by the jailors and debtors, on account of his unfortunate propensity to tipping. Rayner, one cold evening, detects this illustrious personage in the act of stealing his cloak, and generously makes him a present of it; prudently considering, that as he was himself to be beheaded next morning, it could not be of much more use to him. The sable chieftain is filled with so much gratitude for this unexpected donation, that he slips out before daylight, and cunningly saws half through the platform on which the executioner is to mount before giving the fatal stroke. The consequences of this ingenious device are obvious. The last officer of the law tumbles down on the pavement, to the vast satisfaction of the spectators; and bumps his head so terribly on the stones, that the execution is necessarily delayed till one of his apprentices can be sent for. In the nick of time comes a messenger from Count Zaterloo, who had been sadly wounded in the affray, confessing that he alone was guilty of the murder, and that Rayner was not so much as present at its perpetration. Upon this he is immediately declared not guilty (though it is perfectly plain that he ought to have been hanged as an accessory before the fact), marries Elizabeth, and is consoled for the loss of his uncle's fortune, by the old General's promise to make him his heir. This is the main story. There are some moral scenes with Count Zaterloo, illustrating the bad effects of excessive parental indulgence, and the ingratitude of kept mistresses.

Out of such incidents as these, our readers will probably allow that it would not be easy to make a good tragedy. We certainly are not inclined to bestow this appellation upon Rayner; but when we consider the materials upon which she had to work, we are rather surprised that Miss Baillie should have been able to make out so many good speeches and passable scenes as we have met with. There are some impressive touches in the scene between

tween Rayner and the penitent Hermit in the forest, and a considerable power of pathetic representation in his first meeting with Elizabeth on his way to the prison. The best scenes perhaps are those which pass between the lovers after his condemnation. We shall venture upon a few extracts,

† *Rayner.* Thou sayest well, my sweet Elizabeth ;
In this I have against thy love offended.
But in the brightness of fair days, in all
The careless gaiety of unruffled youth,
Smiling like others of thy sex, I loved thee ;
Nor knew that thou wert also formed to strive
With the braced firmness of unyielding virtue
In the dark storms or life—alike to flourish
In sunshine or in shade.—Alas ! alas !
It was the thoughts of seeing thee—But cease !
The die is cast ; I'll speak of it no more :
The gleam which shews to me thy wond'rous excellence
Glares also on the dark and lowering path
That must our way divide.

† *Eliz.* O no ! as are our hearts, our way is one,
And cannot be divided, Strong affection
Contents with all things, and o'ercometh all things.

† *Rayner.* Alas, my love ! these are thy words of woe,
And have no meaning but to speak thy woe .
Dark fate hangs o'er us, and we needs must part.
The strong affection that o'ercometh all things
Shall fight for us indeed, and shall o'ercome :
But in a better world the vantage lies
Which it shall gain for us : here, from this earth
We must take different roads and climb to it,
As in some pitiless storm two 'nighted travellers
Lose on a wild'ring heath their 'tangled way,
And meet again.

† *Eliz.* Ay, but thy way, thy way, my gentle Rayner—
It is a terrible one.
Oh flesh and blood shrinks from the horrid pass !
Death comes to thee, not as he visiteth
The sick man's bed, pillowed with weeping friends :
O no ! nor yet as on the battle's field
He meets the blood warm'd soldier in his mail,
Greeting him proudly.—Thou must bend thy neck,
This neck round which mine arms now circled close
Do feel the loving warmth of youthful life :
Thou must beneath the stroke—O horrid ! horrid !

RAYNER. (*supporting her from sinking to the ground*).

My dear Elizabeth, my most belov'd
Thou art affrighted with a horrid picture

By thine own fancy trac'd ; look not upon it :

All is not dreadful in the actual proof

Which on th' approach frowns darkly.' 78-80.

Afterwards, when the old general expresses his intention to solicit for a pardon, Elizabeth throws herself at his feet, and says,

Elix. We ask not liberty ; we ask but life.

O grant us this, and keep us where they will,

Or as they will. We shall do no disquiet.

O let them grant us life, and we will bless them !

Rayner.

And would'st thou have me live, Elizabeth,

Forlorn and sad, in lonely dungeon pent,

Kept from the very use of mine own limbs,

A poor, lost, caged thing ?

Elix.

Would not I live with thee ? would not I cheer thee ?

Would'st thou be lonely then ? would'st thou be sad ?

I'd clear away the dark unwholesome air,

And make a little parlour of thy cell.

With cheerful labour eke our little means,

And go abroad at times to fetch thee in

The news and passing stories of the day.

I'd read thee books : I'd sit and sing to thee :

And every thing would to our willing minds

Some observations bring to cheer our hours.

Yea, ev'n the varied voices of the wind

O' winter nights would be a play to us.

Nay, turn not from me thus, my gentle Rayner !

How many suffer the extremes of pain,

Ay, lop their limbs away, in lowest plight

Few years to spend upon a weary couch

With scarce a friend their sickly draughts to mingle !

And dost thou grudge to spend thy life with me ?

Rayner.

I could live with thee in a pitchy mine ;

In the cleft crevice of a savage den,

Where coils the snake, and bats and owlets roost,

And cheerful light of day no entrance finds,

But would'st thou have me live degraded also ;

Humbled and low ? No, liberty or nought

Must be our boon.' p. 85-7.

Though all this part of the play brings strongly to our recollection the prison scenes in *Measure for Measure*, yet we think Miss Baillie has succeeded in her attempt to combine, in the character of Rayner, a great deal of warlike gallantry, and of thoughtless and active courage, with a considerable horror and dread for the solemn approach of certain and inevitable death. In one passage, he says to the priest,

Rayner. Death is to me an awful thing ; nay, Father,

I fear to die. And were it in my power,

By suffering of the keenest racking pains,
 To keep upon me still these weeds of nature,
 I could such things endure, that thou would'st marvel,
 And cross thyself to see such coward bravery.
 For oh ! it goes against the mind of man
 To be turn'd out from its warm wonted home,
 Ere yet one rent admits the winter's chill.' p. 91.

We add also the following soliloquy, supposed to be spoken on the night before his execution. The thoughts are not new ; but there is, along with some heaviness, considerable force of conception and expression

' *Rayner.* This bell speaks with a deep and sullen voice :
 The time comes on apace with silent speed.
 Is it indeed so late ? (*Looking at his watch.*)

It is even so.

(*Pausing, and looking still at the watch.*)

How soon time flies away ! yet, as I watch it,
 Methinks, by the slow progress of this hand,
 I should have liv'd an age since yesterday,
 And have an age to live. Still on it creeps,
 Each little moment at another's heels,
 Till hours, days, years, and ages are made up
 Of such small parts as these, and men look back,
 Worn and bewilder'd, wond'ring how it is.
 Thou trav'lest like a ship in the wide ocean,
 Which hath no bounding shore to mark its progress ;
 O Time ! ere long I shall have done with thee.
 When next thou leadest on thy nightly shades
 Though many a weary heart thy steps may count,
 Thy midnight 'larum shall not waken me.
 Then shall I be a thing, at thought of which
 The roused soul swells boundless and sublime,
 Or wheels in wildness of unfathom'd fears :
 A thought ; a consciousness ; unbodied spirit.
 Who but would shrink from this ?
 But wherefore shrink ? came we not thus to earth ?
 And he who sent, prepared reception for us.
 Ay, glorious are the things that are prepar'd,
 As we believe !—yet, heav'n pardon me !
 I fain would skulk beneath my wonted cov'ring,
 Mean as it is.
 Ah, Time ! when next thou fill'st thy nightly term,
 Where shall I be ? Fye ! fye upon thee still !
 E'en where weak infancy, and tim'rous age,
 And maiden fearfulness have gone before thee ;
 And where, as well as him of firmest soul,
 The meanly-minded and the coward are.

Then

Then trust thy nature, at the approaching push,
The mind doth shape itself to its own wants,
And can bear all things.' p. 111-113.

We can afford no more extracts from this play. From those which we have now given, our readers will perceive that Miss Baillie's style and diction, with some quaintness and much inequality, has in it, upon the whole, more vigour, nature, and animation, than that of any of our modern dramatists. It has all the substantial characters of poetry, too, with scarcely any thing, of the vulgar poetical diction; and is always a great deal richer in conception and imagery, than in melody and phrases. The gay scenes, we think, are very clumsily and heavily delineated; and the humours of the turnkeys, executioners and clowns, are absolutely insupportable.

We come now to the comedy, which is called 'The Country Inn.' Miss Baillie positively must not write comedies. She wants that talent; and she has higher talents. There are strong indications of good sense indeed, and good humour, in the speeches of her favourite characters; and the diction throughout has the merit of being very natural, and of approaching more nearly to the tone of real conversation, than is usual in the modern drama. But the dialogue, along with the ease of common conversation, has a good deal of its *fadeur* and insipidity; and there is a lamentable deficiency both of incident and character, for which no atonement could be made by the utmost accomplishment of expression. The Country Inn is by much the worst of Miss Baillie's comedies. With the same want of brilliancy, probability and interest, it has less variety, and a much more offensive proportion of low humour than any of its predecessors. The characters, too, have all too much mediocrity about them to be interesting: they have no passion, and scarcely any distress or perplexity. The ludicrous incidents are all extremely childish; and the moral and reasonable passages have neither tenderness nor energy.

The story, in case our readers have any anxiety to know it, is as follows. A worthy baronet about forty, whom too much sense has made a humourist, and kept a bachelor, is stopped at a country inn by the snow, along with a dissipated idle nephew, a great admirer of his own beauty and accomplishments. In the same house there happens to be a gentleman poet, the activity of whose fancy has converted the chambermaid into a nymph of enchanting beauty, and irresistible elegance of manners. By and by arrives a coach, containing an old lady and two nieces; one very pretty, amiable, and accomplished, but with scarcely any fortune; the other a downright idiot, supposed to be a great heiress, but

in reality almost as poor as her cousin. The old lady is a great match-maker, and particularly anxious to dispose of the most deserving of her nieces to the baronet, who fortunately turns out to be an old acquaintance. The young lady sees through this plot of her aunt; and being, of course, much above mercenary motives, thinks herself bound to frustrate it, by treating the gentleman with particular coldness and neglect. By listening at her chamber-door, however, he contrives, in his turn, to see through the motive of her indifference; and thereon falling desperately in love with her, communicates as much of his passion to her as is sufficient to obtain her consent to marry him towards the close of the fifth act. In the mean time, the nephew elopes with the idiot niece, and is regaled, upon his return, with discovering that her personal accomplishments form almost the whole of her dowry. The poet, at the same time, in spite of the ungenial weather, leads the chambermaid to the altar, and is rewarded for his folly by finding that an old uncle had that morning left her ten thousand pounds. Such are the incidents which, with the help of the pleasantries of David the ostler, and Will the postillion, and the humours of the landlady and bagpiper, Miss Baillie has contrived to dilate into a comedy in five acts, entitled, *The Country Inn*.

The last play is a tragedy, called *Constantine Paleologus*. The subject is the downfall of the Eastern empire, by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. It is by far the best in the collection; and, though 'horribly stuffed with circumstance of war,' and composed throughout in a style rather more turgid and ambitious than any of Miss Baillie's other compositions, approaches much nearer to the standard of Count Basil and De Montford than the preceding contents of the volume had permitted us to expect. Miss Baillie's own account of the object she had in view, and the impressions under which she proceeded, deserve to be given in her own words.

'The subject of it is taken from Gibbon's account of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks. It was a subject that pressed itself upon me, at a time when I had no thoughts of writing at all, and (if I may use the expression) *would* be written upon. The character there displayed of Constantine Paleologus, the last of the Cæsars, a modest, affectionate, domestic man; nursed in a luxurious court in habits of indulgence and indolence; without ambition, even without hope, rousing himself up on the approach of unavoidable ruin; and deserted by every Christian prince in Europe, deserted by his own worthless and enervated subjects, supported alone by a generous band, chiefly of strangers, devoting themselves to him from generous attachment!—to see him, thus circumstanced, nobly fronting the storm, and perishing as became the last of a long line of kings, the last of the Romans;—this was a view of man—of noble and dignified exertion which it was impossible for me
to

to resist, though well aware that no play I am capable of writing can ever be equal to what such a subject deserves. So much was I pleased with those generous ties—may I be permitted to make use of a scripture phrase, and say, those “cords of a man?” binding together the noble Paleologus and his brave imperial band, that, had I followed my own inclination, delineating those would have been the principal object of the piece. But convinced that something more was requisite to interest a common audience, and give sufficient variety to the scenes, I introduced the character of Valeria, and brought forward the domestic qualities of Constantine as well as those of the unfortunate prince and beloved leader.’ p. xiv. xv.

The Character of Constantine, indeed, and his fate, constitute the whole interest of the drama. It cannot be said to have any plot, and scarcely any fable. It is merely the history of the two last days of the siege; and though an attempt is made to diversify the business of the scene, by the introduction of a mutiny and an embassy, yet we see clearly the doom of the emperor from the very opening of the piece, and the attention is never effectually diverted to any other object. The inferior characters are not striking. There is a kind of rhetorical flourishing in the speeches of Othus, which was intended, we suppose, to characterize the man of letters in his new vocation of a soldier; but it is merely bombastic and declamatory, and wearies us almost as much as the dull villany and tedious treachery of Petronius and Marthon. There is something rather magnificent in the character of Valeria, though we cannot be brought by any means to approve of her going to consult the magician as to the destiny of her husband. Such a proceeding is not only unsuitable to her lofty and commanding temper, but the incident itself is beneath the dignity of tragedy. Shrines and oracles may be resorted to by distressed sovereigns, without any breach of decorum; nay, witches and wizards may be consulted with sufficient propriety, provided they live alone in caverns and dreary forests, and give out their predictions for love, for fear, or for hatred. But for an empress to go disguised like one of her chambermaids, to a professed conjuror’s apartments, in an obscure alley of a great city, and to pay her money at the door out of gratitude for being surprised with good news, is an incident which corresponds so ill with the lofty tone of tragedy, that it could scarcely find admittance into the more dignified species of comedy. The character of Constantine, however, certainly is represented with considerable truth and feeling. We give the following short extract. The deserted monarch, after having counterfeited a cheerful intrepidity in the midst of his officers, thus addresses himself to Othus in private:

Constant. ————— Here, by thy friendly side,
I’ll give my heart a little breathing space;

For oh ! the generous love of these brave men,
 Holding thus nobly to my sinking fate,
 Presses it sorely.
 From thee nor from myself can I conceal
 The hopeless state in which I am beset.
 No foreign prince a brother's hand extends
 In this mine hour of need ; no Christian state
 Sends forth its zealous armies to defend
 This our begirded cross : within our walls,
 Tho' with the addition of our later friends,
 I cannot number soldiers ev'n sufficient
 To hold a petty town 'gainst such vast odds.
 I needs must smile and wear a brow of hope,
 But with thee, gentle Othus, I put off
 All form and seeming ; I am what I am,
 A weak and heart-rent man.--Wilt thou forgive me ?
 For I in truth must weep.

' *Othus.* Yes, unrestrained weep, thou valiant soul
 With many a wave o'er-ridden ! Thou striv'st nobly
 Where hearts of sterner stuff perhaps had sunk :
 And o'er thy fall, if it be so decreed,
 Good men will mourn, and brave men will shed tears,
 Kindred to those which now thou shed'st. Thy name
 Shall in succeeding ages be remembered,
 When those of mighty monarchs are forgot.

' *Constan.* Deceive me not ; thy love deceiveth thee.
 Mens' actions to futurity appear
 But as the events to which they are conjoined
 To give them consequence.
 O no, good Othus, fame I look not for,
 But to sustain in heaven's all-seeing eye,
 Before my fellow men, in mine own sight,
 With graceful virtue and becoming pride,
 The dignity and honour of a man,
 Thus station'd as I am, I will do all
 That man may do, and I will suffer all---
 My heart within me cries, that man can suffer.
 Shall low-born men on scaffolds firmly tread,
 For that their humble townsmen should not blush,
 And shall I shrink ? No, by the living God !
 I will not shrink, albeit I shed these tears.
 I would, God knows, in a poor woodman's hut
 Have spent my peaceful days, and shar'd my crust
 With her who would have cheer'd me, rather far
 Than on this throne ; but, being what I am,
 I'll be it nobly.' p. 335--36--37.

In the scene of the insurrection, the weakness of his character,
 rather the preponderating influence of his domestic affections, is
 represented

represented perhaps a little too plainly. When he proposes to go and repel the insurgents in person, Valeria addresses him

————— O, no ! thou shalt not go !
 Yea, I am bold ! misfortune mocks at state,
 And strong affection scorns all reverence ;
 Therefore, before these lords, ev'n upon thee,
 Thou eastern Cæsar, do I boldly lay
 My woman's hand, and say, " Thou shalt not go."

* *Constan.* Thy woman's hand is stronger, sweet Valeria,
 Than warrior's iron grasp,
 But yet it may not hold me. Strong affection
 Makes thee most fearful where no danger is.
 Shall eastern Cæsar, like a timid hind
 Scar'd from his watch, conceal his cowering head ?
 And does an empire's dame require it of him ?

Valeria. Away, away with all those pompous sounds !
 I know them not. I by thy side have shar'd
 The public gaze, and th' applauding shouts
 Of bending crowds : but I have also shar'd
 The hour of thy heart's sorrow, still and silent,
 The hour of thy heart's joy. I have supported
 Thine aching head, like the poor wand'rer's wife,
 Who, on his seat of turf, beneath heaven's roof,
 Rests on his way.—The storm beats fiercely on us ;
 Our nature suits not with these worldly times,
 To it most adverse. Fortune loves us not ;
 She hath for us no good : do we retain
 Her fetters only ? No, thou shalt not go !

(Twining her arms round him.)

By that which binds the peasant and the prince,
 The warrior and the slave, all that do bear
 The form and nature of a man, I stay thee !
 Thou shalt not go.

* *Constan.* Wouldst thou degrade me thus ?

* *Valeria.* Wouldst thou unto my bosom give death's pang ?
 Thou lov'st me not.

* *CONSTANTINE (with emotion, stretching out his hands to his friend's,
 who stand at some distance)*

My friends, ye see how I am fetter'd here.
 Ye who have to my fallen fortunes clung
 With gen'rous love, less to redeem their fall
 Than on my waning fate by noble deeds
 To shed a ray of graceful dignity :
 Ye gen'rous and devoted ; still with you
 I thought to share all dangers : go, ye now,
 And to the current of this swelling tide
 Set your brave breasts alone.

*(Waving them off with his
 hand, and then turning to her,
 Now,*

Now, wife, where wouldst thou lead me ?

VALERIA (*pointing with great energy to the friends who are turning as if to go out*)

There, there ! O, there ! thou hast no other way.

p. 305-6-7.

In the subsequent scene of the quelling of the insurrection, Miss Baillie appears to us to have imitated her own representation of the suppression of the mutiny in Count Basil ; and, like other imitators, to have fallen very far short of the original.

The last parting scene between the imperial personages is statedly on the part of the lady.

' *Constan.* Good-morrow, noble brothers and brave leaders :

Are we all here convened ?—Now, Valeria !

' *Valeria.* I understand that smile.

Here with thy gen'rous friends, whose love to thee

Most dearly celled in my heart I wear,

And unto whom I have desired much,

Before we part these grateful thanks to pay—

Here to those noble friends, and to God's keeping,

I leave thee.—Yet, be it permitted me—

For that thy noble head and lib'ral brow

Have ever cheer'd me as my star of day,

Blessings and blessings let me pour upon them ?

(*Putting her hand upon his head fervently, and kissing his forehead.*)

For that thy gen'rous breast has been the hold

Of all my treasur'd wishes and dear thoughts,

This fond embrace. (*Embracing him.*)

Yes, and for that thou art

My sire, and sov'reign, and most honour'd lord,

This humble homage of my heart receive.

(*Kneeling, and kissing his hand.*)

CONSTANTINE (*Raising and embracing her with great emotion.*)

No more, my dearest and most noble love !

Spare me, O spare me ! Heaven be thy protection !

Farewel ! p. 406, 407.

The scenes in the Turkish camp are not good. The big blustering of despots, and the crouching adulation of slaves, admit of little variation. It is probably a mistake, however, to suppose that the sultan was as despotic, or his vizirs and generals as obsequious, in the days of Mahomet the Second as in those of Selim the Third. There is something striking in the following passage. Mahomet, making the rounds of his camp the night before the grand attack, attended by a single officer, comes in one quarter so near the walls of the devoted city, as to hear the murmur that issues from her gates, and asks

' What

‘What sounds are these ?
Osmir. Hast thou forgot we are so near the city ?
 It is the murmur’ing night-sounds of her streets,
 Which the soft breeze wafts to thine ear, thus softly
 Mix’d with the chafings of the distant waves.

MAHOMET (eagerly.)

‘And let me listen too ! I love the sound !
 Like the last whispers of a dying enemy
 It comes to my pleas’d ear. (*Listening.*)
 Spent art thou, proud imperial queen of nations,
 And thy last accents are upon the wind.
 Thou hast but one voice more to utter ; one
 Loud, frantic, terrible, and then art thou
 Amongst the nations heard no more. List ! list !
 I like it well ! the lion hears afar
 Th’ approaching prey, and shakes his bristling mane,
 And lashes with his tail his tawny sides,
 And so hear I this city’s nightly sound.
 Silent shall be the march : nor drum, nor trumpet,
 Nor clash of arms, shall to the watchful foe
 Our near approach betray : silent and soft,
 As the pard’s velvet foot on Libya’s sands,
 Slow stealing with crouch’d shoulders on her prey.’ p. 372-3.

Miss Baillie says, somewhere in her preface, that this play was written with a view to its being represented on the stage, and apologises for the quantity of pomp and scenery which it exhibits, from the desire she felt of indulging the taste of the spectators in these particulars. Now, if we had not read this explanation, we will confess that we should have been disposed to seek an apology for the peculiarity to which she alludes, in the very opposite supposition, and should have excused several of the marginal expositions of the scene, by suggesting that the play was not intended for actual representation. It appears to us, indeed, that a very great part of the last act would not admit of representation. It opens with a view of the assault, with artillery and battering engines playing on the walls, houses tumbling down, and soldiers marching, together with ‘a prospect of the breach, in the back ground, with the confused fighting of the besieged, enveloped in clouds of dust and smoke.’ After a good deal of hard fighting, and loud shouting, under the very eyes of the spectators, there is ‘a terrible noise of arms, &c. and presently one of the pillars in the middle of the stage falls down, and opens a wider view of the battle, and the Turks are seen rushing through the breach, and carrying every thing before them.’ Now, all this may be described perhaps with great eloquence and effect ;
 but

but does Miss Baillie really believe it possible, by any effort of mechanism, to represent it to the eye, within the walls of a theatre, in such a way as not to be absolutely ridiculous? There is a city taken by the Turks, we believe, in the celebrated entertainment of Blue Beard; but we scarcely imagine that Miss Baillie had it in view to enter into competition with that meritorious performance.

The death of Constantine, who falls fighting bravely in the breach, and the distracting anxiety of Valeria, are represented with truth and simplicity, rather than with great pathos or effect. In the midst of the conflict, the empress, stunned with the growing noise of the battle, and ignorant of its issue, is represented as traversing her apartment with agitated steps, and thus saying to an attendant----

‘ Oh, will this state of tossing agony
No termination have! Send out, I pray thee,
Another messenger.

‘ *Lucia.* Indeed I have in little space of time
Sent many forth, but none return again,

‘ *Valeria.* In little space! Oh it hath been a term
Of horrible length! such as rack’d fiends do reckon
Upon their tossing beds of surgy flames,
Told by the lashes of each burning tide
That o’er them breaks.—Hark! the quick step of one
With tidings fraught! Dost thou not hear it?

‘ *Lucia.* No;

I hear it not.

‘ *Valeria.* Still is it the false coinage of my fears?
Ah! hearing, sight, and every sense is now
False and deceitful grown.—I’ll sit me down,
And think no more, but let the black hour pass
In still and fixed stupor o’er my head. (*Sits down upon a low
seat, and supports her bended head upon both her hands.*)

‘ *LUCIA (listening.)*

‘ Now I do hear the sound of real feet

In haste approaching.

VALERIA (starting up.)

‘ Some one brings us tidings.

What may they be? Quick steps should bring us good.

(*Enter MESSENGER.*)

Say all thou hast to say, and say it quickly.

If it be good hold up thy blessed hand,

And I will bless the token.—No, thou dost not!

’Tis evil then.—How is it with my lord?

What dangers still encompass him?

‘ *Mess.*

No dangers.

‘ *Valeria.*

* *Valeria.* And dost thou say so with that terrible look ?
Is he alive ? Have all deserted him ?

* *Mess.* No, round his body still some brave men fight,
And will not quit him till they be as he is.' p. 417, 418.

When the massacre is at least arrested by the command of Mahomet, the effects of the respite thus brought to the survivors is described with great force in the following passage—

* *Officer.* Like a sudden gleam
Of fierce returning light at the storm's close,
Glancing on horrid sights of waste and sorrow,
Came the swift word of peace, and to the eye
Gave consciousness of that which the wild uproar
And dire confusion of the carnage hid.

* *First woman.*

* *Officer.* ' Alas ! be there such sights within our walls ?
' Yes, maid, such sights of blood ! such sights of nature !
In expectation of their horrid fate,
Widows, and childless parents, and 'lorn dames,
Sat by their unwept dead with fixed gaze,
In horrible stillness.
But when the voice of grace was heard aloud,
So strongly stirr'd within their roused souls
The love of life, that, even amidst those horrors,
A joy was seen—joy hateful and unlovely.
I saw an aged man rise from an heap
Of grizly dead, whereon, new murder'd, lay
His sons and grandsons, yea, the very babe
Whose cradle he had rock'd with palsied hands,
And shake his gray locks at the sound of life
With animation wild and horrible !
I saw a mother with her murder'd infant
Still in her arms fast lock'd, spring from the ground—
No, no ! I saw it not ! I saw it not !
It was a hideous fancy of my mind.' p. 420. 421.

Valeria stabs herself in presence of Mahomet, and, with her dying voice, intreats Othus, whom she does not know to be mortally wounded, to record and vindicate the virtues of her husband : then seeing him look pale and sad, she says—

' What means that woeful motion of thy head ?
Mine eyes wax dim, or do I truly see thee ?
Thy visage has a strange and ghastly look :
How is it with thee ?

* *Othus.* As one who standest at the city's gate,
Through which his earlier friends have past, and waits
Impatiently, girt in his traveller's robe,
To hear the welcome creaking of its bars.

* *Valeria.* Ah ! art thou wounded then ? Alas ! alas !
Art thou too of our company ? sad travellers
Unto a world unknown.

' *Othus.* Nay, say not sad, though to a world unknown.
The foster'd nursling, at th' appointed season,
Who leaves his narrow crib and cottage home
For the fair mansion of his lordly sire,
Goes to a world unknown.

' *Valeria.* Ay, thou would'st cheer me, and I will be cheer'd.
There reigns above who casts his dark shade o'er us,
Mantling us on our way to glorious light.' p. 433.

Mahomet, who has been represented all along as envying and admiring the high spirit and generous attachment of the Christian leaders, turns round to them after this scene, and says—

' Ye valiant men, who have so serv'd your prince,
There still is in the world a mighty monarch,
Who, if he might retain you near his throne,
Shall he say near his heart, in such dear zeal?
Would think his greatness honour'd.

' *Othus.* Great sultan, thou hast conquer'd with such arms
As power has given to thee, th' imperial city
Of royal Constantine; but other arms,
That might the friends of Constantine subdue,
Heav'n has denied thee.

' *Rodrigo.* No, mighty prince; they who have serv'd for love,
Cannot like flying pennants be transferr'd
From bark to bark.

' MAHOMET (*impatiently.*)

' I understood you well, and you are free.
Mine arms, such as they are, of heaven are bless'd;
That is enough.

' *Othus.* That were indeed enough; but heaven oft times
Success bestows where blessing is denied.' p. 436. 437.

From the large extracts which we have given from this tragedy, our readers will easily conclude that we think more favourably of it than of any of its companions; and we hope that the perusal of these passages will induce them to concur in that opinion. With a number of very gross defects in the management and execution, it has, in most of the important scenes, a degree of truth, simplicity, and vigour, which are of the best example in the present state of the British drama: and the diction, though in some measure distorted by too sedulous an imitation of Massinger and Shakespeare, is always sustained by a spirit of poetry which would redeem greater deficiencies.

Upon the whole, however, we are afraid that this volume will by no means add to Miss Baillie's reputation. A pretty large proportion of it is unequivocally bad, and those parts which might have appeared excellent in an unknown writer, make but an indifferent figure when contrasted with her own previous productions. We have the less hesitation in expressing thus
freely

freely our sense of the deficiencies of this publication, as the writer has already obtained an established reputation, and seems, from some expressions in her preface, to be sufficiently aware of the extent of her claims on the public indulgence. That she has very extraordinary talents for dramatic poetry, is unquestionable; but the more rare and precious those talents are, the more it must excite our regret to see them wasted in injudicious exertions, or disappointed of their high reward by precipitate, profuse, or unadvised publication. We have great respect for Miss Baillie's qualifications; but we wish her to respect herself, and to respect the public, a little more than she seems to do. Hers are not the talents that are calculated to enchant an idle and undistinguishing multitude; her voice is pitched for a narrower and more select audience; and she ought to recollect, that, in such circles, the praise that is gained by genius may easily be forfeited by security. We earnestly exhort Miss Baillie to write no more comedies; to keep her assay tragedies in her portfolio; and not to give any new ones to the world, till she has submitted them to the revision of some experienced and impartial friend: her originality cannot now be subjected to any imputation, and though she will not easily meet with a superior in genius, it will not be difficult for her to find an instructor in taste.

ART. XIII. *Précis Historique de la Revolution Française Convention Nationale*. Par Lacretelle, jeune. 2 vol. 24°. Paris, 1802.

IT is not very wonderful, we conceive, although it certainly is rather unfortunate, that the various accounts hitherto published, as histories of the French Revolution, have been but little calculated to satisfy the curiosity it has so powerfully excited. If time is found essential to mature the reflections of the historian, on the most common national transactions; how long an interval may we not reasonably anticipate, before we can expect a judicious or impartial account of that astonishing æra? The scenes to be described still operate too forcibly on the recollection of the writer, and their effects are still too visible around him; and even should no personal sufferings or national animosities exasperate the feelings of the historian, the bare contemplation of the horrors that signalized the reign of the National Convention, might be sufficient to disturb his impartiality. In such a scene the relator is apt to be hurried away by indignation and abhorrence, and to fancy that by indiscriminate and profuse invective, he offers the best reparation

to outraged humanity. But it is not thus that mankind can reap the dear-bought fruits of experience. Errors of judgment are not to be classed with perverseness of design; nor should the excesses of an over-heated imagination be confounded with the atrocities of deliberate cruelty. Forgetting a while his private opinions, the historian should endeavour to enter into the views of the different actors in this dismal tragedy; and carefully distinguish how far the catastrophe, that eventually resulted from their conduct, corresponded with the motives by which it was directed.

Even now that the light of experience has come to guide our speculations, where is the man that will not confess the extreme difficulty (to use no stronger word) of clearly delineating the line of public duty which a real patriot ought to have pursued from the commencement of the French Revolution? To mark the error, that actually proved a fruitful source of calamity, is now indeed an easy task; but if fancy itself is bewildered in conjecturing the means by which a prosperous issue might have been secured, indulgence surely is due to those who acted immediately under the misruling influence of so perplexing a situation. Indulgence, therefore, ought to prevail in the breast of the author who undertakes the history of these awful times. But while Royalists, Constitutionalists, and Republicans, are still mourning the cruel extinction of their hopes, by the untoward progress of the revolution (and what writer can be without predilection to one or other of these parties?) is there not too much reason to fear that disappointment will seek vent in the asperity of animadversion, and prevent the truth and candour of inquiry?

Yet, though a time when animosities have scarcely abated their vigour is peculiarly unseasonable for the writing of history, public curiosity demands, and various motives urge individuals to supply details on a subject which demands so universal an interest. It must therefore be considered as fortunate, if, under such circumstances, a publication should appear, which, however unequal to the highest standard, exhibits at least an impartial narrative, enlivened by judicious and temperate observations. To this commendation the work before us appears to be fully entitled. It is written throughout with a dispassionate candour, to which the more praise is due, as it is the production of a person by no means a stranger to the characters or events he is describing. M. Lacretelle, we should imagine to be a friend of limited monarchy; but neither royalists nor republicans can charge him with unfairness. Their conduct, in many instances, is mentioned in such terms, that the party attachments of the writer are scarcely discernible. Even the Jacobin faction must do justice to the extent of his candour; the impetuous fury of Danton and his followers.

followers is distinguished, in his pages, from the cool systematic barbarity of Robespierre, St Just, Collot D'Herbois, Couthon, and Billaud-Varennes.

Had M. Lacretelle displayed more comprehensive views of his subject, or observed at least a clearer and more connected arrangement of events ; we should have had more reason to lament that his work is constructed on so very abridged a scale. The principal facts, though distinctly, and in themselves fully, presented, are rather exhibited as detached pictures, than adjusted in their relative positions to each other. The reader is thereby frequently left to conjecture the influence of contemporary events on the leading transactions ; and we have often been indebted, for just views of their dependencies, to the chronological table which is prefixed to this history.

The style of M. Lacretelle is not, upon the whole, such as will appear agreeable to an English reader. It is not deficient in neatness or perspicuity, but it is affectedly broken into short smart sentences, and perpetually seeks to borrow energy from metaphor, and vivacity from antithesis.

At the period with which this work commences (the meeting of the National Convention) affairs were overcast with a settled gloom, that countenanced the fears of the most desponding. France had already seen two successive legislatures. On the convocation of the States-General, lively expectations had pervaded even distant countries. The numerous imperfections of the ancient monarchy were generally admitted ; and few persons, comparatively, were adverse to the efforts of a populous and civilized nation, to restrain, by constitutional boundaries, the vast and undefined powers of the Crown. In the progress to this desirable end, unpromising appearances were soon manifested. It was confirmed (for, before, it needed not demonstration) that the attempt of transforming into free men, a people, nursed from earliest infancy in the habits of a despotic government, and utterly unused to the exercise of political rights, cannot be carried into execution without the most violent convulsions. Popular disorders broke out in several quarters ; the members of the National Assembly were placed in a critical dilemma ; a disordered state of the finances had given birth to the first opportunity of establishing a free constitution ; they were eager to improve it, in opposition to every effort apprehended from the court. Though many were able to discover the seeds of future danger in the growing fermentation among the lowest orders, yet the power, which they had been longest taught to feel and to dread, was viewed in the most formidable light by the majority ; and the unsteady, irresolute character of the benevolent

Louis, misconceived, or misrepresented as insincere and hypocritical, confirmed their purpose of divesting the monarch of every efficient prerogative. It was not till they had annihilated every thing of royalty but the name, that they became sensible that they had, at the same time, removed every barrier against the license of the populace. With a timidity, the example of which was but too often imitated afterwards by their countrymen, they shrunk from a resistance which might still have been effectual; and while they thus devolved on the legislative assembly the task of supplying a remedy, of which they felt and acknowledged the necessity, they strangely excluded from it the very persons from whom it was most to be expected. Was it pusillanimity, affecting the cover of self-denial; or real, though mistaken disinterestedness, or pitiful jealousy of rival talents, that gave birth to the decree, which rendered ineligible for the new legislature every member of the National Assembly? Thus were the most eminent politicians in France, men enlightened by reflection on a short but instructive career, virtually banished from the councils of their country.

If the errors of an assembly, that united the greatest talents, were to be traced to a want of practical experience, how far from encouraging was the prospect that opened with its successor? The novelty of political discussions had produced a considerable ferment in the public mind; the attachment to the Sovereign had been greatly enfeebled by the unfortunate flight to Varennes, and the suspected conspiracy of the court with the powers armed against France. Under circumstances thus unfavourable the members of the new Assembly were elected.

The party that soon obtained in it a decisive ascendancy, was chiefly composed of deputies from the department of the Gironde. Most of these persons were very young, and many of them distinguished for talents, and zealously intent on the welfare of their country. But the ancient republics of Athens and of Sparta had fired their imaginations; they were blind to the true character and habits of their countrymen; and forgot that those republics had not sprung up on the ruins of despotism, nor amidst a general dissolution of morals. To destroy the constitution they were sworn to maintain, was accordingly the secret wish of their hearts: the vanity of several hoped to eclipse their famed predecessors in the work of legislation. Yet some regard for their oath, aided by prudential considerations, restrained them from avowing their aim, and drove them to pursue it through a disguised and crooked policy. No system could have been more terrible than that which they adopted. They conceived the desperate project of employing the people, to effect the down-
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fal of royalty, and the populace of Paris assumed in their eyes the dignified character of the national representative: they concerted the insurrection of the 2d of June, and afterwards that of the 10th of August, which drove their Monarch to seek the refuge of a captive within the walls of the assembly. The Jacobins had seen, with secret exultation, the gradual erection of a new sovereignty, the reins of which must, they foresaw, be ultimately transferred into their hands. In all measures that accelerated the ruin of legal authority, they had supported the Girondins with their votes; they had also joined them when a too anxious regard for popularity had urged them to overlook, or to palliate, the sanguinary excesses that provoked the animadversions of the constitutional party. But their policy, as well as their language on these occasions, drew a visible line of separation between them. They boasted, before the popular assemblies, of the marks of odium and ignominy with which they were branded by their rivals; because, instead of offering a timid and insincere apology, they had boldly avowed their warm approbation of every act of the sovereign people. They cautioned them assiduously not to look for friends among men who flattered them indeed as instruments by which they hoped to secure their own elevation; but to vest their entire confidence in a party, wholly and ardently intent on exalting the lowest orders of society.

The 10th of August completed their triumph. They were now sanctioned, by the example of their opponents, in exciting the people to open insurrection: they were able to form a pretty correct estimate of the impunity that would attend any conspiracy. In the midst of the trepidation and disorder created by the near approach of the combined armies to the metropolis, they rose upon the municipality; replaced its members by creatures devoted to themselves; assassins were dispatched to the different prisons, and massacred the defenceless victims confined there on the most vague suspicions. The Legislative Assembly heard, while sitting, the report of this horrid outrage; and awaited, in silent and lethargic terror, the period of its consummation. Expiring, agreeably to what was still called the constitution, a few days after, its members separated; having merely vented, in empty declamations, the feelings that ought only to have been satisfied by the most terrible example of retribution.

Such was the hopeless termination of this second Legislature, and such the auspices that ushered in the National Convention; of which we are now to attend to the general outlines. In Paris, and even in remoter districts, the elections had proceeded under the impressions of terror, which the 2d of September had diffused

diffused. A horde, such as the world had not till then seen arrayed in the garb of legislators, crowded the side of the Assembly to which they gave the appellation of the Mountain, glorying in Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, as their chiefs. The opposite benches were occupied by the great majority of members, but they were not alike united into one compact body. At first indeed they seemed wholly devoted to the Girondins; they joined in their cries of vengeance against the assassins of September, and the authors of various outrages committed in other quarters. But, as M. Lacretelle observes,

‘ Among those who supported them at present, all did not approve of their conduct in the preceding Assembly. The Girondins were not followed with blind devotion; their views often appeared too subtle, and at other times dangerous; they betrayed too evidently a puerile regret for their former popularity, and were still but too prone to make imprudent sacrifices for the chance of regaining it. They offended on two or three occasions, but especially on one of great importance, men of consciences less pliable than their own; but, what proved still more fatal, they experienced the utmost treachery from some of the new deputies, who had eagerly courted their connexion. Barrere, whether his vanity was hurt, or his timidity had already caught the alarm, established a party independent of the common cause; one of those mixt parties, to which the vulgar crowd in assemblies ever repairs for safety, on the approach of alarming storms; one of those parties, that crouch under every threat, yet seem to dictate every law; that destroy the good of every measure by dint of modifications; and arrest the course of crimes, only to give more maturity to their contrivance.’

The abolition of Royalty, proposed, equally to the mortification and surprise of the Girondins, by Collot D’Herbois, one of the September assassins, and voted with tumultuous acclamation at the first sitting of the Convention, had alone retarded the attack with which they were intent on overwhelming their adversaries. The contest was opened by Lasource on the 25th of September. He set forth in glowing colours the atrocities that had been perpetrated, and represented them as the prelude of a projected Dictatorship. Cries of ‘Name the Dictator!’ resounded through the hall. In the confusion of voices, the names of Danton, Robespierre, Marat, were distinctly heard. The particulars of this sitting are peculiarly interesting. The Girondins were now in the plenitude of their strength; and this first trial demonstrates a total want of concert among the adversaries of the Jacobins, a predominant timidity in the Convention, and the overawing influence of the furies that filled its galleries, which could not but be improved, by ordinary dexterity, into the ultimate triumph of the most abandoned ruffians. The stentorian voice of Danton first commanded a hearing. By artfully reviving the insidious

truly.

truly unmeaning charge of federalism against the Girondins, he succeeded nevertheless in dividing their supporters. Robespierre next rose.

“ Never did this frigid orator descend so far beneath the part which he was destined to fill. He exhausted the patience of the Assembly with his ponderous egotism and unmeaningness : at every moment, bitter sarcasms and galling apostrophes interrupted and perplexed him, without, however, affecting in the slightest degree the fatiguing monotony of his speech. One of his own party, a man named Osselin, yielded to his impatience. “ Cease, Robespierre,” said he, “ to talk to us about thyself; answer this single question : Hast thou aspired to the Dictatorship ? ” Robespierre eyed him with savage fierceness ; and that single glance must have been to him the presage of death. The members ended by enjoying the emotion and perturbation of the tyrant ; and the idea of punishing him was most remote from their thoughts. Woe to the people, among whom the sense of ridicule enfeebls that of indignation ? This sentiment seemed however to rekindle at the sight of Marat. The public had long doubted the existence of such a monster. The patriots themselves supposed, perhaps without believing it, that his sanguinary publications were the concealed crime of some royalist who sought to dishonour liberty by its excesses. There was however such a being ! the 2d of September had revealed his existence ; he was called a representative of the nation. He began his apology. How could it be heard, and how can I at this day retrace it ! I shall present, without varying, the expressions, the prominent features, of this speech, such as they were collected. “ Accuse no man,” said he, “ Danton, Robespierre and others. I alone, I suggested the idea of a tribunate, triumvirate, dictatorship ; call it as you will : I have no fears of being disowned by the people ; they know my principles and my attachment to their interests. Yes---I declare it, painfully affected by the violent paroxysms with which my country was convulsed, viewing her on the point of being ingulphed in her own ruins, I saw one only chance of saving her, the Dictatorship ; and I proposed it : but I wished that it should be committed to the hands of a man, upright, and of an energetic character, who might, with calmness and with justice, cut off the heads of the guilty. Already a hundred thousand patriots have fallen, victims of iniquity ; the lives of a hundred thousand more are still threatened. People ! why didst thou not believe me ? If, the very day on which the Bastile was conquered, less deaf to my voice, thou hadst laid low five hundred heads of machinators, thou hadst imprinted terror in the souls of the rest, and the new order of things would not have encountered so many obstacles.”

“ The Convention shuddered. Many members sprung from their seats to tear from the tribune the monster, the sight and the voice of whom they could no longer endure. Vergniaud obtains a hearing. “ How painful for me,” said he, “ to replace at this tribune a man all drenched in calumnies, gall and blood ? ” The disgust he expresses,
every

every one appears to feel. Vergniaud forgets Robespierre and Danton, but he urges with warmth the expulsion or punishment of Marat.....He reads a number of the *Ami du Peuple*, in which Marat estimated, with the most phlegmatic ferocity, that liberty could now only be secured by cutting off seventy thousand heads. Shouts arise in the galleries, approving the calculation of Marat. Consternation spreads through the Assembly. The greater number of deputies still detest proscriptions, but they fancy themselves surrounded by an army of proscribers. Some desert the hall; they say 'tis from horror at the recital of such atrocities, and they were called upon to punish them! Marat again appears; he avows the paper that has been read; he shews another in which his cruelty is somewhat mitigated. The Mountain approves its principles with a thousand clamorous shouts; the remainder of the Convention is silent, or scatters itself abroad. Marat adds insult to the fugitives. He himself announces his triumph. "Blush," says he to his trembling colleagues, "at your own precipitation in accusing the patriots." Drawing a pistol from his pocket, he proceeds. "If the decree of accusation against me had been carried, I was resolved to blow out my brains at the foot of this tribune. This then is the fruit of my nightly vigils, of my labours, of my misery, of my sufferings! Well, however, I will remain among you to brave your fury." This consummation of effrontery is treated as madness. Fear hides itself under an affected contempt. "Let us leave individuals," exclaims Tallien: "secure the safety of the republic; decree that it is one and indivisible." The decree is carried. Thus, from this struggle, which the Girondin accusers had opened with every presage of victory, there only results an obscure perfidious decree, worded as a fatal sentence upon their party. The whole character of the Convention is imprinted in this sitting. The events of that day must have completed the general conviction, that nothing but a military force could henceforward secure the freedom of debate. A decree had been early obtained to authorise such a measure; owing to timidity or want of system, its execution was neglected. The Girondins hoped to overwhelm Robespierre by a more formal accusation: Louvet undertook the charge; his speech electrified the Convention. Instead of seizing the opportunity of summary justice against that sanguinary monster, they yielded to his request of eight days for preparing his defence---for organizing the galleries in his favour. The result may be conjectured. What now suspended the vengeance of the Jacobins against opponents who had so flagrantly betrayed an irregular, unsteady, pusillanimous spirit? The fate of the captive Monarch remained undecided, and they resolved that Louis should prepare the way to the scaffold.

' The Girondins were on this occasion entangled in their own tortuous policy. In general, they were inclined to save the life of the King; but their wild theories led them to compass this point through an appeal to the people at large, subsequently to his condemnation by the Assembly. Concurring therefore with the Jacobins on the first question,

question, "Is Louis guilty?" they secured to them a victory in the first instance, the consequences of which were irretrievable. Thirty-eight only out of 721 members had the courage to adopt the language of Lanjuinais, "You cannot be at once the accusers and the judges of Louis: Every one of you has previously delivered his sentiments; many have done it with a scandalous ferociousness."

We would with pleasure extract several passages in the account M. Lacretelle has given of the trial and condemnation of that unfortunate King; they do equal honour to his heart, to his judgement, and to his powers as a writer. But this is a subject familiar to most readers, and in our narrow limits we must give a preference to facts and details less generally known. We shall insert, however, the particulars he has given relative to the close of the scene.

'The inhabitants of Paris in arms were spectators of his execution. They had been assembled to protect it. The commune of Paris well knew that the immense majority of its citizens saw this sacrifice with horror. It armed them, to remove every ground for its fears; in other words, it marshalled them timid and suspicious under the command of its lictors. As courage is propagated in a multitude by the multitude itself, so its terror is never more profound than when reflected from every eye at once. The people, alarmed, repaired to their sections. Woe to the absent, their names were enrolled. On entering the ranks, each was astonished to meet with so many men eager for the blood of the King---all the dastardly had sworn the number. A double row of men, thus assembled, filled all the streets through which Louis was conducted to the scaffold. When they saw him, or fancied they saw him, (he was almost wholly concealed in the carriage by those along with him), the quivering arms seemed ready to fall from their hands. Ferocious cries were little rechoed---sobs were suppressed---every one feared to have been detected. But when Louis had ceased to live, the public grief exhibited of itself a more striking testimony. Persons came back gloomy, absorbed in thought: the mob itself, whether from compassion or disappointed curiosity, loaded Santerre with imprecations for having drowned the last words of the King. During the whole day Paris was still, almost a desert---the inhabitants shut themselves within their families to weep---the streets were only crossed at intervals by bands of ruffians, whose songs and barbarous dances were characteristic of fury, instead of joy they strove to imitate.

The assassination of a Jacobin deputy, who had voted for the death of the King, was followed with important consequences. Availing themselves of this event, to represent the common danger by which both parties were threatened, some deputies proposed a reconciliation between the Girondins and their opponents. This hollow truce was fatal to the former. As its price, they parted with their only prop, Roland, who was dismissed from his office

office of Minister of the Interior ; the decree against the Septemberers was suspended. But the Jacobins could not long dissemble their hostility : the heads of the leading Girondins were demanded at the bar of the Convention ; a plot even was formed to assassinate the whole party within its walls. Had the Girondins improved, with the firmness and dexterity of which their adversaries afforded them so many examples, the detection and consequent failure of this conspiracy, it would be difficult to calculate how nearly they might have approached to a final triumph. A commission of twelve was appointed, empowered to take cognizance of all plots against the republic. They began by arresting Herbert, the turbulent solicitor of the Commune of Paris. Their enemies were panic-struck ; they dreaded a formidable reaction ; but when they saw no further blow attempted, their confidence returned, and they resolved to precipitate the fall of such timid adversaries. The Convention was besieged by tumultuous petitioners ; the firmness of Lanjuinais for a time sustained the wavering resolutions of his colleagues ; but they yielded at length to the ignominy of releasing the prisoner, abolishing the commission, and of allowing 40 sous per day to the insurgents, authors of their humiliation. What barrier remained to protect them ? Sensible they were now at the mercy of their opponents, several deputies friendly to them repaired to Danton.

‘ They had clearly observed that this powerful demagogue, though employing the Commune as his instrument, viewed it with apprehension ---that he thirsted less for vengeance than for rule. They came to offer him the Dictatorship. Danton appeared considerably staggered by this late proposal. He thought that the danger might still be warded off by him ; but he distrusted the Girondins, and fancied they would not be disposed to ratify the treaty. He repeated, at different times, “ They have no confidence,” and departed. It was no doubt the thought of despair to offer the Dictatorship to Danton. Had he been invested with it by the Convention, a reign violent, cruel, disgraced with a thousand traits of opprobrium, had commenced ; but it would have fallen far short of the tyranny, with a hundred thousand heads, that was established by the insurrection of the following day.’

The day alluded to is the famous 2d of June, that terminated in the arrestation of all the leading Girondins, and of several intrepid members who occasionally supported them. We must apologize for giving very partial extracts of a narrative that is worthy of being inserted at full length.

The Commune of Paris, resolved on the downfall of the Girondins, called all the sections to arms ; carefully directing, however, that to those of St Antoine and St Marceau should be assigned the special service of overawing the Convention, and of proceeding

proceeding to what extremities the day might require. Henriot, a daring jacobin, was appointed Commander in Chief. The Girondins, with their usual want of concert, neither wholly absented themselves from, nor repaired in a body to the Convention. The Assembly was, unknown to itself, beset on every quarter.

‘ Henriot permitted a body of petitioners to pass through his ranks. “ Deliver up to the people,” they cry “ the traitorous and conspiring deputies.” “ Was it then without reason,” exclaims Lanjuinais, “ that we denounced to you the plots of an usurping Commune? Well abandon now to that Commune your colleagues, your authority, your honour. Crouch under these new tyrants; you who rejected the opportunity of punishing them; or rather imitate us. Men, whom they more particularly threaten, await and brave their fury. You may make me fall beneath their steel, but not at their feet.” The courage of a single man upholds the Convention; the murderous petition is rejected by the order of the day.

‘ A scene of tumult ensued—the sovereign people would be obeyed. Barrere proposes, as a middle expedient, that the Girondins should suspend themselves. Four obey the invitation. Barbaroux disdains the example—is torn from the tribune.

‘ Lanjuinais hurries towards it. Legendre, then a fanatical follower of Danton, and even of Marat; Legendre, who since opened his heart to humane and generous sentiments, had the brutal ferocity of raising his hands against Lanjuinais, and threw him down. He had not affected the courage, nor even the serenity of the upright man. The voice of Lanjuinais is again heard. “ The ancients, when they prepared a sacrifice, crowned their victims with flowers and garlands; and you, more cruel, you assault, with disgraceful blows: you outrage the victim that makes no effort to escape your knife.” The effect of these eloquent words was, to produce a momentary silence on the part of those executioners. They heard, without daring to interrupt him: the same orator threatens them with the awful consequences of their triumph; their future dissensions; the horror attached to their names; and this greatest evil, that of having formed such a compact with crimes, that crimes henceforward would retain them in spite of themselves. He had not ceased speaking, when a part of his prediction seemed accomplishing.’

A friend of Danton had been insulted unknowingly by the mob surrounding the Convention. Danton, enraged, proposes that the whole Convention should go out to the armed body and make sure of its dispositions.

‘ The Convention arrives at a passage opening upon the *Place du Carrousel*. Henriot, his aides-de-camps, several members of the Commune, supported by a triple row of bayonets and pikes, come forward to close the issue. The president reads, with a timid voice, the decree that has been passed. “ Return,” cries the Revolutionary General, “ return to thy post. Darest thou give orders to the insurgent people? the

people wills that the traitors should be given up; give them up, or go back." He then exclaims, "Cannoneers to your guns! Citizens, to arms!" Cannons charged with grape are pointed against the Convention; pieces are levelled against many of the deputies. They fly. Marat embraces Henriot, and thanks him in the name of the country. The monster is heard on all sides vociferating, "Comrades, no weakness! Don't quit your post till they are delivered up! The Conventional procession seeks a passage by two other outlets, and twice it is again repulsed. Marat appears at the head of a hundred ruffians ready to perpetrate any massacre at his signal. "I order you," he calls out to the Convention, "I order you, in the name of the people, to go in, to deliberate, and obey." The members re-enter the Assembly. A man who, by his infirmities, seemed fitted to be an object of pity, but was only a monster of iniquity, Couthon, with a tranquil voice, with the most dreadful air, begins, "Well, my colleagues, you have now convinced yourselves that the Convention is perfectly free. The horror of the people is only declared against faithless mandatories: but as for us, we are still environed with all their respect, with all their affection. What wait we for? Let us obey at once the calls of our conscience, and their wishes. I propose that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, (then followed twenty seven names of the most eminent Girondins), be put in arrest at their respective homes."—The decree was carried.

History does not exhibit a more wonderful vicissitude of fortune than the triumphs of the Jacobins after this period. Hated even in the Convention; detested by the great majority of the inhabitants of Paris; threatened with a civil war in seventy departments, that promised at first to espouse the cause of the Girondins; worsted already in many engagements with the Vendéans, who had raised the standard of Royalty; the frontiers assailed by the best disciplined armies of Europe; the General that had led their armies to victory abandoning their cause. In scarcely eight months this awful aspect was completely changed; and a division among themselves was the sole source of their ruin.

It would evidently lead us into too wide a field, did we attempt to follow M. Lacretelle in his judicious remarks on this variety of topics. As a general observation, it may be stated, that the same want of concert, which had proved so fatal to the Girondins in the Convention, attended them in their flight. The Jacobins anticipated them in all their designs; and, by lavishing money to the lowest populace, seduced them to their cause. The mutual hatred between the Republicans and Royalists not only prevented cooperation, but materially counteracted the progress of the latter. They, from their perfect union and greater vigour, were by far the most formidable enemy of the Convention; and M. Lacretelle leaves his reader strong grounds to conjecture, that, had they obtained a timely supply, though of ammunition only, from

from Great Britain (which they repeatedly solicited), or had not the King of Prussia, with singular inadvertence at least, permitted the entire garrison of Mentz to be sent against them, the issue of the contest must have been widely different. With regard to the operations of the combined powers, he censures the long inactivity of the Prince of Cobourg, at a crisis when the French army was almost totally disorganized by the defection of Dumourier: and he characterises, in rather unqualified terms, the order of the Cabinet St James, so he styles it, by which the forces of the Duke of York were separated from the main army; an event followed by our discomfiture at Dunkirk. The reduction of Lyons after a siege, the account of which forms a most awful, yet interesting episode in his history, might, he insinuates, have been doubtful, had a diversion been effected on the side of Savoy, or had the Austrian and Prussian armies cooperated in the manner that was proposed. He taxes, moreover, the generals of the latter with an unaccountable and fatal supineness in following up their decisive successes at the lines of Weissenburg.

But the great engine by which the Jacobins were enabled to crush their adversaries, and to raise armies, which accumulating like torrents, ultimately subdued resistance, was the terrible law of the 17th September, which consigned to the prisons (an intermediate step to the guillotine) all persons reputed *suspicious*. From that decree there did not merely result a term, whose legal import might be applied to at least four-fifths of the population of France; the means provided for its execution created a tyranny with branches more widely disseminated than the world had hitherto beheld. To the revolutionary committees was delegated the unlimited power of arrestation. 'Of these,' says M. Lacretelle, 'one at least was appointed in every village; Paris alone had forty-eight; in short, throughout the country, two hundred thousand men chosen from the dregs and refuse of society, were constituted sovereign arbiters of the liberties and lives of the superior orders.' One is astonished, that a law thus glaringly outrageous, should not have operated an universal revolt; still more, that when the scaffold afterwards daily streamed with blood, the same passive submission should have prevailed. M. Lacretelle remarks, and no doubt with justice, that the war, which then threatened the very existence of the country, diverted a spirit which despair itself must have last forced into action. Yet, after making every allowance for this, can France escape the reproaches of posterity for a total want of the most exalted courage? Courage in the field her inhabitants have unquestionably shewn: but there is a courage still superior, which without any assurance of co-operation, with no views of glory and promotion

to support it, would have disdained to crouch beneath a vulgar tyrant; intent, when friends, when a country, pleaded for deliverance, at every risk, to try the chances of salvation. Of this heroic magnanimity no nation has afforded fewer striking examples.

It would be painful to the reader, were we to select the shocking details that are given of the enormities that accompanied and followed the execution of the Queen, and of the most distinguished Girondins. We hasten to a more pleasing prospect, the divisions among the Jacobin party. The committee of Public Safety (a dictatorship barely modified) had been transferred from the hands of Danton into those of Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot D'Herbois. Carnot, though a member, confined himself entirely to the war department. Danton had long been their rival in popularity and influence;—he did not share their insatiable cruelty;—he was marked out for destruction.

‘His revolutionary principles had long since met with their full gratification. To abstain from a crime, necessary or barely useful, he reputed weakness; but to prolong crimes beyond necessity—never to enjoy the reward, and ever to continue their slave, excited equally his contempt and indignation. Terror indeed was his system; but he thought of securing its effects with a sword suspended—not incessantly plunged in the breast of a victim. He preferred a massacre to a long succession of executions.’

He was duped by the hypocritical representations and friendly professions of Robespierre, who advised him a temporary retreat from Paris; a fatal counsel with which he complied. M. Lacretelle gives a truly curious account of the artifices by which Robespierre still succeeded in deceiving him, on his return after an absence of nearly six months. He persuaded him that he sympathized in all his horror against the revolutionary atrocities; that the Commune of Paris was their real author; and that a confidential union between them could alone effect their triumph over a formidable antagonist. He thus secured a cooperation that enabled him to destroy that Commune, which had long been the object of his jealousy and apprehension. Danton, almost immediately after, fell the victim of his unsuspecting temper. The Committee of Public Safety now ruled supreme; and this, accordingly, was the most sanguinary period of the reign of terror. But unbounded power necessarily sowed the seeds of dissension among its members. St Just and Couthon, indeed, acknowledged the supremacy of Robespierre: but their colleagues were not equally humble. Collot D'Herbois, though he had lost a powerful support in the Commune of Paris, still hoped to obtain the dictatorship from the hands of the vilest populace. The views of
Billaud-

Billaud-Varennes were not less lofty, but conducted with greater art and dissimulation.

‘I have already named,’ observes M. Lacretelle, ‘two enemies of Robespierre among the colleagues of his tyranny, Billaud-Varennes and Collot D’Herbois. The first of these was the most formidable. The hatred this monster bore to the whole human race, did not check him from forming all the combinations that were necessary to involve a rival in ruin, who seconded him in all his projects of extermination. Both were ambitious of reigning over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed. Billaud was still able to dissemble his. Robespierre, tormented by the furies, lost each day the means of security and domination which he had derived from a tortuous mind, from an hypocritical, persevering character. He was a villain unmasked, whose every feint was divulged. He would have lost, in an attempt to impose upon his enemies, the time it was necessary for him to employ in their destruction. The tyrant was lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps: such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud: but, more hardy in crimes, he enveloped his projects with deeper obscurity, prepared his blows with greater art.’

Robespierre conceived a scheme, which, even if it had been practicable, M. Lacretelle observes, the extreme poverty of his imagination must have rendered abortive—of establishing deism as the national religion, and of converting the pontificate into the step of his elevation to sole dominion. The little sensation produced on the public mind by his pompous installation, soon blighted his hopes; and, irritated by the opposition of Collot D’Herbois and Billaud, he wholly absented himself from the Committee of Public Safety, and resolved their destruction. From friendship, or interested views, they had shielded Carnot from his fury; and, postponing their hatred to their fears of Robespierre, they had equally refused to sacrifice the remains of Danton’s party. Nothing is more curious in this history than the following:

‘But it was for the first time Robespierre saw himself sole leader of a conspiracy. He now sunk beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his strength, to his talents. . . . New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the unsufferable perturbation of his soul, added to the perplexity that bewildered his resolutions. That man, whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice, by the appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to the grossest debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, whose proprietor had been his victim, surrounded by the most ferocious beings and the most degraded, of women, he sought intoxication, sensual pleasures; and could only perhaps experience their horrors. Who would believe it? The shocking Couthon essayed also the same debaucheries. . . . How many torments surrounded

ed Robespierre in this asylum ! (an ironmonger's at Paris where he resided.) The papers there found confirm this assertion. He received a multitude of letters expressive of the wildest adoration ; but others contained threats, imprecations that must have congealed his blood. Read these appalling words that were addressed to him :—" This hand, that writes thy doom ; this hand, which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain ; this hand, that presses thine with horror, shall pierce thy inhuman heart. Every day I am with thee ; every day I see thee ; at every hour my uplifted arm seeks thy breast. O thou vilest of men ! live still a while to think on me ; sleep to dream of me ; let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment. Farewell. This very day, in beholding thee, I shall enjoy thy terror."

The author of this striking apostrophe is unknown. An inexplicable fatality seems to have urged Robespierre to give the signal for his own destruction. On the 26th of July he harangued the Convention ; he revealed to it all the jealousies and fears that distracted him ; he designated the great majority of its members for vengeance, and yet concluded with proposing nothing. Alarm was general. The friends of Danton, by their dexterity, perseverance, and intrepidity, improved it into a bond of union between the different parties. The decree for printing his speech was rescinded, after having been passed. The night passed in mutual preparations for hostilities. Robespierre gave vent to his despondency in the Jacobin Club : they swore to extirpate his enemies, and lists were formed of the intended victims. The friends of Danton repaired to the surviving Girondins, conjuring them to join the next day in overwhelming the tyrant. With affected concern for their authority, they assured the Committee of Public Safety of their devotion, and urged them to a decisive blow. It was struck on the following day. We must refer the reader for minute details to M. Lacretelle. A decree of accusation was carried against Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, and Lebas. The Convention now experienced a dilemma ; the Revolutionary Tribunal was wholly composed of their creatures. ' Providence,' says our author, ' so ordered the subsequent events of the day, that it should prove the salvation to mankind.'

The arrested deputies had been committed to the charge of the Committees. The Jacobins rescued them from their feeble guards, and equally delivered Henriot their general, who had been seized by order of the Convention. They collected their trained bands, and were now bent on a general massacre of the Assembly. Collet D'Herbois, with the utmost trepidation, announced their proceedings and their designs. ' Let us return thanks to destiny,' exclaims one of Danton's partizans ; ' I prefer Robespierre in rebellion to Robespierre in submission. We must have awaited his judgement : it is now decided. Let us outlaw him.' The whole

commune is involved in the same decree. Barras is appointed commander of the national guard. Other deputies are dispatched to rouse the inhabitants of Paris in defence of the Convention.

Barras did not chuse to wait till all his promised succours should arrive. He would not lose the opportunity of the first onset with men who had always been suffered to begin the attack. As soon as he had formed four or five battalions, "My friends," he cried, "the Convention is disposed to reward your alacrity in coming first. 'Tis you shall conduct the tyrant to it." Applauses ensue—they march. *It is the duty of the historian to observe here, that the battalions thus distinguished for their diligence, were chiefly composed of artizans, men poor, who saw in Robespierre the author of massacres, for which they daily conceived increasing horror . . .* Barras arrives with his battalions: he had so distributed them as to command every issue from the seat of the commune. Night concealed their small number. The victory, than which none more essential to nations was ever obtained, was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of perishing in battle. The dastardly Robespierre had not even appeared in the midst of his revolutionary bands. They laid down their arms on the first summons . . . The Revolutionary Tribunal was condemned to pass sentence upon them: It was executed on the 28th at four in the afternoon. They were dragged, covered with blood and with mud, under the eyes of a people delirious with joy. Never did criminal experience more dreadful agony than Robespierre. But, heaven and mankind, were they avenged!

The history of the Convention from this period till the 4th of October 1795, when it was dissolved, is given in a very imperfect manner, from the very reduced scale of abridgement on which it is conducted. In the extracts which we have now given, we have chiefly had it in view to lay before our readers those parts of the story that are least accurately known in this country, and to direct their attention to those indications of temper and impartiality which appear to us to constitute its chief recommendation.

ART. XIV. *The Sabbath: A Poem.* Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are now added, Sabbath Walks. 12mo. pp. 170. Edinburgh and London, 1805.

WE do not know whether to attribute the success of this little volume to the love of poetry or the love of religion; but from one or both of these laudable dispositions, which are known to prevail with extraordinary vigour in this part of the united kingdom, the publisher has been enabled to dispose of one entire impression in the course of a very few weeks; and we are

called upon to give some account of a second edition, before many of our English readers are likely to have heard of the publication. This is a duty, however, which we discharge with considerable pleasure towards this anonymous author ; for he has much more merit than many of those with whose names the printers are familiar.

The subject does not admit of much novelty ; and accordingly, when the author sticks to it, he is far from being original. He indulges in digressions, however, with laudable liberality, and is not very scrupulous about the strength of the tie which connects them with the subject of his poem. Thus we are presented with a prison scene, and a dissertation on criminal law—a death and burial—a view of the slave trade—of emigrations from the Highlands—of the invasion of Switzerland, and the Jewish jubilee—together with a variety of other topics that have not any immediate relation either to each other, or to the institution of the Christian Sabbath. None of these subjects, our readers will perceive, are new ; nor is there any thing very striking in this author's manner of treating them. He has borrowed, very freely indeed, from most of the English poets, though it should be observed in his favour, that he has rarely made use of their words, and generally imitated their good passages.

The poem is written, we think, partly upon the model of the *Grave of Blair*, from which the cast of the diction, and the cadence of the verse, appear to us to be evidently copied ; and partly on that of the *Task* of Cowper, in which the author was probably glad to find a precedent for his wanderings and digressions. It opens with the following passage.

‘ How still the morning of the hallow’d day !
Mute is the voice of rural labour, hush’d
The ploughboy’s whistle, and the milkmaid’s song.
The scythe lies glitt’ring in the dewy wreath
Of tedded grass, mingled with fading flowers,
That yester-morn bloom’d waving in the breeze .
Sounds the most faint attract the ear,—the hum
Of early bee, the trickling of the dew,
The distant bleating, midway up the hill .
Calmness seems thron’d on yon unmoving cloud.
To him who wanders o’er the upland leas,
The blackbird’s note comes mellow’er from the dale ;
And sweeter from the sky the gladsome lark
Warbles his heav’n-tun’d song ; the lulling brook
Murmurs more gently down the deep-sunk glen :
While from yon lowly roof, whose curling smoke
O’ermounts the mist, is heard, at intervals,
The voice of psalms, the simple song of praise.’

p. 9. 10.

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This passage has certainly some poetical merit ; but our readers will probably be more struck with the resemblance it bears to the following beautiful sonnet, which is too close, we think, for both of them to be original.

Sonnet on Sabbath Morn.

‘ With silent awe I hail the sacred morn,
That scarcely wakes while all the fields are still !
A soothing calm on every breeze is borne ;
A graver murmur gurgles from the rill ;
And echo answers softer from the hill,
And softer sings the linnet from the thorn ;
The sky-lark warbles in a tone less shrill,
Hail, light serene ! hail, sacred Sabbath morn !
The rooks sail silent by in airy drove :
The sky a placid yellow lustre throws ;
The gales that lately sigh’d along the grove
Have hush’d their downy wings in dead repose ;
The hov’ring rack of clouds forgets to move :
So soft the day when the first morn arose !

Now, this sonnet, we have occasion to know, was written upwards of five years ago by Dr Leyden, now of Madras ; and though we believe it was never before printed, many copies of it have been in circulation among the poetical *amateurs* of this literary metropolis. As there is no physical truth or propriety in considering Sunday as calmer than any other day in the week, the coincidence becomes the more suspicious ; and if these suspicions be well founded, we beg leave to remind this author, that though it may sometimes be fair enough to borrow from a printed book without special acknowledgment, yet this is an indispensable ceremony where we are indebted to the MS. of another for any thing which is printed as our own.

The most original, and perhaps the most striking passage in the poem, is that which describes the unhoused congregations and Sabbath devotions of the persecuted Presbyterians and Cameronians in the days of Charles II.

‘ Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O’er hills, through woods, o’er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,
Dispart to different seas : “ Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scoop’d, a plat
With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye : in solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil’d
A tyrant’s and a bigot’s bloody laws :
There, leaning on his spear, (one of th’ array

That,

That in the times of old, had scath'd the rose
 On England's banner, and had pow'rless struck
 Th' insatiate monarch and his wav'ring host,
 Yet rang'd itself to aid his son dethroned).
 The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
 By CAMERON thunder'd, or by RENWICK pour'd
 In gentle stream : then rose the song, the loud
 Acclaim of praise : the wheeling plover ceas'd
 Her plaint ; the solitary place was glad,
 And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear
 Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-born note.
 But years more gloomy followed ; and no more
 Th' assembled people dar'd, in face of day,
 To worship God, or even at the dead
 Of night, save when the wint'ry storm rav'd fierce,
 And thunder peals compell'd the men of blood
 To couch within their dens ; then dauntlessly
 The scatter'd few would meet, in some deep dell
 By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
 Their faithful pastor's voice : He by the gleam
 Of sheeted light'ning op'd the sacred book,
 And words of comfort spake : Over their souls
 His accents soothing came,—as to her young
 The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of eve
 She gathers in mournful her brood dispers'd
 By murd'rous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
 Fondly her wings ; close nestling 'neath her breast
 They cherish'd cow'r amid the purple blooms.' p. 18—20.

The following sketch is not without merit—

' Or turn thee to that house, with studded doors,
 And iron-visor'd windows,—even there
 The Sabbath sheds a beam of bliss, though faint ;
 The debtor's friends (for still he hath some friends)
 Have time to visit him ; the blossoming pea,
 That climbs the rust-worn bars, seems fresher ting'd ;
 And on the little turf, this day renew'd,
 The lark, his prison-mate, quivers the wing
 With more than wonted joy. See, through the bars,
 That pallid face retreating from the view,
 That glittering eye, following with hopeless look,
 The friends of former years, now passing by
 In peaceful fellowship to worship God.' p. 27.

The following similes we think are original, and possess considerable poetical beauty—

' She smil'd in death, and still her cold pale face
 Retains that smile ; as when a waveless lake,
 In which the wint'ry stars all bright appear,

Is sheeted by a nightly frost with ice
 Still it reflects the face of heav'n unchang'd,
 Unruffled by the breeze or sweeping blast." p. 22. 23.
 4 He never longs to read the sadd'ning tale
 Of endless wars, and seldom does he hear
 The tale of woe ; and ere it reaches him,
 Rumour, so loud when new, has died away
 Into a whisper, on the memory borne
 Of casual traveller :—As on the deep,
 Far from the sight of land, when all around
 Is waveless calm, the sudden tremulous swell,
 That gently heaves the ship, tells, as it rolls,
 Of earthquakes dread, and cities overthrown.' p. 57. 58.

There are many other passages in the poem which bear marks of genius ; but the greater part of it is written in a heavy and inelegant manner. The diction throughout is tainted with vulgarity, and there is no selection of words, images, or sentiments, to conciliate the favour of the fastidious reader. The author has evidently some talents for poetical composition, and is never absolutely absurd, tedious, or silly ; but he has no delicacy of taste or imagination : he does not seem to feel the force of the sanction against poetical mediocrity, and his ear appears to have no perception of the finer harmony of versification. If he be a young man, we think there are considerable hopes of him : but if this be the production of maturer talents, we cannot in our conscience exhort him to continue in the service of the muses.

This volume, however, at all events, has nothing but its poetical merit to stand upon. It contains a good deal of doctrine and argumentation, indeed, both in the text and in the notes ; but nothing that is not either very trite or very shallow and extravagant. The author talks very big about the inhumanity and injustice of imprisonment for debt, and about the cruel monopolies by which the Highland shepherds are driven from their mountains. He dogmatizes in the same presumptuous style on the character of Bonaparte, and on the most adviseable plan for recruiting the British army, and seems as perfectly persuaded of his own infallibility upon all these subjects, as his readers, we apprehend, must be of his insufficiency. In a poem with such a title, it was certainly natural to expect some consistency in the ecclesiastical tenets of the author ; but we have been completely baffled in our attempts to discover to what persuasion he belongs. He seems in many passages to be desperately enamoured of the old Covenanters, Cameronians and Independents, and gives some obscure hints of his intention to immortalize the names, of their chief pastors in another poem ; but by and by we find him talking with great enthusiasm of the funeral service of the church of England, and
 of

of the lofty pealing of the organ, both of which would have been regarded as antichristian abominations, either by the old Covenanters or by the modern Presbyterians of Scotland. To the principal poem are subjoined four small ones, describing a Sabbath walk in each of the four seasons of the year. They contain merely some description of the rural scenery appropriate to those seasons, and seem to have no necessary connexion with the Sabbath. They are by no means without merit, however, and give us rather a favourable impression of the author's talent for descriptive poetry : the versification is smoother than in the long poem, and the pictures are sketched with greater truth and conciseness. The whole publication, indeed, though not entitled to stand in the first rank of poetical excellence, is respectably executed, and may be considered as very creditable, either to a beginner, or to one who does not look upon poetry as his primary vocation.

ART. XV. *An Account of the Astronomical Discoveries of KEPLER: including an Historical Review of the Systems which had successively prevailed before his time.* By Robert Small, D. D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1804. One vol. 8vo.

THE history of astronomy may be distinguished into two grand periods. The first period commences with the origin of the science, and comprehends many centuries, terminating with the labours of Tycho Brahe. During this long interval, the theory of astronomy was guided by one prevailing principle, that of uniform circular motion; which, if it did not account for the celestial phenomena according to our notions of philosophy, served at least to connect in the imagination the various discordant motions observed in the heavens. This hypothesis, suggested at first by its simplicity, became in a manner a sacred and indisputable principle, and at last formed the greatest obstacle to improvement in the science.

The second period in the history of Astronomy, commences with the discoveries of Kepler, and comprehends the present times. In the course of about two hundred years, the ancient theories have been destroyed; and of the labours of so many centuries, the modern astronomer retains almost nothing, excepting the facts and observations that enable him to compare his own deductions with the former state of the heavens. All the complicated phenomena anciently known, as well as many small irregularities, that nicer instruments and more accurate observation have

have detected in later times, have been shewn to be the necessary consequences of one common principle or general fact, modified by the actual state of the system at some given epoch. The noble discoveries accomplished in this second period of the history of astronomy, will ever be a favourite and instructive subject of contemplation to the true philosopher. In tracing the actual progress of the mind in its most successful investigation of natural causes, he will form a just estimate of the object of human knowledge, and of the extent of the human faculties.

The discoveries due to the sagacity and persevering research of Kepler, a German astronomer, born at Wirtemberg in 1571, make a capital part in the great body of astronomical science. The facts commonly known by the name of Kepler's Laws, are indeed the ground-work of modern astronomy, on which the whole superstructure rests. Yet, of the merit of this great man little is in general known, excepting the mere result of his researches. Writers on astronomy are for the most part contented with enunciating, in few words, his more capital discoveries: or, if any of them enter into a detail of his labours, it is such a detail as serves rather to excite than to satisfy curiosity.

It is therefore with pleasure that we announce the present performance to the public. In a book of small magnitude, written with precision, and in a style simple and perspicuous, the author has communicated much valuable information, which can only be supplied by the original writings from which it is compiled. Dr Small has, we think, with ability, filled up the chasm between the ancient and the modern astronomy; between that period of the science in which hypotheses predominated, and the present period in which hypotheses are rigidly subjected to the test of experiment, and are received into the class of legitimate truths, or rejected as spurious, according as they are found to tally with observation, or not. The design of the author is thus stated in his own words:

‘As the discoveries of Kepler have contributed more than all other causes to raise the science of astronomy to its present state of improvement, they not only deserve full and particular explication, but also all the circumstances which led to them, and even the mistakes committed in their prosecution, become interesting objects of curiosity. It is a just observation of his, that we not only pardon Columbus and the Portuguese navigators, for relating their errors; the former in the discovery of America, and the latter in the circumnavigation of Africa; but should be deprived of much instruction and satisfaction if those errors were omitted. My principal intention, therefore, in the present publication, is to give a more full and particular account of Kepler's discoveries, than any to be found in the usual systems, or the general histories of astronomy; and to extract the account from his own investigations,

investigations. These are chiefly contained in his Commentary on the Motions of Mars; and I have often regretted that a work, containing such invaluable discoveries, should not be more generally and distinctly known. This work claims attention for another reason, that it exhibited, even prior to the publication of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, a more perfect example, than perhaps ever was given, of legitimate connection between theory and experiment; of experiments suggested by theory, and of theory submitted without prejudice to the test and decision of experiments. But, in order to form a just estimate of those discoveries, nay, perhaps, a distinct conception of the investigations by which they were produced, it seemed absolutely necessary to prefix an account of the more ancient astronomical theories, and of the principal phenomena which they were contrived and supposed to explain.' p. 1. 2.

In the execution of this plan, Dr Small, in his first chapter, gives a concise but perspicuous statement of the more noted celestial phenomena: And, in the three following chapters, he proceeds to lay before his readers an account of the ancient theories, by which the various observed motions were connected together and explained. The author seems to have laboured this part of his work with diligence and success; entering into sufficient detail to convey real knowledge, and to enable his reader to accompany Kepler in his several researches; but at the same time avoiding too much prolixity in speculations that are now of no further importance than as they illustrate the period of astronomy under review. In all the ancient systems, the predominant principle is the hypothesis of uniform motion in a circle. Whatsoever arrangement of the heavenly bodies was preferred, this prejudice had equal influence. The great problem that the ancient astronomers proposed to themselves, was to reconcile the observed motions with their favourite principle. Copernicus, by reviving the opinion of the Earth's motion round the Sun, rendered the apparent motions of the other planets much more simple to the imagination: but so far was he from rejecting the established hypothesis of uniform circular motion, that his researches were guided by a desire to reconcile the planetary inequalities with that sacred principle, more perfectly than in the system of Ptolemy.

If we examine the leading principle of the ancient astronomy, with the view of estimating its fitness to represent the planetary motions, we shall be forced to bestow on it the praise of ingenuity and happy contrivance. The angular motion of each of the planets consists of two parts; one part increasing uniformly with the time; and another part that is periodical, and acquires all degrees of magnitude, within a certain limit in the several parts of the orbit. Now, of every such motion, we may affirm, that it may be represented to any degree of accuracy, by the ancient contrivance of epicycles and deferents. Accordingly, the
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ancient systems represented, with tolerable accuracy, those observed places of the planets that depended only on the real angular motions; as at the oppositions. But they failed when applied to other positions of the planets and to the latitudes; where the apparent places depend not only on the angular motions, but likewise on the relative distances. Here then it was that all the ancient systems were alike vulnerable; and it was by a strict comparison of observation with theory, in such circumstances, that Kepler at last found himself obliged to depart from that principle of uniform circular motion, which had been consecrated by the unqualified assent of all his predecessors.

In the fifth chapter, Dr Small enters on his main design. A short account is given of Kepler's family, of his first views and studies, and of his connection with Tycho Brahé. Admitted to peruse the great collection of accurate observations accumulated by the Danish astronomer, Kepler proceeded to profit by his advantages, and to verify his speculations by the test of experiment. In the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters, the author details the preliminary investigations that gradually paved the way to the discovery of the elliptic form of the planetary orbits.

The situation of the heavenly bodies, in respect to one another, depends on two things; on the real angular motions, and on the relative distances. But when a planet is in opposition, the apparent places, as seen from the Earth and Sun, are coincident, and its position is affected only by the angular motions: And hence observations in opposition, being the simplest and least of all liable to inaccuracy, are of great use in astronomy. In the ancient systems, it was by means of such observations alone that the orbits of the superior planets were determined. But, in observing oppositions, a practice had been introduced, that in part defeated the very purpose for which such observations were preferred to all others. A planet was reckoned to be in opposition when its place in the heavens was removed 180° in longitude, not from the real place of the Sun, but from his mean place. It is evident that, by this practice, the observer was not situated in the same line with the Sun and the planet at the computed time of opposition; and therefore the apparent place of the planet was not entirely divested of the second inequality, excepting in the rare case, where the true place of the Sun coincided with his mean place. To this practice Kepler objected. He conceived the design of determining the orbit of Mars from real, instead of mean, oppositions; and he entertained the most sanguine expectations of completely reforming the theory of the planets by his projected innovation.

Kepler's intended substitution of real or apparent, for mean oppositions, led him to examine the practice of astronomers in another

other important point. It very seldom happens that a planet is found in the plane of the ecliptic, in which the motions of the Sun are performed; and, in order to ascertain the place of the planet in its orbit at the time of observation, a reduction from the ecliptic to the plane of the orbit becomes necessary. In examining the ancient methods of reduction, Kepler found them to be erroneous and inconsistent; and his investigations ultimately established this important conclusion, that the orbits of the planets are invariable planes, intersecting one another in lines passing through the Sun's centre:

'An improvement' (Dr Small remarks) 'more important, and of greater consequence, to simplify the science, than any which had been introduced in all the preceding ages; and his successful and decisive establishment of its truth and propriety may be justly ranked among his greatest discoveries; and equally deserves our attention with those which have been more generally celebrated.'

Kepler having overcome all the difficulties that opposed his projected innovation, at last completed a theory of Mars, derived solely from apparent oppositions. In judging of the merits of this new theory, we must allow it to have been a real improvement, independent of the great discovery of the invariable inclinations of the planetary orbits. It was, indeed, the nearest approximation to the truth, consistent with the supposition of circular orbits. Its accuracy was unquestionable in representing the oppositions: but it totally failed when applied to the latitudes and to the longitudes out of opposition.

Disappointed in the high expectations he had entertained of his new theory, Kepler yet drew from its failure an important inference, the first step to emancipation from the ancient prejudice of uniform circular motion. For as the theory involved only two suppositions, viz. that the orbit of Mars was a circle, and that the motion of the planet was uniform about a fixed point in the line of apsides, he justly concluded, that one at least of these two suppositions was false. He now prepared for further researches; but, first of all, judged it necessary to examine the circumstances that affected the theory of the Earth's annual motion. For as the latitudes of the planets, and the longitudes out of opposition, (the phenomena which had hitherto rendered his attempts, abortive), depend on the distances of the Earth from the Sun, it was requisite to be assured that no errors crept in from this quarter.

Nor was Kepler without suspicions of inaccuracy in the terrestrial orbit. He had early remarked it as an anomaly, that an equant was assigned to all the planets, the Earth or Sun excepted; and, although the authority of all astronomers was against him,
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he even then presumed to doubt of the justness of the exception. Resuming the examination of this point on the present occasion, he established, by multiplied and undeniable proofs, that the eccentricity was bisected in the orbit of the Earth or Sun, as well as in the orbits of the other planets.

Kepler, in turning his attention to the solar theory, had also a farther improvement in view, viz. a method for deriving the equations of the planetary orbits from a less arbitrary and precarious principle than that of the equant, or a centre of uniform angular motion. He had remarked, that it is a general fact in the solar system, that the velocity of a planet diminishes as it recedes from the sun, and increases as it approaches that luminary; and he concluded, that these two quantities, the velocity of the planet and its distance from the sun, must be related according to some law, which, if discovered, would enable astronomers to calculate the rate of a planet's motion for all points of its orbit, and, of course, to determine the equation or correction due to the mean motion in every such point. This was undoubtedly the conclusion of a man of genius and originality; for though we are now familiar with the notion, that whenever the variations of one quantity depend on those of another, the one of the quantities may be expressed by some function of the other; yet in the days of Kepler it must have required no small effort of generalization to perceive this truth, and the important consequences which result from it. Great difficulties, however, stood in the way of the investigation; and Kepler had to struggle not only with his own precipitancy, which frequently led him into error, but with the imperfections of the geometry of that age, which were great, in all matters connected with the quadrature of curves.

His ingenuity and perseverance, however, prevailed at last. He found, that the times of describing small arches of the Earth's orbit, are as the distances from the Sun; that therefore the times of describing any arches whatever, must be as the sums of those distances; and having satisfied himself, from geometrical considerations, that the sum of the distances may be expounded (at least nearly) by the area contained between the arch and the radii drawn from its extremities to the centre, he inferred, that the times of describing any arches whatever are proportional to those areas.

In consequence of this discovery, Kepler proceeded to speculate on the nature of the force by which this curious adjustment of the velocities of the planets, to their distances from the centres of their orbits, is produced. The time, however, had not yet arrived when, even in the hands of Kepler, this inquiry could be attended with success. He conceived that the motions of the planets

planets are produced by certain fibres extending indefinitely from the Sun, and revolving with that body, so as to impel the planets in a direction from west to east, though not every where with the same velocity, but with a velocity that varied according to the distance, the resistance of the medium, and the tendency of the planet to rest, or its vis inertiae, which, as Dr Small justly remarks, did not signify, with Kepler, an indifference to motion or rest, but a real tendency to the latter, supposed to be inherent in all bodies.

But leaving those visions which time has entirely dissipated, let us follow this great man, as his commentator has done, in those discoveries which time has fully established. When he resumed the consideration of the orbit of Mars, he soon saw reason to conclude that this body describes its orbit under the guidance of the same law that he had just found to hold in the Earth, viz. that the areas described by a line drawn from the planet to the Sun, are every where proportional to the time.

The attempt, however, of computing the equation of Mars's motion on this principle, was attended with much difficulty, on account of the great eccentricity of the orbit, but still more from that prejudice in favour of the old doctrine of circular orbits, which has been already mentioned. In his new method of computing the equations, Kepler supposed the orbit to be a circle; but the results, from the combination of the two principles, were such as could not be reconciled with the places of Mars, observed by TYCHO BRAHE. In this dilemma, finding that he must give up one of the principles which he had adopted in his calculation, he first proposed to sacrifice his own theory to the authority of the old system, thus giving one of the most memorable examples which has ever occurred, of the influence of candour and prejudice at the same moment. He soon found, however, that this sacrifice would not answer his purpose, and that, in order to make the calculus agree with observations, it was the old hypothesis, and not the new one, that must be abandoned.

Thus the idol was overthrown by which Kepler had been so long deceived, and the emancipation of astronomy was achieved: but many difficulties were yet to be overcome, before the empire of truth could be established.

It was proved that the orbit of Mars was not circular, but its real form was yet undiscovered. The hypothesis which first presented itself was, that this orbit is an oval or ellipsis, coinciding with the supposed circular orbit at the two apsides, but falling very much within it in the middle between them; and Kepler having assigned the proportions of the longer and shorter axes of the curve, according to views that he thought sound, but which proved to be

be extremely fallacious, proceeded to describe the ellipsis, to obtain its quadrature, to cut its area in any given proportion, and to derive from thence the equations of the mean motion; all which was accompanied with such labour, as nothing but his fortitude and perseverance were able to overcome. He compared the distances of Mars, thus computed, for no less than forty different arches of anomaly, with the same as deduced from observation, and had the mortification to find that they did by no means agree, but that the real places of the planet fell as far without the new oval, as within the old circular orbit. After trying many different means of correcting these errors with incredible labour, and always subjecting each hypothesis to the severest test, he found, at length, that an ellipse, with the Sun in its focus, and its greater axis equal to the mean distance of Mars, represented the whole motion of the planet with wonderful exactness. *The planets, therefore, describe ellipses, having the Sun in their common focus*; and this is the second great discovery which delighted the mind, and has immortalized the name of Kepler.

His third discovery was that of a law of no less importance than either the description of equal areas, or the elliptic orbits of the planets; but it was made more easily than them, and without the same elaborate deductions. His strong propensity to trace out laws and discover analogies in nature, set him eagerly at work to find out what relation subsists between the distances of the planets from the Sun, and the times of their revolutions round him. The *data* here lay in a much smaller compass, and were much less various than in the two former researches; and Kepler, after making some fanciful comparisons between the distances of the planets and the regular solids in geometry, and also between the same and the divisions of the monochord, thought at last of comparing the different powers of these quantities with one another; from which comparison, though not without some abortive attempts, this truth at last emerged, *that the squares of the periodic times of the planets are as the cubes of their mean distances from the Sun*. He expresses, in strong terms, the delight and astonishment which he felt on the discovery of this simple and beautiful analogy. He has carefully marked the day on which the discovery was made. It was on the 8th of May 1618; and few, perhaps the philosopher will say, are the days in history of the world that deserve so well to be remembered.

Such, then, were the great discoveries of Kepler, of which the work before us gives a clear and faithful representation; and becomes of course a valuable and secure guide through one of the most intricate and thorny paths that is to be met with in the whole history of science. The commentaries on Mars are indeed

so difficult to be understood (not from any fault in the composition, but from the nature of the subject), that very few of those who have professedly written on the history of astronomy, have given a just and accurate account of the principles which guided Kepler to the discoveries explained in that work. The idea of them given by La Lande is in many respects incorrect, and even the eloquent and philosophical Bailly has not followed the steps of Kepler with his usual fidelity. All must acknowledge, that it amounts to no ordinary praise to have been successful where writers such as these had failed, though those only who have attempted the perusal of Kepler's own work will fully perceive the merit of Dr Small's elucidations. If any thing can be said to be wanting in them, it is the introduction of more of those anecdotes which serve to make known the character of the singular man whose discoveries are here unfolded. For this, the manner in which the commentaries on Mars are written, supplies ample materials. Kepler was not one of those stately authors, who never show themselves to their readers in the times of their difficulties and embarrassments, who are visible only when they are in full dress, and are careful to throw a veil over all their weaknesses and errors. He admits you into his closet; you see him at work; the ardour and anxiety of his mind, his hurry and distraction, as well as his sagacity and genius, are all laid open before you. Very few writers on light and gay subjects bring you better acquainted with themselves than this astronomer does, in the course of explaining some of the greatest and most difficult discoveries that were ever made; and it may be doubted whether at the conclusion of their respective books, Kepler or Montaigne, are best known to their readers.

We do not mean, however, to insinuate, that Dr Small has been wholly inattentive to the circumstances here alluded to; he has taken notice of many of the peculiarities in the character of the great man whose writings he has so successfully explained; and if he has not enlarged on them more, it is probably from too great a desire of being concise.* He has indeed been sometimes too sparing of his words, and seems to have written under the apprehension of a censure which Kepler, very unjustly, we think, has at one time passed upon himself, of being *in re mathematica loquax*. We do not think that this is a criticism which the intelligent reader will make either on the text or the commentary.

Dr Small's book, by making this work of Kepler more accessible, will do an essential service to general science, as that work affords an excellent example of inductive investigation in the case where such investigation is attended with the greatest difficulty.

It is a case where the mere collecting of facts, without connecting those facts by a hypothesis or theory, would be of no use whatever for the discovery of truth. Kepler, therefore, having brought together the facts, from the best sources, and after the most scrupulous examination as to their accuracy, assumes a hypothesis for connecting them together, a step which the nature of the subject renders indispensable. This theory or hypothesis is not taken up at random, but is assumed as probable, from physical considerations, or other circumstances of the problem. It is in this part, however, where Kepler is most defective, being often rash in the assumption of hypothesis, and having, from the state of knowledge in that age, but few principles of sound and genuine physics to assist him in his selection. He makes up for this, indeed, completely, in the step that follows, where he tries his hypothesis by the most rigorous and severe application of it to particular facts, and condemns it with the utmost impartiality if it is found wanting. It is here that Kepler is almost unrivalled; and his ingenuity in finding the means of comparing his hypothesis with experiment, and his candour in pronouncing sentence, will, in all ages, be subjects of admiration. The true use of hypothesis and theory, as means of arriving at truth as instruments of investigation, are therefore nowhere so well exemplified as in the discovery of the three laws that have been mentioned above. The ability and diligence with which Dr Small has traced the path of Kepler, and unfolded the thread that guided him through a labyrinth so intricate and vast, entitle him consequently to the thanks, not only of the astronomer, but of all who are concerned with the more difficult modes of inductive reasoning.

There are added to this volume a considerable number of notes, in which several of the problems, both astronomical and geometrical, connected with the investigations in the text, are clearly and elegantly resolved. These throw great light both on Kepler's researches and on the systems of the old astronomy.

ART. XVI. *Caractere des Armées Européennes dans la Guerre actuelle, avec une paralelle de la Politique de la puissance et des moyens des Romains et des Français.* Londres, T. Egerton, 1802.

Military Character of the different European Armies, &c. Translated from the French. Second Edition. Egerton, 1804.

OUR curiosity would have been much gratified, if, along with this translation, we had received some information about the author.

author of this very able and interesting publication. When we first perused it, we formed a very high idea of the author's talents; but, both from its size and composition, we were led to conceive that it was probably only a prelude to a more extensive and systematic work upon the same subject. We have been so long disappointed in that expectation, that we avail ourselves of this translation, to give our readers a view of a work, which we should be sorry to have omitted altogether.

The French copy does not consist of more than 150 pages, and it contains characters of the armies of France, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Britain, Piedmont, and Russia. In a pamphlet of this kind, our readers will not look for minute or accurate details. They will however find many acute and profound remarks, evidently the result of much reflection upon the military and political state of Europe.

The author begins with observing, that political revolutions change the relative situation and character of nations. There are few nations that have not, at one period or other, been distinguished for superior military skill and attainments. Without going back to ancient history, we have in modern times a variety of instances of the rapid fluctuation of this kind of superiority. The Turkish armies, from being formidable to all Christendom a few centuries ago, are now totally unfit to contend with European forces. The Spanish infantry preserved, for nearly a century, a superiority over that of the other European powers. The Swiss, who were formerly courted and revered by all the nations around them, are no longer a nation. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Russians, have had their successive periods of military glory. It is remarked that the manner in which war is conducted, is not less subject to change.

'The war of 1733 was differently managed from that of the Succession, and the Seven-years war differently again from that of 1740. Recent discoveries, different generals, and a change of the theatre and the object of the war, are not the sole causes of this diversity. In war, there are systems which succeed each other; and it is subject to the fashion of the day. A particular army or organization of troops, or an order of battle, is more in vogue at one time than another, although the officers may in part be the same. This difference has never been so remarkable as in the late and present contest. Its conduct has been as varied as its origin. We have taken upon ourselves to paint the existing military character of the different armies that have been engaged in it. We suppress particulars, and leave the comparison of them to military persons, who *may be more enlightened, and better informed than we are*. We have endeavoured not to suffer ourselves to be prejudiced by party spirit, or dazzled by the brilliant appearance of success. In relating circumstances as they appear to us, we leave every
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one to draw from them whatever conclusion he may think the most probable. Truth is our object: this object we think we have attained. We presume too that those, who are acquainted with the armies of which we are speaking, will meet with their own sentiments on this head, although they may not perhaps have clearly defined them. If officers, who are well instructed in each service, discover that what we relate is so true, as to be common, we shall fancy that we have gained the object which we had in view. We do not pretend to instruct, nor to give an account of events; but solely to distinguish and make known the causes of those effects with which all Europe is acquainted.' p. vii. viii.

The discriminating feature of the French army (which is that to which our author first directs his attention) appears to have been individual intelligence and activity; and it is a striking proof of the genius and talents of their generals, that they always either adopted or invented a system of military movements, suited to the discipline and composition of their troops.

The Revolution deprived the French army of many of their best officers. Their places were supplied by men hastily chosen for that purpose, and in many instances incapable of commanding. Dumourier's army was composed of raw and undisciplined troops, who had no confidence in their officers, and were sometimes seized with a panic, even when there was no enemy opposed to them. Our author goes so far as to say, that had France been a country of limited extent and population, she might have experienced the fate of Holland, the Netherlands, and Poland. 'Notwithstanding the discordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when every thing was possible; but they suffered that moment to be lost.' There are certainly some facts related by Dumourier himself, which tend to support this observation; and it is not easy to determine what momentary success the combined armies might have had, if they had acted upon a more vigorous and enterprising system. It is almost impossible, however, in forming an estimate of the probable issue of their designs, to lay out of view the difficulties arising from the local circumstances of the country, its almost impregnable frontier, and the population and extent of the interior. A most desperate and enterprising invader alone could have looked for success. A regular, cautious, calculating general had difficulties to encounter, which he could not overcome with the system upon which he acted. The retreat of the allied army gave the French confidence and courage; and the system of terror recruited their armies, and made them act with energy, even after a long series of defeats. Their generals were placed in a situation in which the loss of men was no object. The immense numbers which fell, were replaced by successive levies; but the army was not in a state to execute manœuvres, or to make any movement at all complicated.

cated. A new system of warfare was therefore adopted, and pursued with success.

‘ There were,’ says our author, ‘ in each of the fourteen republican armies, a few ancient officers, particularly engineers, and of the artillery, possessed of military acquirements : necessity, reflection, and the natural genius of Frenchmen, taught them to devise a new species of warfare. Turenne, Condé, and their *élèves*, had carried on a war of movements; next came that of sieges. Frederick the Great had introduced a system of tactics and manœuvres, which he had brought to perfection. The French, fully aware that they could not give battles in regular order, sought to reduce the war to important affairs of posts. By a strange fatality, which attended the allied army, this system of desultory warfare seemed to be encouraged by the very foes they had to encounter. Instead of lines, that could not be preserved without difficulty, the French formed close columns. They reduced their battles to attacks on certain points, and sometimes on one only. By brigades constantly succeeding each other, and fresh troops supplying the place of those who had been driven back, they in the end succeeded in forcing the point attacked; and the Austrians made a *masterly* retreat.’ p. 4. 5.

The French (it is said) were not less indebted for their success to the talents of their own generals, than to the stubborn indocility of their enemies. The Austrians, instead of availing themselves of the superior discipline of their troops, uniformly adhered to their system of forming immoveable lines; and the French, by keeping themselves in a mass, were secure against the attacks of their cavalry.

When the seat of war was transferred to mountainous or difficult countries, close columns could no longer be made use of: the French at once perceived this, and, abandoning the system of close columns, formed immense bodies of *eclaireurs*, sharp-shooters, light infantry, and chasseurs. The French soldiers are peculiarly well adapted for this species of warfare; and by availing themselves of the most trifling advantages of ground, they frequently forced large bodies of Austrians to retreat.

In the course of a few campaigns, the French armies, although they did not acquire a regular system of tactics, became able to move with great rapidity. It is observed, that as they did not pay much regard to regularity and precision, their movements were executed with greater velocity. ‘ In the midst of a movement that appears confused, individual intelligence enables every man to find his place; the manœuvre, instead of being performed in a body, is executed individually, and, for that very reason, with greater rapidity.’

Moreau is described as the French general who adhered most closely

closely to the old system of warfare. His military character is said to differ from that of the other French generals: he was chiefly distinguished by his superior talents and science, while the others owed their reputation to the bold and daring manner in which they formed and executed their plans.

The effects of the revolution were not less conspicuous in the subordinate arrangements of the army. Their wants were supplied by requisition. When they entered a country, they had little or no baggage. Their losses from fatigue, disease, and famine, were never regarded by their generals; and as most of their officers had been raised from the ranks, they received some consolation for the hardships and privations they endured, by reflecting upon their former situation.

Less is, however, said of the system which the French adopted, of supporting their armies by levying contributions in the countries they came to, than we expected to have met with in a work which displays so much discernment. By abandoning the old system of forming depots and magazines, they certainly exposed their troops to famine, want, and disorder, and in many instances suffered from the fury of the inhabitants, who were exasperated by their excesses. With all these inconveniences, however, they appear to have reaped very important advantages from this mode of supplying their armies. Formerly, the movements of armies were anticipated from the magazines they had formed, and the position of their depots; and their route was retarded by the attention which it was necessary to pay to them. The inroads of the French armies were unexpected, and their progress was rapid. They calculated only upon success; and they obtained it, by the unlooked for celerity of their movements, and the boldness and enterprise of their plans.

The idea of supporting an army in that manner was fully developed by Guibert; and the revolution, which has been a school of bold and daring experiments, has shewn the correctness of his reasoning upon that and many other military innovations.

The disorders of the French army are well described in the following passage.

‘When,’ says our author, ‘we see these volunteers of *liberty* dragged to the armies with an iron collar fastened to their necks; when we consider that they are in great part composed of royalists or enemies to government; when we reflect on the disorder, the waste, the want of discipline, the misery, the maladies, and the state of the hospitals, which consume six times the number of men that perish in battle; when we see the soldiers incessantly on the point of mutiny, and sometimes freely indulging themselves in it; their officers, some of whom cannot even read; their generals, many of whom are grossly ignorant;

while several who have risen to the rank of commanders in chief, were originally dealers in thread and needles (Jourdan), monks (Pichegru), physicians (Dopet), barristers (Moreau), common soldiers (Massena), dancers (Muller, Victor), carmen (Brune), quack doctors (Massot), painters (Cartaux), fencing masters (Augereau), cooks (Championnet), &c. &c.—when we see soldiers of uncouth appearance, without the smallest shew of subordination, and in rags, we cannot but ask ourselves the question, how it has been possible, that such an assemblage could have achieved military exploits of so distinguished a stamp? We have already in part accounted for this phenomenon; we shall proceed to give a final developement of the causes.' p. 12. 13.

In the explanation which is given of these facts, it is observed that the want of discipline among the French soldiers is more apparent than real. Although a French soldier is not chastised for ordinary offences, but is allowed to sell his effects, to be dirty, and to commit disorders, yet whatever is considered as an essential breach of military discipline is punished with the utmost severity. A distinction is thus made between what is personal to the soldier, and what relates to the service. His conduct upon service is as exemplary as in any other army; and he makes it a point of honour to be vigilant and strictly observant of countersigns.

In their battles the French are said to have derived great advantages from keeping a body of reserve, composed of the best troops, and commanded by an able general. By concentrating their forces upon the point of attack instead of forming extensive lines, they were enabled to spare troops for that purpose. They generally commenced the action with light troops. In that situation the courage of every individual is displayed; and the emulation which is excited leads men to the most daring actions. One great excellence which French soldiers possess, is that of penetrating into the state of the forces opposed to them, and of making an attack with rapidity and precision the moment they seem disposed to give way. Their sharp-shooters have frequently succeeded in deciding important actions; and if they are repulsed, they are protected by the *corps de reserve* which supports them, or attacks in its turn. The battle of Marengo is a striking instance of the advantages which the French have derived from their *corps de reserve*; and on more than one occasion it has been the means of recovering a battle which was considered as lost. The French are said to have been much indebted for their victories to the use of horse-artillery, which was composed of picked men, and exposed upon every occasion. Their other artillery, during the course of last war, is described as greatly inferior to what it had formerly been: it was however disposed in such a manner as not to retard the movements of the infantry; and no field-
pieces

pieces were attached to their batallions. One assertion which will perhaps surprise our readers, is, that secrecy, which has been considered of so much importance in military operations, was considered as no object in the French army. When the general had a movement in view, the whole army knew of it; while at the same time a thousand other plans were talked of and discussed. A spirit of enterprise was thus kept up in the whole army, and their camps became schools of military instruction. In other armies, the officers and soldiers who have made a campaign, are in general more ignorant of the movements which their army has made, than their countrymen at home. It is considered as an essential object to conceal from them, as much as possible, not merely the movements which are to be made, but even those which have taken place. Our author remarks that history furnishes us with many instances of great successes arising from the discoveries and observations of common soldiers:—and indeed, where the minds of so many men are employed upon one object, valuable suggestions must frequently be produced by their united efforts. In few armies is any care taken to discover or collect their observations. The French army afforded every facility for that purpose. The commander had opportunities of availing himself of the information of the whole army. The generals of division, during the engagement, received the same assistance from the intelligence of the individuals who composed their columns. Their observations passed from rank to rank; and while those which were just were circulated, there was discernment enough to arrest the progress of those which were unfounded. ‘It was thus that, amidst the disorder and confusion which seemed to render the French armies ungovernable, and incapable of executing a plan, astonishing results were produced, because every one contributed to forward the common object, from his voluntary as well as personal exertions.’ Every officer and every soldier fought as if the orders they were executing had been their own. These circumstances must have given a peculiar character to all the operations of the French army. Accordingly it is observed that

‘When a company arrives at a post, or on the ground which it is to occupy, the soldiers, from curiosity, example, the desire of appearing intelligent, and from that vanity which is inseparable from the French character, instead of lying lazily on the earth, examine the post in every point of view; they proceed to reconnoitre, and form their several plans of attack or defence. If they are attacked, they have the incalculable advance of being acquainted with the ground, and of knowing beforehand all that can be done. It frequently happens, that the soldiers, without officers

officers, conduct themselves not only with bravery, but with infinite ability.' p. 22, 23.

The truth of these observations appears to us to be confirmed by many well authenticated facts. The rapid advancement of generals from the ranks, is not surprising in such an army; and one campaign, in such circumstances, would form more officers than twenty in an army where promotion depended upon purchase or court favour, and where every disposition to discuss the movements of the army was regarded as a crime. An officer, who afterwards rose to a very high command in the French service, is said to have sent to Paris a plan for an approaching campaign, when he was only a sergeant. It was remarked by officers who had occasion to converse with the prisoners taken by the Austrian army, that they seldom met with a French soldier who had not made some calculation of the force of the army he belonged to, and of the division he served with. An Austrian or a British soldier seldom knows any thing beyond the sphere of the company in which he is posted; and among officers of the old school this is considered as the perfection of military discipline.

The armies opposed to them do not seem to have derived any advantage from the want of secrecy which prevailed in the French operations. It was afterwards observed, indeed, that they had announced what they had done. True: but, amidst the infinite number of projects which were published, how was it possible to discern the real one? and, in many instances, a resolution is formed at the moment, in favour of one plan instead of another, as circumstances seem to favour it. An idea, at one time very prevalent in this country, that the plans of the campaign were formed at Paris, and that Carnot directed the most trifling movements of the armies, is ably refuted. Our author's observation, that there are no instances of disputes about the execution of orders in the French service, is decisive on this subject. Complaints of that sort must have occurred, if the commanders in chief and those under them had acted upon minute and detailed plans. The fact is, that the latitude of the orders was such, that though the generals might go wrong from ignorance or design, they could hardly be guilty of formal disobedience. The French made their officers responsible for the event, not for the means which they employed. The instructions given to Dugommier, who commanded at the siege of Toulon, by the Committee of Public Safety, were, '*Vous prendrez Toulon, ou vous meriteres nos regrets.*' These are very clear instructions, but, at the same time, very general. We agree with our author, that it is much wiser to leave to the general the free choice of the measures which he is

is to adopt, than to tie him strictly down to the most perfect plan of a campaign that ever was formed in a cabinet. If any thing is prescribed beyond the general object in view, it is the 'result of jealousy, of vanity, or of a fatal desire of commanding.' This system of plans and of detailed orders, which the French were too wise to incur themselves with, appears to have pervaded the whole Austrian service. The generals were there fettered by the instructions they received, and looked to the Council of War with greater apprehension than to the enemy. They were always impressed with their responsibility for the event, and continually calculating the loss they might sustain, not only in men, but in military effects and artillery. A general who was defeated when attacked, was acquitted; but if he was defeated in an offensive operation, he was undone for ever; 'as if,' says our author, 'an army became secure against an attack by not making one itself.' Their artillery, which was excellent, was made an incumbrance, instead of an assistance. It was a point of honour to preserve it at every risk; and the Austrian infantry would on some occasions have avoided defeats, if it had either had no artillery, or had consented to lose it.

The merits of the Austrian army, however, are by no means under-rated. Although its defects, and the degraded state of their soldiers, who are reduced to the condition of automatons, are acknowledged, it is said to be as much superior to the French army considered as a body, as a French soldier, considered as an individual, is to an Austrian. The two great causes of the defeats of the Austrians were, the want of genius and enterprise in their generals, and their deficiency in light troops. Instead of adopting an original mode of fighting, calculated to display the superiority of their troops in discipline, they kept themselves in cordons and lines, in which their cavalry could be of no use. The French, who were thus enabled to calculate upon their movements, exposed themselves in a manner which they would not have ventured to have done, if they had been opposed by an enterprising enemy. Even when acting upon the defensive, the Austrians ought to have made campaigns of movements, not of positions. This is illustrated by the example of Turenne, Prince Eugene, and Frederick of Prussia, who, during their defensive campaigns, kept up all the activity and appearance of offensive operations. The want of light troops is considered as the chief cause of the defeat of the Austrians. Even when commanded by the Archduke Charles, upon whom every eulogium is bestowed, they suffered severely from this circumstance. By converting their light troops, which were so famous in the wars of 1740 and 1757, into a sort of regular battalions, they lost the qualities which fitted them for that spe-
cie_s

cies of warfare. The Austrians might have supplied this defect in Piedmont, in Switzerland, and in Italy, by employing the inhabitants of these countries as light troops; but although their adherents were more numerous than those of the French, they made less use of them. Their losses, from want of light troops, were enormous when the war was carried on in mountainous countries. They acted upon the principle, that a sufficient number of men will always defend their ground; whereas, among mountains, the advantages of ground are of more importance than numbers. From the desire of adhering to a system of regularity which could not be preserved, instead of occupying the heights and placing their troops according to the nature of the ground, they remained collected at the bottom: They were in consequence outflanked, and surrounded. Our author enlarges, in many passages, upon the advantages which the French derived from their light troops. The following passage gives so good an account of the opposite systems of the French and Austrians, that we make no apology for laying it before our readers.

‘The French soldiers, who are more active, more enterprising and ready in availing themselves of every advantage of ground, will hang round bodies of men that are much more numerous than themselves; they molest, harass, and advance upon them, by means of the smallest shelter. The Austrians, in the mean time, preserve their rank and file; but their oblique firing has not the least effect upon men who are either scattered about, or advantageously posted; while every discharge of the latter, being levelled at a considerable body, cannot fail of telling. When the Austrians advance, the riflemen withdraw, but return to the charge as soon as the Austrians retire again: the Austrian troop is thus harassed by an enemy that keeps out of its reach, and whose numbers, upon looking at the extent of ground which they occupy, appear more considerable than they really are. This method of fighting continues, until the losses they have experienced, and the inutility of resistance, produce discouragement and confusion; and, at length, the troops, overwhelmed with fatigue, and thrown into disorder, either disperse, or lay down their arms. The French, who would not have dared to meet these same Austrians in open field, have often defeated and taken thousands of them with some hundreds of men only: for, the instant their ranks are broken, the Austrians become like a flock of sheep dispersed, and incapable of reuniting. The coolness of the Austrians is inexplicable. The humiliation of surrendering their arms does not seem to affect them any more than the dangers of a battle. One would suppose, in considering their indifference, that it was nothing but the *finale* of a pantomime or ballet. The Austrians carry their fear of being outflanked or turned, to a degree which is at once ridiculous and extravagant; it might indeed be called a national disorder or weakness. They fancy themselves outflanked, or enveloped, at the very moment in which they might surround those who have had the rashness to outrun them.

This

This excessive apprehension disconcerts their plans, and drives them to retrograde movements at a time when, in order to beat the enemy, they have only to advance upon him.' p. 39. 40.

The view given of the English army will be more interesting to our readers than that of any of the continental forces. It contains, in the first place, an investigation of the causes of the bad success of the British arms upon the Continent. One position is repeatedly maintained, that 'the English are undoubtedly the most intrepid people in Europe.*' Other causes are therefore to be assigned for a fact which is assumed as certain. The first is, that the land army has become an object of secondary consideration ever since the union with Scotland. Another cause, is the want of any regular system for the formation of the army, and the manner in which the forces are parcelled out in service, from which circumstance they can never acquire uniformity or consistency. Campaigns in Asia do not contribute to form troops fitted for European warfare; and a general who has returned from India, is compared to an admiral who has acquired his knowledge of navigation from voyages in the lake of Geneva or the Black sea. The English cavalry is allowed* to be better equipped and more formidable in a charge than that of any other nation. A private in the British cavalry is said to be as well mounted as an officer in any other service. He does not however possess the same command of his horse, which is attributed to the form of his saddle; and from this circumstance the British cavalry are said to require more time than any other to form after a charge. The highest praises are bestowed upon the artillery. In short, able commanders, we are told, are alone wanting to make the British the best troops in Europe. This opinion is not peculiar to our author, for it is certainly very prevalent upon the Continent. The British officers are not considered as inferior to those of any army in Europe in courage, in talents, or in attachment to their profession, but in military science and attainments. It certainly would be extremely unjust to impute to them the slightest blame upon that account. From the causes already enumerated they have not the same opportunities of acquiring a practical knowledge of their profession which the officers of continental armies possess; and though that disadvantage might have been easily supplied by directing some portion of the talents and genius of the nation to the cultivation of military science, this is perhaps the only country in Europe where it has been completely neglected.

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* 'Les Anglois sont indubitablement le peuple le plus intrepide de l'Europe, celui qui affronte la mort et la voit approcher avec le plus de sang froid et d'indifférence.'

In France, military knowledge was widely diffused; and in the course of the war, it enabled them to overcome every disadvantage arising from want of discipline and experience. Their writers upon military subjects are as superior to those of other countries, as their generals have shewn themselves to be. If the same encouragement had been given in England to military studies, we can have no doubt that our countrymen would have excelled as much in this as they have done in every other department of science. We are not aware, that we are indulging our national partialities too far, when we say, that there is not one liberal art to which the genius of both nations has been applied, in which this country has not fair pretensions to superior excellence. Even mechanical inventions, although not apparently suited to the genius of the inhabitants, have been carried to higher perfection in Britain than in any other country. But on military subjects, not one author of any originality, or of any merit, has appeared. The cause of this is obvious. A person intended for the army has no opportunity of learning even the rudiments of his art in this country; if he is desirous to acquire them, he must relinquish the superior advantages of a British education, in order to place himself under the tuition of a German tactician. He there acquires a system which is suited to the genius of a country inferior in almost every respect to this. Any little military knowledge which has been brought into this country, has been servilely copied from the Germans. We are by no means disposed to under-rate German discipline; it certainly has its merits: but there always must be a marked distinction between a system which is in a manner the growth of the country, and accommodated to the genius and situation of the people, and one which is transferred as an article of faith in all its parts, from a foreign country, to one different in almost every respect. If Frederick, instead of King of Prussia, had been King of Great Britain, we may venture to say, that his military arrangements would have been different. He would have considered the situation of the country, the character of the people, and the services in which the troops were likely to be engaged. In his own country, it is believed, he made fewer changes in military matters than what is generally imagined: matters of little importance he allowed to remain upon the same footing. He did not consider it of very great importance to alter the shape of a coat or the form of a skirt; but wherever he found the tactics of other nations superior, he either imitated or improved upon them. By doing so, he established his own character for superior genius, and at the same time made his army superior to that of any other power in Europe. The same superiority will be attained by any nation

nation which will employ the same means—which will improve its military system, not by a constant and vexatious succession of trifling changes, but by preserving unchanged whatever it has that is good, and giving encouragement to every improvement in the higher departments of military service.

Our author, throughout the whole of this work, appears to entertain very little reverence for what are called parade officers. He observes, that it is easy for a person to fancy himself a soldier, by scrupulously attending, during peace, to those *minutiae* which are really insignificant in war; and that it has been generally observed, that officers who make the most distinguished figure in time of peace, do not, in actual service, answer the expectations which they have raised. ‘An officer of this class, who have served twenty or thirty years, has great difficulty in changing his pacific habits: he hates war: and where there is a want of taste for an undertaking, it must be badly executed.’ Nothing can appear more astonishing to those who have not reflected upon it, than the extreme zeal which many officers of that description show for the subordinate *minutiae* of parade. It is however the case with this, as with most other frivolous pursuits, that where they occupy the mind, they engross it more exclusively than those objects which require a higher exertion of the understanding. A collector of butterflies or tulips shows more zeal in his favourite studies, than a mathematician; and a mountebank quack-doctor annexes higher importance to his infallible prescriptions than a regular physician. Officers who have been long accustomed to actual service, are fully aware of the relative importance of the subordinate parts of discipline; but it is not easy to describe the absurd importance which parade officers, who have never heard a gun fired upon service, ascribe to the smallest *minutiae* of dress. It appears to them of greater consequence to have their troops smart upon parade, than active in their manœuvres; and they seem to think that nothing renders a soldier so fit to meet an enemy, as fixing his cap upon one corner of his head, and exposing as much of it as they possibly can, bedaubed with soap and flour, to the wet and cold of a northern climate. No doubt, those officers must be very unfit to meet an enemy, who will not stay to examine whether the accoutrements of their men are well lackered, or their *queues* tied with singular regularity and precision. The height to which this attention to dress is raised in some individuals, exceeds all bounds of belief. We have heard an anecdote of a general officer (in what service we forbear to mention) who went with some of his friends to see the Consular troops reviewed at Paris. After inspecting the lines very narrowly, he was observed to return to his countrymen with a
look

look of great satisfaction and importance. One of them, who was anxious to know the result of his observations, was at length informed, 'that he could assure him, as a military man, that after looking at the whole line, he had not been able to find two neckcloths together, tied in the same manner.*' This was

* A certain degree of attention to the clothing and equipment of troops is necessary ; and even an excess of it may appear a very harmless foible. It would certainly be so, if it did not convert, what ought to be a secondary object, into a principal one. When it is proposed to form the soldier for the different kinds of service which may be required, and to accustom him to such exercises as will inure him to fatigue, it is said that he is already sufficiently employed. This objection has long ago been answered by Guibert. 'Si l'on me dit,' says that enlightened author, 'que nos exercices actuels les occupent déjà assez, je répondrai que c'est parce que nos manœuvres sont trop compliquées, nos méthodes d'instruction mal entendues, notre prétention de précision et de perfection sur beaucoup de points, minutieuse et ridicule. Je répondrai que la preuve que nos soldats ne sont pas assez occupés, c'est que pour remplir, dit-on, leur temps, on les surcharge de règles de discipline inquiétantes et odieuses. C'est qu'on a créé une tenue qui leur fait passer trois heures par jour à leur toilette, qui en fait des perruquiers, des polisseurs, des vernisseurs, tout en un mot, hormis des gens de guerre.'— *Essai General de Tactique*, p. 161.

The same excellent author, whom we cannot too often refer to, has demonstrated that the progress of the arts and sciences ought to promote instead of retarding the art of war :—'Ce ne sont pas les arts et les sciences qui ont fait décheoir l'art militaire chez les peuples de l'antiquité ; ce ne sont pas les arts et les sciences qui l'empêchent aujourd'hui de faire des progrès. Les lumières générales devoient au contraire perfectionner cet art avec tous les autres. Elles devoient rendre la tactique plus simple et plus savante, les troupes plus instruites, les généraux meilleurs. Elles devoient mettre la méthode à la place de la routine, les combinaisons à la place du hasard. Si, tandis que toutes les autres sciences se perfectionnent, celle de la guerre reste dans l'enfance, c'est la faute des gouvernemens qui n'y attachent pas assez d'importance ; qui n'en font pas un objet d'éducation publique ; qui ne dirigent pas vers cette profession les hommes de génie ; qui leur laissent entrevoir plus de gloire et d'avantages dans des sciences frivoles ou moins utiles ; qui rendent la carrière des armes une carrière ingrate dans laquelle les talens sont devancés par l'intrigue, et les prix distribués par la fortune.' *Ibid.* *Discours Préliminaire*, tom. I, p. 97. 98.

Some attempts have certainly been made, of late years, to supply the defects of the military education in this country. Important advantages may be expected from the institutions which have been formed. It is however to be regretted that they are by no means adequate to the

was a very moderate instance of the disposition above alluded to : many more striking ones are well known.

The question of invasion appears still to stand on the same grounds that it did before this work was first published. 'Our author does not pretend to be a judge of the practicability of such a scheme. He observes, that both countries stand in a very different situation from what they ever did formerly. Although the naval power of Great Britain is greater than it ever was before, it must be recollected that the territory of the French is vastly more extensive. When we reflect, says our author, upon these circumstances, and the daring rashness of the French, what is perhaps impossible in itself does not appear improbable. 'If the French were to succeed in effecting a landing, he observes, they would find themselves without any hope of being able to reembark, which would deprive them of courage, if their army was composed of bad troops ; but danger and difficulty excite and inflame the valour of soldiers accustomed to war, who have a great object in view, and who are acquainted with the means that must be resorted to in order to obtain it.' Every Englishman would individually possess as much courage ; but the want of experience prevents the reunion of efforts, and destroys that confidence which is necessary in the co-operation of great numbers. The army opposed to them, our author says, would consist of regular troops, of militia regiments, and of volunteer yeomanry.

'These troops' says our author, 'are destitute of all experience and practice of war : their exercise is but a feeble imitation of it : and a camp in time of peace, (which is nothing more than a parade, where the only contest exists in pleasure and magnificence) is but an unprofitable school of tactics. The presumption of knowing something, would be dangerous : and nothing would be more fatal than a general battle. Numbers only serve to augment the confusion of unexperienced troops, who have to withstand enemies that are at once active and enterprising, remarkable for their quickness in throwing their opponents into disorder, and for the audacity of their movements.' p. 109, 110.

Upon this reasoning it is maintained, that the most ruinous measure would be to oppose the French with a large army. We are told, that although it may be considered as a paradox, it is demonstrated by numberless examples, that it would be more dangerous, in these circumstances, to combat 10,000 Frenchmen with

100,000

occasion, and that much care has been taken to introduce all the brutal rigour and harshness of German military discipline, which appears better adapted to drill-corporals and sergeants, than to form officers or gentlemen. No attempt has been made to make military attainments a branch of liberal education.

100,000 men, than with twenty or five and twenty thousand. Such a body can only acquire the faculty of moving in order, from long exercise and habitual warfare. If composed of inexperienced troops, it would suffer more from the difficulty of acting, than the valour of the enemy. It is recommended as the wisest plan, in such a case, to divide these 100,000 men into five or six bodies, according to the strength of the enemy, and the nature of the ground; and, by attacking the French without intermission, to imitate the conduct by which they, in the beginning of the war, eluded the Austrian tactics. By reducing the warfare to partial engagements, the enemy could not have the same superiority which the rapidity of their manœuvres would give them in a general action.

‘Every Englishman,’ says our author, ‘who will reflect on the greatness of the political, civil, and domestic blessings, which he enjoys, and who will suffer himself to be convinced, that he runs the risk of being deprived of them for ever, if the French should be long stationary in England, will not hesitate to expose his life for the preservation of those inestimable blessings (which are greater than any other nation ever enjoyed), or to perish, rather than see the downfall and disgrace of his country, and of himself. The English would have it in their power to destroy the French, by the means of at least an equal degree of bravery, and great superiority of numbers; but this can only be effected by acting in separate bodies, and by meeting the enemy at all points, without giving him time to form any settled and combined plan of general action.’ p. 113. 114.

For an account of the Russian, Spanish, Neapolitan, and Prussian armies, we must refer our readers to the work itself, which contains some valuable, and to us original observations upon each of these topics. The character of Suvarow forms a prominent feature in the view given of the Russian army; his singular peculiarities are brought before the reader in a very interesting manner; and upon his talents as a general, every praise is bestowed. We are told that he excelled all other generals in the management of his troops; he had the art of making his soldiers believe that he was an inspired man. In his tactics, his principal object was to engage his enemy, as he was persuaded that the valour of his troops would always render him victorious.

‘He was a captain,’ says our author, ‘in the style of Mahomet, Tamerlane, and Gengis Khan, rather than of Cæsar or Turenne; an Asiatic general, rather than an European; formed to gain battles and make conquests, rather than conduct regular and skilful campaigns; if indeed there can be any skill superior to that of always beating an enemy.’

In the parallel between the Romans and French, with which this work terminates, the powers and means of the latter nation,
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and the vast preponderance which it has acquired in the European system, are stated in a manner which must excite very great apprehensions in every British reader. The events which have occurred since this work was first published, have not contributed to diminish the force of any of the observations which are made in it. Without pretending to know what Bonaparte's views were, our author then observed, that if ambition was his sole and predominant passion, (which it appeared to be) he would not be contented with the possession of the finest kingdom in Europe, because ambition never stops at the object it has attained. The circumstances of modern Europe, however, are so different from those of the states of antiquity, that such a parallel is perhaps better calculated to display ingenuity, than to be a basis for political reasoning.

We have seldom met with a book which, although apparently composed very hastily, and by a person probably not much accustomed to write, contains so many original observations in so small a compass, and so much military and political information. No references are made to the authorities he has proceeded upon, though we may observe that, in his general reasonings upon military subjects, he seems often to have had an author in view whom we have quoted in the course of this article. We do not profess to be skilled in the *minutiae* of French composition, otherwise we should be disposed to hazard the criticism, that the language is not that of a native of France. We cannot, however, pass over the translation without expressing our most decided disapprobation of it; and we therefore decline mentioning the name of the gentleman by whom it is said to have been executed. It betrays many marks of the grossest ignorance, and the most inexcusable carelessness. Where it is said that England has, since the Union, ‘*porté ses vues et ses efforts vers la mer,*’ this is translated ‘has carried her views and exertion *beyond the sea,*’ instead of ‘towards naval affairs’ (p. 66. original, p. 80. translation.) After enumerating one class of consequences to be apprehended from invasion, another is announced with the observation, ‘*ces dangers ne sont pas les seuls*’ (p. 80.) This is most sagaciously translated ‘danger is not the only thing to be considered’ (p. 108. trans.) ‘*Dans ce cas ils ne seroient pas perdus,*’ (p. 84.) is translated ‘in case of their not being destroyed,’ (p. 109) In some passages a sort of paraphrase is given of the original, which would be less objectionable if it had been tolerably executed. ‘*L’esprit naturel aux François,*’ is dilated into ‘an inventive faculty, aided by that promptitude of action which is so natural to Frenchmen’ (p. 4. trans.) To make amends for these additions, however, part of the original is sometimes omitted.

For what reason we know not, the fourth sentence in the introduction does not appear at all in the translation. The notes tagged to this wretched translation are every way worthy of it, and unworthy of the original. They consist of a few childish remarks ; various dolorous lamentations upon the inadequate pay of British officers ; some quotations from pamphlets that have nothing to do with the subject discussed in the original ; and many obliging references to James's Military Dictionary.

ART. XVII. *Military Memoirs, relating to Campaigns, Battles, and Stratagems of War, antient and modern : Extracted from the best authorities with occasional Remarks.* By the Author of *Memoirs of the War in Asia, from 1778 to 1784, &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 588. London, J. Johnson, &c. 1804.

THOUGH war has ever been the favourite amusement, and often the sole employment of men, history does not afford such an abundance of materials as might be expected for a work of the kind that is here announced. Every page, indeed, is full of military transactions, and of accounts of battles, where our sympathy with the combatants, and the mingled emotions of pity, horror, and admiration, afford an interesting and useful occupation to the mind. But if we look for accurate information concerning the means by which such enterprises have been achieved ; if we would learn the position of the hostile armies, the nature of the ground which they occupied, their disposition in the day of battle, and the movements which decided the contest, we shall often meet with disappointment in the midst of the most splendid descriptions ; we shall have cause to lament that loose declamation has been so often substituted for exact narrative, and that there are so many more writers who are ambitious of painting with the glow of Titus Livius and Quintus Curtius, than of delineating with the correctness of Arrian or Polybius.

It was only from historians of the latter kind that the author of the work before us could derive any advantage ; for, his purpose being to treat of military operations in an exact and distinct manner, no actions but such as had been accurately described by the original authors, could properly find a place in his collection. The choice he has made seems to be skilful and judicious ; the information is derived from the best sources ; and the general observations introduced in the course of the work indicate a more exact and extensive knowledge of the military art than is usually to be found among men of civil professions, and of studious and secondary

dentary lives. An accurate knowledge of the learned languages, and a familiarity with the best writers of antiquity, were indispensable requisites in an undertaking of this kind, and are possessed, we believe, by the author, Dr Thomson, in no ordinary degree. The ancient authors to whom he is principally indebted, are Xenophon, Arrian, and Cæsar, who, being themselves soldiers, as well as scholars and fine writers, have composed works which, in every state of the military art, will be read with interest and instruction. Polybius, it is needless to remark, is one of the chief sources of information, and Dr Thomson has observed how necessary it is to consult the original of that author; the best translation which we possess, though not without merit in many respects, having given the military details in a manner extremely loose and unsatisfactory. Among the moderns, Dr Thomson professes to have been chiefly indebted to Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World; to the *Cours de Tactique* of Maizeroy; *Essai sur les Batailles* of the Chev. Grimoard; *Mauvillon sur l'influence de la Poudre & Canon*; *Memoirs of Guischart*, &c.; to which we may add, as he tells us, the conversation of military gentlemen, who have joined the study of the theory to an acquaintance with the real scenes of war.

Of these sources of information Dr Thomson has availed himself with great success, and has produced a volume, containing, in a small compass, a great deal of distinct and interesting military detail. It is divided into three parts. The *first* treats of war before the invention of gunpowder; the *second* of war from the invention of gunpowder to the introduction of the Prussian tactics; the *third* from the introduction of the Prussian tactics to the present time.

The following remarks on the progress of the art of war are given partly from Mauvillon.

' Without inquiring whether arms to be used in the hand, or those to be thrown at a distance, were the most ancient, it must be allowed that nature has taught the use of these last to many of the brute animals. The bear and the monkey discharge stones at the enemy they are unable to reach; at the same time that they are ignorant of the use of the most simple weapon to be used in aid of their legs or claws.

' In the same manner, it is not improbable that men were naturally at first led to throw stones, &c. in their quarrels, before they thought of employing any artificial means of strengthening the force and activity of their limbs.

' When men had arrived at that point of civilization, to know how to make arms for the hand, of the hardest metals, those of projection, whether from the hand, a bow, or a sling, were no longer to be compared to these, for decisive efficacy.

' The effects of these last were too feeble: they might be guarded against, either by some defensive covering, or by running in and closing

with the enemy, so that they were too uncertain to be considered as equal to arms in the hand. It is true that, in the course of time, machines were contrived for discharging heavy bodies, which produced powerful effects at considerable distances; such as the *balista*, the *cata-pulta*, and others: but these machines were too complicated, and demanded too much time in practice, ever to have been very formidable. Besides, the extent of their range was too small for the engineer to be able to repeat his discharge against troops in motion. The strength of troops, therefore, consisted in their arms for manual use; and each nation invented such for themselves, according to their ideas and customs.

‘The Greeks chose for their principal weapon the spear or pike. With this long pole, mounted with a sharp point of steel, and which, according to their order of fighting, could not easily be turned aside, they penetrated and laid open whatever opposed them.

‘No enemy, armed only with a sword, or other short weapon, was able, as long as the Greeks retained their order, to touch them: but, if the enemy employed a pike, as they did themselves, then the issue of the contest depended on the courage, the strength, and the address of each party.

‘The Romans, on the contrary, were specially attached to the use of the sword. The celebrated Montecuculi calls the pike the queen of arms for infantry, as the lance is for cavalry; but that observation must have been the effect of habit and prejudice, even in so great an officer.

‘For the man of true courage will always prefer some hand-weapon even to the firelock; because his ardent wish is to close with his enemy as quickly as possible. A commander ought also to prefer hand-weapons, because, in obliging his troops to engage man to man, they are in the fairest way to obtain the speediest victory.

‘It is therefore the sword alone that deserves to be called the queen of arms. Not those long rapiers used by certain corps of cavalry; but a short sword, fit for cutting and stabbing, and which is easily manageable in the hand.

‘This is the weapon with which an active man, covered with a buckler to parry the attacks of the enemy, and preserving, in the midst of danger, that *sang froid* which enables him to avoid or turn aside the enemy’s strokes, is almost certain of victory, even over an enemy of superior bodily strength, but who does not possess these qualities in the same degree, whatever weapon he may employ.

‘Such was the sword of the antient Romans; and the proof of this being the queen of arms is, that with this sword they subdued the Macedonians, armed with pikes, notwithstanding their high courage, and the masterly skill with which they employed their favourite weapon.

‘But when once men had discovered a substance, which, being inflamed, disclosed a fluid whose elasticity could propel the heaviest bodies, with a force and velocity beyond conception, and which no former machine could approach: when the instruments, by which the activity
of

of that substance was displayed, were so improved, as to be capable of repeating the discharge with a rapidity unknown in the antient machines of projection, then projectile arms came to be considered as infinitely superior to any known hand-weapons.

‘ Armies could thenceforward seldom come to close engagement in the field. Before either one or other could pass over the space between their lines, death had already swept away so many of the combatants, that the survivors had but little inclination, or even power, to stand a regular and close attack.

‘ The whole offensive arms came then to be founded on the application of that inflammable substance, and the sword was no more than an idle ornament for the soldier. Even when his fire-arm was fitted up with an additional pointed weapon (the bayonet), so as in some measure to combine both uses, it was occasioned chiefly by a predilection for former usages, as well as to defend the soldier against the sudden and impetuous incursions of cavalry.

‘ Not only offensive arms underwent a material change, in consequence of the use of gunpowder, but also those for defence fell gradually into disuse: for, when projectile arms were become so perfect as to form the basis of the whole art of war, and to render hand arms almost useless: above all, when it was discovered, that it was impossible to contrive any defensive armour light enough to be worn by the soldiers, and, at the same time, strong enough to resist a musket-bullet, not to speak of cannon-balls, then all sorts of armour for defence were entirely thrown aside.

‘ Another article, in which great alterations have been necessarily made, in consequence of the use of gunpowder, in war, is the arrangement of troops in order of battle and on a march.

‘ The Macedonians and other Greek nations were frequently drawn up on a depth of sixteen, and even thirty-two men, placed one behind another, in files; because that deep and dense order, while it could be perfectly preserved, enabled them to bear down all opposition.

‘ The Romans, whose chief arm was the sword, rejected the dense order of the Greeks, as incompatible with the use of that weapon, and drew up in long full lines, of three men in depth, much the same as is practised in the present times in European armies; but then the men were arranged, not in files, one behind another, as is now done, but each man, in the succeeding rank, was placed diagonally, opposite to the interval, between the two men in the rank before him. Besides, the Roman soldier, in order to have the full play of his short cut-and-thrust sword and buckler, required a great deal more room, in all directions, than either the Macedonian or modern European soldier.

‘ The nature of the arms must always determine the manner of forming an army, and of arranging, in that order, the troops for battle.

‘ Notwithstanding the continual alterations and frequent improvements in the form and other circumstances of modern fire-arms, it yet seems impossible that the men who use them can be drawn up to advantage in any other way than in three lines.

‘ With

‘ With two lines only there will be ground lost ; and with four they can never all fire at the same time.’ p. 210.--216.

The difference between the direct and oblique order of battle is well explained, and the advantages of the latter pointed out, in the following passage, which, to those readers who are not professedly military, will probably convey some new information.

‘ All arrangements of troops, in line of battle, are either *direct*, that is to say parallel, or nearly so, to the front of the enemy’s line ; or *oblique*, that is, inclined to his front ; so that if the two lines were to meet, at either extremity, they would form an angle, more or less acute.

‘ 1st, The direct order of battle is the most natural and obvious, the most simple in its disposition and operations, and the most antient. In proportion, however, as the art of tactics was improved, many important defects were discovered in the direct order : but the principal reason why it is seldom employed seems to be the difficulty of meeting with, in a campaign, a plain so level and so extensive, as to allow two considerable armies to be drawn up, in opposite lines, the one parallel to the other, and to manœuvre, close, and engage, along their whole front, at the same time.

‘ Direct or parallel lines of battle must, besides, be very disadvantageous for any army, unless the front be but of small extent, and that the commander have a sufficient number of troops, in reserve, to reinforce such parts of his line as the enemy appear to break through.

‘ The oblique order of battle comprehends every species of disposition of troops, by which they can, at pleasure, be made to act against one or more points of the enemy’s line, whilst the remaining parts of it are kept in check : such troops, as are not engaged in these attacks, being held back, and beyond the reach of the enemy ; by which operation the attacking army seems, in a general sense, to be obliquely inclined, by one or more angles, to that of the enemy.

‘ This oblique order is the most scientific, the most artful, and the most perfect of all. “ It is this,” says the Chevalier de Folard, “ against which a general, however able he may be, can form no opposition, when it is suddenly presented by the enemy : for, to be able to oppose it with due effect, it would be necessary to execute such manœuvres as cannot possibly be performed in the moment of action, as they require much time and previous arrangement. It might, for instance, be requisite to transport the whole left of an army to the right, or the whole right to the left.”

‘ The parts of a line, with which the partial attack or attacks are to be made, are reinforced beyond the ordinary strength of the line, and the other parts, not engaged, are weakened in proportion as they are removed from the enemy.

‘ The oblique order is the genuine resource of a weak army. Its principal advantage consists in giving a commander the choice of the point of attack, and in rendering, for some time at least, the enemy’s superiority in numbers of no use to them.

‘ An army, which is forced to engage another much more numerous, ought, above all, to endeavour to outfront it on one of the wings, and to be strong on every point where the enemy may make an attack. By gaining these two grand advantages, and by keeping back the other parts of the line from action, a sort of equality, in effective strength, will be established between the two armies, the greater portion of the largest being thus rendered of no use in the battle.

‘ Frederic II. or the Great, of Prussia, has, of all the moderns, best studied the principles and properties of the oblique order. In his grand encampments and reviews, in time of peace, he shewed the mechanism of this order to his generals; and it was by it that he opened the way to his numerous victories. The Prussian tactics form an æra in military history.

‘ The oblique order may be employed against the right, the left, or the centre of the enemy’s line, or against any of the intermediate points; but it is generally directed against one of the wings.

‘ The great art of arranging this order, is to mask and conceal the design from the enemy, who, being equally apprehensive of an attack on every point, cannot weaken one in order to strengthen any other.

‘ The way to make an oblique attack miscarry, is to adopt an order contrary to that of the enemy, and to have always a considerable *corps de reserve*, of horse and foot, ready to reinforce the point attacked.

‘ It is often of great advantage to employ the oblique order against an enemy, who has taken what he considers to be a good position, and there waits for the attack. In such a case he has no fears of being surprised, and from that very confidence is frequently defeated.

‘ However inferior a general may be, he never can be utterly defeated, if he act on the oblique order: for, as he does not engage the whole front of the enemy, nor even brings into action but a part of his own line, he never can suffer, excepting merely in the points of contact.

‘ It follows from all this, that a general, who is obliged to engage an enemy superior to himself in numbers, or in the quality of the troops, ought to take such a position as that the enemy cannot attack his whole front at one time. By such a position, he will be saved from a total defeat; but, on the other hand, he will be prevented from employing his talents, or taking advantage of circumstances, to ruin the enemy, unless this last destroy his own army, by repeated and unsuccessful assaults on such parts as are within his reach.’ p. 319. 320.

The nature of the oblique order is farther illustrated by the example of the battle of Rocroy, fought between the French and Spaniards in 1643; the former being under the command of the great Condé; to the interesting and distinct account of which celebrated engagement we refer the reader, (p. 325.)

The most remarkable instance of the oblique order, which the history of antient warfare furnishes, is the battle of Arbela, where Alexander the Great obtained so signal a victory over Darius. This great and complicated action, which was celebrated

brated in the military schools of Greece, as a model of skill and talent, has had the good fortune to be described by Arrian, with all the precision and distinctness that could be expected from an excellent writer and an experienced soldier. The narrative of Arrian has been commented on by Guischardt in his *Military Memoirs*, where, as Dr Thomson observes, are to be found all that the scholar, the antiquary, and the soldier, can desire to be informed of.

Concerning those generals who, in modern times, have improved the art of war, Dr Thomson has given the following remarks, chiefly, as he says, from Mauvillon.

In the war which the Spaniards waged in the Low-Countries against the Flemish and Dutch,

—‘ the duke of Alba, the prince of Parma, the marquis of Spinola, and other celebrated commanders, on the part of Spain, taught, or reduced to the necessity of learning the art of war, the great princes of the House of Orange, in the same manner as the Swedes afterwards did the Russians.

‘ Maurice, prince of Orange, was a man of deep learning and research, as well as of genius. He studied the art of war in the writings of the Greeks and Romans.

‘ Maurice may be considered as the father or reviver of modern tactics. From his school an acquaintance with the oblique order of battle was gained by Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, who carried it into execution at the famous battle of Lutzen.

‘ Turenne, in the early part of his life, served under Maurice, his maternal uncle, against the Spaniards in the Low Countries; and afterwards by his prudence, conduct, and courage, as well as by his public spirit and disinterestedness, during the civil and foreign broils which brought France to the point of ruin, merited and obtained the highest fame. He was singularly judicious in the choice of positions, and in castrometation.

‘ But his eminent success was not more owing to any of his great qualities than to a deep insight into human nature, and a natural mildness and suavity of manners, by which he was at once enabled to discover the sentiments and emotions of men, and disposed, by a natural and most engaging sympathy, to gratify or to sooth them: while he commanded universal esteem, he gained also every heart.

‘ The great Marlborough, who, in many respects, greatly resembled Turenne, commenced, like him, his military career in the service of a foreign power.

‘ Marlborough fell in unfortunate times. Political dissensions were then carried on with such violence, and to such heights, that it was impossible his conduct could escape severe censure, from one or other of the parties by which England was then convulsed and alternately governed; and he was too closely connected with both parties, to be able long to keep on good terms with either of them. Hence his conduct, both

both public and private, military and political, has been so variously represented by writers in opposite interests.

‘ It is beyond all dispute that no modern general ever obtained greater victories in the field; yet his conduct has been much less praised than his good fortune.

‘ His wonderful success at Blenheim and at Ramillies has been attributed to the injudicious disposition of the enemy. But, if the enemy committed errors, Marlborough’s genius instantly suggested the best way to take advantage of them.

‘ This reasoning of his enemies, however, will not hold, in the battle of Malplaquet. There Villars, one of the ablest officers that France ever possessed, had taken a strong position, and had made it still so strong by art, as if nature had completely neglected it.

‘ This post Marlborough attacked, and, after a dreadful conflict and carnage, carried: the fall of Mons and the close of the campaign were the reward of his success.

‘ His predicting his success at the celebrated battle of Oudenarde, at a moment when those about his person had scarcely observed the action to be begun, is a wonderful proof how much he possessed a knowledge of men, as well as of war. Upon the whole, an uninterrupted course of success, through many years, can never be with any justice attributed to chance or fortune.

‘ So entirely did Marlborough possess the confidence of his men, that even when it seemed next to impossible that they should be extricated from difficulties, they were accustomed to make themselves easy, saying, “ Well, it is no matter to us, *Corporal John*, (for so the soldiers called him), will find some way to bring us off, and do for the enemy!”

‘ But neither Turenne, nor his great antagonist Montecuculi, nor Marlborough himself, can be considered as inventors in the Art of War. No inventor appeared from the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the father of the present grand basis of military operations, a triangle resting on a chain of magazines for a basis, till that of the great king of Prussia.’ p. 204—200.

After Gustavus as an inventor in the modern art of war, Dr Thomson places Frederick, the real inventor, he says, of light or flying artillery, but whose inventive genius in the military art chiefly distinguished itself by his improvement of the oblique or *angular* order, the principles of which he studied profoundly, and illustrated the efficacy of its operation in no less than forty-two battles. Thus, as inventors in an art, which unfortunately so many always practise, we can only reckon three in modern times—Prince Maurice, Gustavus, and, Frederic the Great. In ancient times, when the same art was no less diligently cultivated, the original inventors were not much more numerous; we cannot perhaps reckon more than four—Xenophon, Epaminondas, Alexander, and Cæsar. Such at least seems to have been

been the estimate of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose judgment is here of great authority.

We would particularly recommend to our readers the account Dr Thomson has given of the battles of Frederick, in which he has had the assistance of Grimoard's excellent commentaries.

Among the moderns, Frederick is the hero whom an author of military memoirs will naturally delight to celebrate. Dr Thomson views him as a philosopher, a soldier, and a king. He has given his character from Maupertuis, concluding with this striking and just remark :—' Many a private man might make a great king ; but, except Frederick, where is the king that would make a great private man ?' (p. 457.)

These Military Memoirs come down to the battle near Alexandria in 1801 ; comprehending, of course, several of the actions in the American war, and in the last war with France. In those more recent actions which have not yet been sufficiently commented on, and criticised by military men, it cannot be expected that the information which Dr Thomson's narrative affords should be quite so satisfactory as when he records events that have been for a longer time the subject of discussion. Yet here we have been frequently pleased with the distinctness of the descriptions, particularly of the actions in the American war, where, though there were no great battles nor brilliant victories, a species of warfare, new, in many respects, from the nature of the country, gave occasion to the display of considerable military talents on both sides. The events of the French war are great and singular beyond that of almost any other ; but we are at present too near the scene of action to see them with distinctness, or judge of them with impartiality.

A defect, to which all books of the kind at present under review are obviously liable, is the want of unity ; the different events described being connected as similar, but not as cause and effect. This inconvenience, inseparable from the plan of the work, is much diminished by the interest which, during times like the present, all military details must necessarily create. It might be farther lessened, by taking care, every time the scene is shifted, or the actors changed, that some introductory account were prefixed, explaining the situation of the parties in the war, of the causes that operated on them, of the nature of the country in which they fought, and of the manner in which their communications were preserved. If the work is to undergo a second edition, we think more attention might be paid to these circumstances ; as also, in the history of battles, to the exact description of the ground, whenever it is possible. On this head, however, we are well aware of the difficulty, and the
scantiness

scantiness of the materials which, in most cases, history affords. We think, also, that the number of actions described might be considerably enlarged; and that, both in antiquity and the middle ages, Dr Thomson might find many examples of war carried on, and battles fought with great display of military talents, of which the present volume gives no account. The history of Rome alone affords many such instances, which we shall be glad to see hereafter included in the *Military Memoirs*. But, whatever improvement these memoirs may admit of, we will venture to recommend them, in their present state, as likely to afford amusement and instruction to the reader. Though military history must ever suggest many painful reflections, yet there results from it this truth, so consoling to every friend of humanity, and so comfortable to every Briton at the present moment, that a nation of free men, united in the cause of liberty and independence, has never been subdued.

ART. XVIII. *Letters, from the year 1774 to the year 1796, of John Wilkes, Esq. addressed to his Daughter, the late Miss Wilkes: With a Collection of his Miscellaneous Poems. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Life of Mr Wilkes.* In four Volumes. London. Longman & Co. &c. 1804.

The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, with his Friends, printed from the Original Manuscripts, in which are introduced Memoirs of his Life, by John Almon. In five Volumes. London. Phillips. 1805.

WE are afraid that neither of those publications is well calculated to remove the unfavourable impression which some recent productions have created against such a minute exhibition of the life and letters of celebrated individuals. It is a kind of reading, indeed, which is tempting to indolence, by its approximation to the familiarity of ordinary conversation, and stimulating to vulgar curiosity, by the promise which it holds out, of revealing secrets and unmasking the imposing characters of public history. But the thing, we think, has really been overdone: and before they lay out any more of their money in the purchase of correspondences and memoirs, we earnestly exhort our readers to consider whether the secrets they contain are worth knowing, or whether a file of ancient newspapers might not afford them as amusing anecdotes and as authentic information.

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Of the two performances now before us, it would not perhaps be very easy to say which is the most insignificant. If Mr Almon's contains somewhat more of serious discussion, and of political recollections, it is only, we are afraid, because he has borrowed more freely from former publications than his anonymous competitor, who, if he be uniformly trifling, is at least entirely original, and is also considerably less voluminous than the editor of the authentic manuscripts.

We have perused the anonymous volumes, we will confess, with some degree of amusement and very little feeling of fatigue. The letters are very much like what a man of the world might be expected to write to his daughter, if he had made it a practice to write to her two or three times every week. They are affectionate, easy, gossiping, and, above all, trifling ;—filled with accounts of the people who called, and the dishes he tasted ; the furniture he had ordered, the servants he engaged, the money he remitted, and the *beaume de vie* that he was under the necessity of swallowing. This domestic tittle tattle is often delivered indeed in a very lively way ; and little anecdotes and observations are interspersed, which give rather a pleasing impression of the writer's talents for conversation ; but for facts or sentiments, or even for *bon mots* or pleasantries that deserve to be remembered, we are afraid that the reader will look in vain. We make a few extracts almost at random, though, for the sake of our readers, we wish to select the most amusing.

‘ I sent Mrs Molineux's letter, my dearest Polly, to Mrs Martin as soon as I received it ; but, alas ! I heard the poor lady became a widow last Monday.

‘ Mrs Macaulay returned to Dr Wilson on Friday. I saw her yesterday very ill indeed, and raving against France, and every thing in that country. She even says their soups are detestable, as bad as Lacedemonian black broth, and their game insipid, all their meat bad, and their poultry execrable. Yet she says, that she dined at some of the best tables, and was infinitely caressed. She saw Dr Franklin, but refused his invitation to dinner, for fear of being confined on her return in consequence of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. “ Lord Jesus Christ, Mr Wilkes, you know I am very fond of partridges ; I saw them often served up, but could not eat them, I found them so hard and ill-flavoured.” I staid with her near an hour, in which time I believe she exclaimed twenty times, “ Lord Jesus Christ !” She was painted up to the eyes, and looks quite ghastly and ghostly. She has sent away her English woman, and has only a French valet de chambre and friseur, at which the reverend Doctor is indignant, and with whom the English servants already quarrel. I hope this will not prove ominous of a more general quarrel between the two nations.

‘ Linguet's last number is foolish. As soon as I return I shall call
on

on Mrs Smith, and thank her for the pretty present of the muff to you. How infinitely amiable is old age when unattended with frowardness, and accompanied with all the goodness of heart and benevolence which distinguish her!

‘I shall certainly return the next week, and I will fix the day by Tuesday’s or Wednesday’s post.

‘Did my dear girl receive the fish, and was it very fine?’

‘The party yesterday to Governor Thickness’s did not take place, on account of his illness; so I breakfasted and dined *en famille* with the Breretons.

‘Here is a tall Welsh Mrs P---s, beautiful beyond description; but in pity to us she will dance and talk, and thus pours balm into the wound she gives.

‘Good morrow, my dearest Polly.’ Vol. II. p. 61.--64.

The following note from Godstone, in 1776, may serve as a short specimen of the general gaiety of his style:

‘Arrived here in his way to Brighthelmstone, the famous Mr Wilkes, with a French valet de chambre, both as hungry as Highlanders, but finding rather more to eat than any Highlander, who had not been in the south. Saw scarcely ten persons on the road, and suspects men, women, and children, have all emigrated to America. Is determined to eat a little forbidden fruit for supper, to drink the health of a most amiable young lady in Prince’s Court, and to retire to Bedfordshire before ten; to rise to-morrow with the lark, and to hold converse with old ocean before evening. Such are the harmless projects of this son of ambition and faction.’ Vol. II. p. 12.

The next is from the Isle of Wight in 1789.

‘Yesterday I was happy, my dearest Polly, by your favour of last Sunday, and I read with much satisfaction the account of your dear health, and the improvement of your voice, even in the late cold and tempestuous month of May.

‘We are impatient for the descending showers to call forth all nature’s sweets, and waken all her flowers, for the earth is as thirsty as Boswell, and as cracked in many places, as he certainly is in one. His book, however, is that of an entertaining madman. Poor Johnson! Does a friend come and add to the gross character of such a man, the unknown trait of disgusting gluttony? I shall bring his two quartos back with me, and will point out numberless mistakes; but there are many excellent things in them. I suspect not unfrequently a mistake in the *Dramatis Personæ*. He has put down to *Boswell* what was undoubtedly said by *Johnson*, what the latter did, and the former could not, say. The motto to his book should have been the two lines of Pope,

“Who tells whate’er you think, whate’er you say,
And if he lies not, must at least betray.”

‘I am much pleased that your bed, book-case, and wardrobe, are finished to your mind, and I trust that the workmen will give you as
much

much satisfaction in every thing else respecting the Grosvenor Square house. It will be a high gratification to me to give you a complete town residence. One of the most desirable things in this country, which affords the most frequent enjoyment, is a convenient and elegant house where you generally reside.

‘I hope your Sunday with Madame de la Fite and Miss De Luc was not *triste comme un dimanche Anglicane*, but as cheerful as a May-day in a more propitious season.

‘I thank you for another lamprey. By a note in the basket, we are not to expect any more this year, the season being over.’ Vol. IV. p. 5 ---8.

The next we think is silly : but as the editor has specified it as playful and lively, we think it but justice to insert it.

‘Polly, dear, sweet Polly, I have got a new coat, and it is all blue, and it has a fine gold edging, and I have a fine silk waistcoat, and it is all ribbed, and is blue, and has likewise a gold edging, and I have small-clothes all blue, and fine mother-of-pearl buttons, in every one of which you might see your pretty face. Now I intend to go to Ranelagh, with you, in this same fine waistcoat and coat, but then you must have a new gown, or all the fine folks will jeer me ; therefore, as I am preparing for my return, you must call at Mr Redhead’s, and have a fine new gown made immediately, and then I will go with you the first day you choose.

‘I thank you for your letter of Thursday, Pray return the fair widow, not my *compliment*, but my *love, tender love*.

‘To-day I dine with Mrs Macaulay and the Doctor. To-morrow, being Sunday, I travel to Bristol, to have the benefit of your prayers, but return in the evening.

‘Lord Irnham came here last night, and breakfasted here this morning with Mr, Mrs, and sweet Juliet Brereton, and a Miss Newman, young, ugly, and amiable.’ Vol. II. p. 91. 92.

There are several touches of profanity in these letters, that would have been unbecoming any where, but are particularly offensive when considered as having been addressed by a father to his daughter. There is an expression in Vol. II. p. 148, which is absolutely indecent. The following, we hope, was only intended for free and unmeaning pleasantry :

‘Shall I, my dearest Polly, give you an account of yesterday’s Christmas dinner ? It is so like an alderman to talk the day after of what he had yesterday : yet perhaps, being a female, you may be curious, and therefore I give it. The paschal lamb, with the fry---a *virgin* pullet, stuffed with *pigeon’s* eggs---St Peter’s cock, a-la-cocky decky---a large cod’s head from the miraculous draught---fricassee of *innocents*---cloven tongues avec de la sauce au St Esprit---Baptist’s head in a charger---calves’ heads à-la-Golgotha---des saucissus males à-la-Madeleine. The dessert consisted of *bonchretien* pears---and the wine was *la-chryma Christi* (the famous wine near Naples, called the tears of Christ.

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An Irishman said, on tasting it, he wished that Christ had wept in Ireland.) Was not this a very suitable dinner for the anniversary which was celebrated!

'The sweet July Brereton I saw and saluted yesterday. I hope so beauteous a flower will not wither on the stalk from whence it grew, and die uncropped.

'I mean this afternoon to revisit the good old Doctor at Alfred House, and shall not fail, as he kindly desires, to pay him almost daily visits, while I continue at Bath. By all accounts from the faculty he cannot long survive.' p. 180-1.

We add only one other extract from Bath.

'Constancy! thy name is Wilkes: and constancy to Huncamunca is a prodigy, a miracle of the latter ages, and yet literally true. I am here again, in Miss Temple's lodgings, in Gallway's Buildings, and my fair landlady has been just dropping me such a broad-wheel curtesy, that I trembled for the floor, and the floor trembled likewise.

'I wrote to you last night from Marlborough, and, notwithstanding my violent exertions, I rose this morning at six, and was able to attack a large roll with success, on the strength of which I proceeded to this capital of health and folly.

'I find Bath very thin for the spring season, and I believe the embodying of the militia in so many counties will deprive the harpies here of a good deal of their prey. I have no news yet of the *amiable couple* at — House, but my next letter will give you a little history of all your acquaintance here.

'I was much surprised to find the spring more advanced every where in the country than in your park, and the immediate environs of London. The sweet infants of the spring are here raising their beauteous heads above the dull earth, and the groves charm already with the music of the feathered choristers, which are still more harmonious than the feathered females in the upper or lower rooms.

'Poor Doctor M——! The mind is the same, but its case is dreadfully shattered. Yet he was in the rooms last night. Methinks a total retirement under such circumstances would more gracefully close the scene. The chapter of *Strulbrugg*, in Swift, is the best cure I know of the foolish wish of too long life. Dr W——, too, is half gone, and it would scarcely be a sin to bury him as he is. I paid my respects to him this morning, and found him trembling at once with eagerness and age. Mrs M—— was not at home, but I have since had a card in print from her: "Mrs M.'s compliments to Mr W. Mrs M. will be at home every Thursday to tea and cards." This is all the news I have of Bath. Good morrow.' p. 80-4.

These extracts may serve as a specimen of the letters, which certainly form the most interesting part of this publication. The first of the four volumes, however, is filled with a life written with laudable moderation and candour, but in a very *juvenile* taste; and

and with some poems of Mr Wilkes, which are bad beyond the common badness of occasional verses.

We really do not see what use there was for a life of John Wilkes. All his public history is detailed with sufficient accuracy and sufficient amplitude in the chronicles and journals of the times; and of his private concerns and adventures, we are inclined to think that both this and the succeeding generations would have been well contented to be ignorant. Mr Almon indeed assures us, that 'his name is placed on a level with those of Hampden and of Sydney;' and the anonymous biographer, though he has afterwards the prudence to lower his tone a little, sets off with a sort of parallel between him and Lord Bacon. Nothing, it appears to us, can possibly be more ludicrous than those flourishes of rhetoric or enthusiasm. Mr Wilkes undoubtedly came into public life as an adventurer; and there seems little reason to doubt that his primary object was to promote his own interest, and, for that purpose, to force himself into notoriety. He was gifted by nature with an unusual share of firmness and intrepidity, and had cultivated a talent for sarcasm and popular invective, which rendered his opposition very formidable to those who were less daring or less expert. But in the whole course of his public career there seems to have been nothing generous, disinterested, or noble; nothing which indicated either a disposition or an understanding which qualified him to act the part of a statesman, or to administer the affairs of a great nation. With no more than a moderate knowledge of English history, and no knowledge at all, as it appears to us, of those more profound principles which influence the prosperity of nations, he dogmatised with unlimited confidence upon the genius of the British constitution, and upon all those delicate questions of legislative supremacy and popular controul, of which he was incapable of feeling the difficulty.

All his quarrels were personal, and the spirit with which he conducted them was acrimonious and irritating in a very unusual degree. He was the first English gentleman, we believe, since the Revolution, who appealed from the senate to the mob, and endeavoured to force his way to distinction and power by the help of popular indignation, while he was entirely exempt from that sympathy and veneration for the lower orders of society with which some succeeding patriots seem to have been sincerely inspired. He may be said to have introduced into party division not only the bitterness of personal animosity, but the scurrility of vulgar disputation, and to have set the example of a mode of contention by which conciliation would have become impracticable, and political differences must have been exasperated into inexpiable

able hostility. All that was done, in his case, for the protection of private liberty, might have been effected more easily by a milder and more dignified assertor; and while we conceive the nation to have been indebted chiefly to Lord Chief Justice Pratt, for having anticipated, by a few years, the suppression of general warrants, (an irregularity too monstrous to have had a long endurance), it seems to have owed little to Mr Wilkes, but the example of vulgarising parliamentary dissensions, and of contending with the officers of government as if they had been ordinary ruffians, who were seeking to deprive him of his property or his life. We certainly cannot discern any extraordinary merit in stating so obvious an objection, and are sure that it might have been made effectual with less clamour and fury. A prisoner accused of offences against the government will naturally use every plea to obtain his liberation; and when his plea is ultimately sustained, we feel no admiration for any thing but the beneficent vigour of the law, and the even-handed justice of the magistrate by whom it is administered. In the course of this contest, it cannot be denied, that he both received and gave no ordinary provocation, and that he conducted himself throughout with a degree of intrepidity, consistency, and spirit, that would have been heroic in a higher cause, and highly exemplary in that which he had to maintain, if they had not been tainted with some mixture of ferocity and intemperate passion. The account which he gives of his interview with the Secretaries of State after his first apprehension, is republished by Mr Almon from the second letter to the Duke of Grafton, and affords so striking a picture of the man, that though the passage is rather long we are tempted to lay it before our readers.

“ I was conducted into a great apartment fronting the park, where lord Halifax and lord Egremont, the two secretaries of state, were sitting at a table covered with papers, pens and ink. The under-secretaries stood near their lordships. Lord Egremont received me with a supercilious, insolent air; lord Halifax, with great politeness. I was desired to take the chair near their lordships; which I did. Lord Halifax then began — ‘ That he was really concerned that he had been necessitated to proceed in that manner against me; that it was exceedingly to be regretted that a gentleman of my rank and abilities could engage against his king, and his majesty’s government.’ I replied, ‘ that his lordship could not be more mistaken, for the king had not a subject more zealously attached to his person and government than myself,’ &c. Lord Halifax answered, ‘ that nothing had been done but by the advice of the best lawyers, that it was now his duty to examine me.’ He had in his hand a long list of questions, regularly numbered. — He began, ‘ Mr Wilkes, do you know Mr Kearsley? when did you see him?’

him?' &c. &c. I replied, 'that I suspected there was a vain hope my answer would tend towards what his lordship wished to know: that he seemed to be lost in a dark and intricate path, and really wanted much light to guide him through it; but that I could assure his lordship not a single ray should come from me.' Lord Halifax returned to the charge. 'Mr Wilkes, do you know Mr Kearsley,' &c. &c. I said, 'that this was a curiosity on his Lordship's part, which however laudable in the secretary, I did not find myself disposed to gratify; and that, at the end of my examination, all the quires of paper on their lordships' table should be as milk-white as at the beginning.' Lord Halifax then desired to remind me of my being their prisoner, and of their right to examine me. I answered, 'that I should imagine their lordships' time was too precious to be trifled away in that manner; that they might have seen before, I would never say one word they desired to know;' and I added, 'indeed, my lords, I am not made of such slight, flimsy stuff:' then, turning to Lord Egremont, I said, 'Could you employ tortures, I would never utter a word unbecoming my honour, or affecting the sacred confidence of my friend. God has given me firmness and fidelity. You trifle away your time most egregiously, my Lords.' Lord Halifax then asked me, 'if I chose to be a prisoner in my own house, at the Tower, or in Newgate; for he was disposed to oblige me.' I gave his lordship my thanks; but I desired to remark, 'that I never received an obligation but from a friend; that I demanded justice, and my immediate liberty, as an Englishman who had not offended the laws of his country: that as to the rest, it was beneath my attention; the odious idea of restraint was the same odious idea every where: that I would go where I pleased; and, if I was restrained by superior force, I must yield to the violence, but would never give colour to it by a shameful compromise.' Lord Halifax then told me, 'that I should be sent to the Tower, where I should be treated in a manner suitable to my rank; and that he hoped the messengers had behaved well to me.' I acknowledged that they had behaved with humanity, and even civility to me, notwithstanding the ruffian orders given then by his lordship's colleague. I then again turned to Lord Egremont, and said, 'Your Lordship's verbal orders were, to drag me out of my bed at midnight. The first man who had entered my bedchamber by force, I should have laid dead on the spot. Probably I should have fallen in the skirmish with the others. I thank God, not your lordship, that such a scene of blood has been avoided. Your lordship is very ready to issue orders, which you have neither the courage to sign, nor, I believe, to justify.' No reply was made to this; and the conversation dropped. Lord Halifax retired into another apartment. Lord Egremont continued sullen and silent, about a quarter of an hour. I then made a few remarks on some capital pictures which were in the room, and his lordship left me alone.

'I was afterwards conducted into another apartment. I found there several of my friends, in argument with the most infamous of all the

the tools of that administration, Mr Philip Carteret Webb. He confirmed to me that I was to be carried to the Tower, and wished to know if I had any favours to ask. I replied, 'that I was used to confer, not to receive, favours: that I was superior to the receiving any even from his masters: that all I would say to him was, if my valet-de-chambre was allowed to attend me in the Tower, I should be shaved and have a clean shirt; if he was not, I should have a long beard and dirty linen.' Mr Webb said, 'that orders would be given for his admission at the Tower.' I complained of the shameful evasion of the habeas-corpus, in sending me to the Tower, though the orders of the chief-justice Pratt were known. Mr Webb made no reply to this. He came to visit me at the Tower in the beginning of my imprisonment, when I had not the permission to see any friend. I desired him almost at his first entrance to take his leave; for, if I was not allowed to see those whom I loved, I would not see those whom I despised.' p. 201—209.

Such scenes as this show great firmness and ability; but the ability of a dexterous partizan, rather than that of a genuine patriot, or an able statesman. They indicate a man to be avoided, and perhaps to be pacified, but not a man to be trusted or employed; one who may be feared as an enemy, but not wished for as a friend; a formidable tool perhaps of a desperate faction, but scarcely fit for an instrument of regular government, or even of systematic opposition. Accordingly, Mr Wilkes, though more notorious than any man in England, and enjoying a reputation for talents at least equal to his deservings, was never admitted into any of her great constitutional parties, nor ever received into any political intimacy or confidence by either of the adverse bands of statesmen who have successively influenced the councils of this country. His anonymous biographer, in contrasting his history with that of an illustrious contemporary, makes the following judicious observation.

'Whilst Mr Burke (a political adventurer also) attached to the mild virtues of the Rockingham connection, increased in weight, as he increased in years, and on his deathbed found himself surrounded chiefly by those who, as they had advanced in years, had also advanced in reputation and popular esteem; Mr Wilkes in old age stood single and alone; politically triumphant indeed, but with no *personal* sharers of his triumph, and with little to elevate his mind, but the recollection of a fame, hourly on the decline, as new occurrences occupied and diverted the attention of the public.' Vol. I. p. 16.

Having this general impression as to Mr Wilkes's public character, and being perfectly indifferent as to the *minutiae* of his private history, Mr Almon must excuse us, if we say that we followed the ample and elaborate detail which he has given of all the transactions of his life, with very little interest, and very great

fatigue. The work is divided into chapters, which are titled in capital letters, with such promising notices as the following: 'Of the Mead family;'---'of John Wilkes, Esq. during his minority;'---'of the separation of Mr and Mrs Wilkes;'---'Mr Wilkes elected alderman of the Ward of Farrington without;'---'Mr Wilkes's journey to Bath,' (to get rid of a fever);---'Mr Wilkes's tour to the coast,' &c. &c. &c. The greater part of the chapters are as dull as the titles might give reason to expect; and a very large proportion of the letters are excessively trifling and insignificant. What would our readers say, for instance, to a series of epistles from Miss Wilkes in this style and pattern?

'DEAR PAPA,

Bury, Saturday Morning.

'I take the liberty of informing you of my arrival here; as I remember the letters from Garboldisham are received only the third day, and I cannot learn here when the post sets out from thence. I will have the pleasure of writing to you as soon as possible. I lay at Sudbury, where I arrived a little after six. I have had a very pleasant journey, without the least accident. *Bon jour, mon cher papa.*' Vol. IV. p. 120.

Or this, when the fair writer is some years older--

'I received, dear papa, your kind favour of Saturday, in company with your old friend Miss Goddard; who accepted of a *tete-a-tete* dinner with me yesterday. We had the Bath mutton you was so good as to send me. It was delicious; and we drank the health of the amiable donor. We had likewise the Bath cheese; which we both liked extremely.

'At last you see that Mr Luttrell is married. I beg you will ask Lord Irnham where he has taken a house; as I wish to be among the first that wait upon the bride.

'Mr Serjeant Adair called yesterday, to know if you was returned; and Mr Mulliner sent this morning.

'My grandmother is pretty well, and desires her love.' Vol. IV. p. 245-546.

If they wish to see what sort of compositions Mr Almon has recorded from more celebrated authors, they may read a series of complimentary acknowledgements in the fourth volume, of which the following stands first.

'Mr Pitt presents his compliments to Mr Wilkes, and is extremely obliged to him for the edition of Catullus, which Mr Wilkes has done him the honour to send this morning.' Vol. IV. p. 221.

Or they may peruse seven letters about dinners from Mr Boswell, in this taste.

'I should set out for Scotland to-morrow; but I will stay on purpose to have a dinner with Lord Mountstuart and you. Let me know then, by a note, this night if possible, or to-morrow morning before ten, if that party can hold on Thursday, provided I can fix the third man. Send the note to me, at Lord Mountstuart's, Hill-street, Berkeley-

Berkeley-square. I think our tavern should be the Crown and Anchor. Yours, &c.' Vol. IV. p. 311.

If they should like the following specimen of Mr Wilkes's tour through Italy in 1765, we can assure them that upwards of fifty pages of the same composition await them in the second volume.

' I left Florence February 9, at three in the afternoon; and got to San Cassiano, one post, a little after six. The road was very rough, and much up hill.---February 10, I left San Cassiano at seven; arrived at Tavernelle, one post, at twelve; came to Poggibonzi one post, at three; to Castiglione-cello, one post, at five; and reached Siena a little before seven: the road tolerably good, and the views on each side very picturesque; a sweet variety of hills and valleys, and the whole face of the country smiling. The earth is almost every where covered with corn, and olive-trees.---February 11, I left Siena at twelve, and arrived at Monterone, one post at two; reached Buon-convento, one post, at five; and arrived at Torrenieri, one post, at seven. The road much up and down hill, but not dangerous.---February 12, I left Torrenieri at seven; came to La Scala, one post, at nine; to Ricorsi, one post, at twelve; to Radicofani, one post at three; to Ponte Centino, one post and three quarters, at five; to Acquapendente, one post, at a little after seven. The post to Radicofani is very bad, the hills very steep and rough; the post to Acquapendente is still worse, and the hill a little dangerous; it is indeed almost perpendicular.---February 13, I left Acquapendente at eight: came so S. Lorenzo, three-quarters of a post, at ten; proceeded to Bolsena, one post and three-quarters; arrived there at five; changed horses about half-way; reached Viterbo at half an hour after six. Between Bolsena and Montefiascone you have a beautiful view of the lake of Bolsena, about thirty miles in circumference, with two islands in it; all the way on the right. The road is very rough, and over mountains.---February 14, I left Viterbo at eight: ascended the very high mountain of that name to Ronciglione, three-quarters of a post; arrived there at eleven: proceeded to Monte Rosi, one post, the whole way almost descending the mountain of Viterbo; got there by one: proceeded to Baccano, one post; came there at three: to Alla Storta, one post, at six; and to Rome, one post at eight. The road is either very rough, or deep, the whole way. The postillions drove directly to the Dogana; where the trunks were taken off, and left till the next morning.' Vol. II. p. 132-134.

Finally, if any one should have a curiosity to know how Mr Wilkes ordered a book-case to be painted like mahogany, how he got a suit of scarlet trimmed with gold, and what he paid for bird cages, caricature prints, and china handles to his knives and forks, we have great pleasure in referring him to any part of the voluminous correspondence between him and his daughter, which is interspersed in various lots and subdivisions through the latter volume of this publication.

As Mr Almon's anxiety for the immortality of his friend's reputation has led him not only to publish all these important memorials of his private occupations, but also to present his readers with faithful copies of a great variety of papers that were previously in possession of the public, we cannot help regretting that he did not extend his labours so far as to give us a complete edition of all his different publications. In what he has actually accomplished, he is plainly chargeable either with culpable omission, or with very foolish redundancy. If his work is not to contain a complete edition of Mr Wilkes's performances, why is one half of it occupied with the republication of pieces with which all the world has long ago been familiar? And if it was meant to embody in these volumes all that was expected to carry down the name of the author to posterity, for what reason are the best of his writings omitted in them? What inducement had Mr Almon to reprint the letters to the Duke of Grafton and to the electors of Aylesbury, the speech on Mr Hastings's impeachment, the introduction to the History of England, and the letter on his public conduct, together with his preface to Mortimer, his remarks on Sir John Cust's speech, and all the writs, warrants, charges and sentences connected with his apprehension and trial, at the same time that he has left out the North Briton, the speeches in Parliament, and the observations on the Spanish war, together with many other pieces altogether as worthy of preservation as those which will fall to the lot of the fortunate purchasers of these five volumes? For our own part, we are very well disposed to forgive him for these little omissions, and could have extended our charity to a still greater delinquency: but we do not see how he can ever forgive himself, or expect to be pardoned by those who like to have their pamphlets bound up in an uniform and handsome manner.

There are scattered through these volumes some minute pieces of new information as to the conduct and the motives of ministers in the different measures which were adopted with regard to Mr Wilkes; but though there may be still some persons who will peruse with avidity every thing that bears the form of ministerial anecdote, we will confess that the interest of such investigations is with us long ago gone by. We care very little whether it was determined in the cabinet to expel Mr Wilkes before he presented his petition or after; whether the Duke of Grafton kept faith with him or not; or whether his quarrels with Lord Temple and Mr Horne Took did or did not arise entirely from his own misconduct. This stale collection of petty politics indeed appears to us to be a worse kind of trifling than the letters upon his domestic arrangements, his ailments, and visitations: and the only part

of the work we have perused with any degree of amusement, is that which contains his private letters to Mr Cotes and his daughter. The former give a very lively and undisguised picture of his feelings during the period of his persecution and popularity; and afford some curious glimpses of constitutional gaiety and Epicurean carelessness, in a mind agitated by a fierce ambition, a distempered vanity, and a rancorous thirst for revenge. The latter are indulgent, cheerful, unconstrained, and every way amiable. Though written in the tone of a man of the world, the morality which they inculcate is entirely unexceptionable, and show the author to have been susceptible, in private life, of better feelings and affections than could be guessed at from his public appearances. In these particulars, as well as in the insignificance of their details, they are exactly on a level with the prattling epistles which compose the other collection: and since it was thought worth while to print them at all, we are surprised that they were not separated from the story of his political adventures, and presented in another publication to a different set of readers.

* * The Reviewer of Mr Mathias' *Componimenti Lirici* in our last Number, begs leave to observe, that the admirable sonnet to which he refers in p. 60, though quoted by Mr Mathias from the works of *Gaetana Passarini*, is really the production of *Giovambatista Pastorini* of Genoa; and takes this opportunity of correcting this error of the learned editor of the *Componimenti*, which had formerly escaped his observation.

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